

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

11

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1879.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and binders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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No CXXXV.

ART. I.—BRITISH RULE IN INDIA: DOES IT OWE ITS ORIGIN TO CONQUEST, AND ITS MAINTENANCE TO PHYSICAL FORCE?

THOSE who are accustomed to look upon British rule in India as more than an ordinary event of human history, find it difficult to understand why the periodical literature of Great Britain so seldom treats of the subject. It ought to be a subject full of interest to the civilized world; it undoubtedly is of great importance to the millions whom the political courtesy of England has allowed the appellation of "our Indian fellow-subjects." More frequently, indeed, the people of this country do not receive from Englishmen such recognition of fellowship: every British subject claiming his descent from some native of the United Kingdom, in the unfeigned consciousness of the political domination of his race, makes free use of an expression to which only one human being under the British constitution is entitled. "Our Indian subjects" is an expression which, in a speech from the throne, or in a royal proclamation, would not be out of place; but in the mouth of Englishmen who, like ourselves, do not breathe the atmosphere of sovereignty, the expression sounds as an attack upon "the divine right of kings," and a violation of the exclusive privileges of royalty. That the expression is commonly used cannot be denied, that it is never intended to have the sense in which we have interpreted it, gives it a significance greater than the importance of a mere verbal discussion. India is not the only dependency of the British crown; Canada and Australia are as much portions of the British empire as any part of India. But we do not remember ever hearing Englishmen employ the expression "our subjects" towards the people of Canada or of Australia. This difference of language, though apparently merely a verbal one, is in reality of greater consequence than a mere rule of grammar or use of idiom. If language is the vehicle of thought, if thought is the basis of human action, expressions in ordinary use indicate not only the feelings of those who use them, but also their behaviour towards those concerning whom the expressions are

used. The behaviour of Englishmen towards the people of this country is a circumstance of which the eloquent patriot of the day often complains, which English philanthropy of the nineteenth century often denounces. We occasionally come across apologists on the English side, haters of Englishmen on our own; but it has never been our lot to meet with a calm and impartial discussion of this subject. Under the influence of supposed grievances on the one hand, and the effects of injured pride on the other, the political and social relation of Englishmen with the people of this country becomes a matter of national antagonism or of personal insult and provocation. Liberty of the press is used to insult the English and their rule; a knowledge of the English language is employed to make the insults intelligible to those for whom they are meant. The state of things is found too bad to be tolerated; laws are passed to suppress the evil. The result is unbounded injury to public feeling. The legislature is abused; complaints are sent up to Parliament; Parliament only lends an indifferent ear to Indian questions, and vociferous clamour, thus defeated, finds shelter in the guise of whispered grumbling. If it is an infallible law of Nature that there is no effect without a cause, that every cause is in its turn itself an effect of some other cause, the present state of feeling between the ruling race and the ruled must have adequate causes, causes which cannot be said to be conducive to the welfare of British rule or to the prosperity of India. The study of these causes is the business of those to whom the administration of this country is entrusted; the removal of them is their imperative duty. The present article aims at the examination of these causes from a point of view which, I venture to say, is seldom occupied by writers in the English periodical literature of the day. My point of view is one of perfect impartiality, of calm and deliberate discussion of a historical, political and social phenomenon; and if my language may here and there betray my feelings or indicate my nationality, it will, I hope, be in the interests of humanity and the cause of justice that my feelings will be roused or the language of emphasis employed. I am inspired with all the loyalty due from a subject of a peaceful State towards a rule the security of which I, in common with millions, look upon as an absolute necessity of order and good government in this country, as the only means of her future prosperity and civilization. I look upon British rule for India as the only alternative of anarchy and barbarism. I owe no allegiance of blood or nationality to the Saxon race; the sacred ties of religion do not bind me to the British nation. But I am convinced that the ties of law and constitution are ties stronger, in the nineteenth century, than ties of either blood or religion. In this persuasion of mind, I look upon a free and independent discussion of British rule in

India, an honest criticism of its defects and shortcomings, far from being an act of disloyalty, as an act of unmixed loyalty. I do not mean this article to be an attack upon the Government, or an advocacy of the grievances of India. I mean it to be as correct a picture of the actual state of things in India under British rule as it lies in my power to paint. Without any feelings of false modesty, I feel myself unequal to the task. Perhaps the language which I have to use places difficulties in my way, which it is not in my power to surmount. But the difficulties of a foreign language, and the consciousness of the inadequacy of my abilities, sink into insignificance before my desire to give expression to the feelings which animate thousands of my countrymen; feelings, the very existence of which gives them a political significance.

The distinguished historian of England whose marvellous pen has popularised the memory of Clive and Warren Hastings, has allowed his love of comparisons to propagate an error which it will now be difficult to remove. He opened his essay on Clive by comparing the British supremacy in India with the Spanish conquest of America. The comparison in some respects is justifiable; but it stops when the means of acquiring dominion come into question. "Conquest" is a term vaguely employed in ordinary conversation; but it has never been so vaguely employed as in discussions about the British supremacy in India. The word is a term in international law and has a definite meaning. It means the acquisition of territorial dominion by open force. The greater portion of British dominions in India was not acquired by open force. It was acquired by means far different from physical violence. Some of the provinces now under the Viceroy of India were acquired without the expenditure of a single drop of blood. If conquest presupposes war, India cannot be said to have been conquered in the sense in which the word ought to be legitimately understood. The first footing of the East India Company in Bengal was not the result of brute force or military violence. The Company began by being peaceful traders, subject to the laws which at the time governed the province of Bengal. Their commerce flourished; their rights were not sufficiently respected; and by force of necessity, rather than by intention of conquest, they took steps which gave them the sovereignty of Bengal and ultimately of India. But these steps were not measures of conquest. Mr. Aitchison's description of them has the stamp of official accuracy, and the distinguished position which he so ably occupied in the Foreign Office gives to his words a special authority. In his work on *Treaties*, he says:—"A confederacy was formed among Surajood-Dowlah's chief officers to depose him. The English joined this confederacy and concluded

a treaty with Jaafir Ali Khan. At the battle of Plassey, which was fought on the 23rd of June 1757, the power of Suraj-ood-Dowlah was completely broken, and Jaafir Ali Khan was installed by Clive as Subahdar of Bengal."

Jaafir Ali Khan's succession to the throne of Bengal cannot be called the conquest of Bengal by the British. The subsequent events which lead to the sovereignty of the East India Company were not steps of conquest either. The grant of the dewani by the Emperor of Delhi, the deposition of Jafir Ali, the installation of Mir Cassim, the restoration of Jafir Ali, and other subsequent events, can be classed as transactions or compacts* obtained, no doubt, in return for military services which the East India Company was enabled to perform to the various individuals who, in those days of anarchy, possessed political power or political consequence. To style such events conquest is a misnomer. A similar succession of events brought the sovereignty of most of the other provinces of the British empire in India to the East India Company. In all those events, native agency, native friendship, native counsels, native valour, played an important part. I doubt whether it would be easy, or indeed possible, to prove that the English could have become masters of India without such aid. On the other hand, it is not difficult to prove that native blood has been shed in much greater abundance for the cause of the British rule in India than English blood: the black-haired and dark-complexioned Indian has won some of the greatest victories of the light-haired and fair-complexioned Saxon. Take the great battles of Indian history which secured to the British arms their supremacy in India. The battle of Plassey and of Buxar, the battle of Assaye and the siege of Arcot, alike redound to the credit

* As an illustration of these compacts and transactions, the wording of the Firman of Shah Alum, dated the 12th August 1765, by which the dewanni of Bengal, Behar and Orissa was granted to the East India Company, would interest the reader. The Company is styled "our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company." The coin is still to be seen struck by the East India Company with the Persian couplet:—

سکه زد بر هفت کشور سایه فضل اله
حامی دین محمد شاه عالم بادشاه

which might be rendered into English thus:—"This coin has been struck for the seven regions, by the shadow

of the Almighty.

"The Defender of the faith of Mohammed, Shah Alum, the king."

The coin for a long time was legal tender under the Government of the East India Company; and I cite this as an illustration of the circumstances which support my argument. The name of the Emperor of Delhi was one of the main causes which facilitated the acquisition of supreme power by the East India Company. Shah Alum was no doubt helpless, and the grant of the dewanni was only a formal proceeding; but this forms no answer to the proposition laid down in the text. The Emperor's name was still powerful, and the manner in which it was used supports my argument.

of the native soldier and supply examples of his devotion to the English standard. The English public is familiar with the picturesque account of the siege of Arcot given by Macaulay in his essay on Clive :—

“During fifty days the siege went on. During fifty days the young captain maintained the defence, with a firmness, vigilance and ability which would have done honour to the oldest marshal in Europe. The breach, however, increased day by day. The garrison began to feel the pressure of hunger. Under such circumstances, any troops so scantily provided with officers might have been expected to show signs of insubordination ; and the danger was peculiarly great in a force composed of men differing widely from each other in extraction, colour, language, manners and religion. But the devotion of the little band to its chief surpassed anything that is related of the Tenth Legion of Cæsar, or of the Old Guard of Napoleon. The sepoys came to Clive, not to complain of the scanty fare, but to propose that all the grain should be given to the Europeans, who required more nourishment than the natives of Asia. The thin gruel, they said, which was strained away from the rice would suffice for themselves. History contains no more touching instance of military fidelity, or of the influence of a commanding mind.”

Whether alone or side by side with English soldiers, the sepoy has proved himself faithful to the English standard, has shed his blood with valour and with credit for the cause of the British nation. Those who, like Comte de Warren (who wrote in 1845), revile the native sepoy, must read the unanswerable defence recorded by the generous ability of an English gentleman, who reviewed the Frenchman's book in this magazine more than thirty years ago :—

“From the time when, in 1783, at the battle of Cuddalore, a sepoy regiment crossed bayonets with the French troops and defeated them, leaving 350 of the enemy dead upon the field, and that, too, not following in the wake of Europeans, but advancing boldly to the charge, when the Europeans had recoiled ; from the battle of Cuddalore to the battle of Bameean, where Ameer Dost Mahomed was finally defeated and no European troops were in the field, the sepoys have, year after year, evinced their independent gallantry in action ; year after year, proved in the most unmistakable manner, that they do not require the example of European troops in advance of them to stimulate them to do their duty against an enemy in the field. With sepoy troops Major Popham took Gwalior by escalade ; with sepoy troops Colonel White captured Agra ; with sepoy troops General Dow took Rampura. It was by sepoys that Delhi was

so nobly defended in Ochterlony's time ; it was by sepoys that, at the first siege of Bhurtpore, the only British standard was planted on the ramparts of the fortress ; it was with sepoys that Ochterlony, in the Nepal War, reduced the stockades of Jhytuk, Nalagurh and Ramgurh, and gained the victory of Maloun ; it was with sepoys that Colonel Scott fought the memorable battle of Sitabuldi against a force of more than ten-fold numbers ; it was with sepoys that Captain Staunton fought that splendid action at Corigaum, a little band of 800 men holding its own nobly against the whole army of the Peishwa. It was with sepoys that Colonel Adams routed the Peishwa's army ; it was by sepoys that Chandah was taken. These examples, a few out of many which we might have adduced, show what our sepoys have done ever since we have had a sepoy army.*

True, when these remarks were penned, the disasters of 1857 had not occurred. The causes of the great revolt have not yet been properly studied or accurately discovered ; the events are too recent for an impartial judgment. Posterity will judge ; history will punish. It is not for us, who are still suffering from the effects of the great disaster, to decide facts which can only have the effect of increasing international hatred ; it is not for us to defend accusations or to bring counter-charges. But to those in whose language we are writing, who regard the revolt of '57 as a conclusive proof of the faithlessness of native loyalty, who look at the event from a one-sided point of view, we say in terms calm and unhesitatingly, that the loss of native life in the catastrophe was infinitely greater than the loss of English life ; that the miseries to us have been much more lasting. And, we add with equal confidence, paradoxical though it may appear, that the mutiny of 1875 has proved native loyalty to be steadfast and trustworthy. The mutiny was not, and could not have been, suppressed without the co-operation of native princes and statesmen, without the loyalty and valour of native troops. Who can deny that but for the distinguished loyalty, enlightened policy, and masterly tact of Salar Jung, the Nizam's territories would have sent out bands of plunderers, whose only mission would have been massacre and devastation ? Who can forget the willing aid of the Chief of Puttiala and of the Nawab of Rampore ? Who can ignore the importance of the steadfast loyalty of the Rajput States and other Hindoo princes ? Who can be insensible to the services of the Sikhs and the Punjabis ? Who can deny honour to the thousands who fought and fell for the English standard, to the thousands whose loyalty and aid materially contributed to restore the country to peace and prosperity ? These are mere headings, each of which requires a whole essay to

* *Calcutta Review*. Vol. V. (Jan.-June, 1846) p. 340.

itself. We suggest them not in a vainglorious spirit, but because we want the disagreeable past to be forgotten on both hands ; the present to be properly appreciated ; the future to promise greater prosperity for the country, and better feeling between the native and the Englishman. Such is our view of the latest historical occurrences of any consequence. Nor is the record of earlier history wanting in testimony to native friendship and co-operation with the English. In 1780, the Governor of Madras placed on official record the extent to which the English in their operations against the French were indebted to the Nabob of the Carnatic. The acknowledgment is clear and generous : to the Nabob's friendship and "influence we are indebted for a great part of our prosperity, for our success against the French in the last war, and for the decisive stroke made against them so early in the present war, to which, as affairs have since turned out, we owe, perhaps, our present existence in the East." The letter of the Court of Directors to the Nabob, dated the 1st June 1764, is hardly less emphatic :— "We are at a loss how to express our acknowledgments otherwise than by the strongest assurances of our firm intention to prove to you at once the sincerity of our past and the warmth of our present friendship, by supporting you in the most effectual manner in your government, and by endeavouring, as much as in us lies, to perpetuate the succession thereof in the direct line of your family."

Similarly the alliance of the Nizam contributed to deal a fatal blow to the growth of a power which promised to give to the French the political consequence which was possessed by the English. The energy and ability of Tippoo Sultan, his partiality to the French, his ambition and indomitable courage, were the last formidable obstacle to the growth of the English power in India. The alliance of the Nizam with the East India Company decided the question whether the English or the French were to be supreme in this country, and decided it in favour of the British. Lord Wellesley, in the contemporary despatches, acknowledges the services of the Nizam, ascribes the suppression of the power of Tippoo to the "united arms" of the allies, and declares that "the Raja of Mysore will be restored to the throne and maintained on it, under the protection of the Company and the Nizam."

Examples can easily be multiplied ; but they are not necessary. Those who have studied the history of the rise and progress of the British power in India, can hardly deny that native co-operation was an essential element of the success. The British empire in the East has been built up by the combined efforts of the two nations ; it is the product of the bravery and energy of both the races. Without the one the other could not have been successful. "When two conditions" says the greatest writer on political economy, "are

equally necessary for producing the effect at all, it is unmeaning to say that so much of it is produced by one and so much by the other; it is like attempting to decide which half of a pair of scissors has most to do in the act of cutting; or which of the factors five and six contributes most to the production of thirty." The reasoning of John Stuart Mill is applicable to the creation of British supremacy in India. It hardly lies in the mouth of Englishmen to use contemptuous language towards us, because we helped them to build the empire over which they hold sway; it is hardly befitting to give us the invidious name of their "subjects," because we helped to bring about the supremacy of which they have become the owners. If we are filled with gratitude for the blessings which England has conferred upon India, let England not forget the services which we have done to her glory and power. Let Englishmen, instead of assuming the vainglorious name of "conquerors," do justice to historical truth and national morality, to humanity and civilization, by recognizing, not only in words but in deeds, the millions who inhabit the vast continent of India, as their fellow-men, fellow-workers, and fellow-subjects. It ought to be the glory of England and the pride of Englishmen that, whilst other nations have owed their dominions in foreign countries to brute force, the British rule in India owes its origin to the virtual consent and actual aid of her own people; that it owes its success and growth to principles of justice and humanity; that, whilst other nations looked to self-aggrandisement as the only object of extension of dominions, the conduct of the British nation in the East has been free from such reproach; that even the worst acts of territorial annexation had the best of motives—the welfare and prosperity of the people who inhabited the territories, not the pecuniary or political advantages of Englishmen.

And allied to this historical question of the acquisition of India by the British is another, of much greater importance and much more practical consequence. Does the British rule in India subsist by physical force? Is it by the help of bayonets and gunpowder that the Empress holds her sway over the 240 millions who inhabit India? It is a great satire upon the civilization of the nineteenth century, that the greatest boast of nations still consists in superiority in physical force, and in possessing the means of human destruction: the greatest destroyer of mankind is still called the greatest hero. It is a disgrace to modern civilization that the boast of the European is the same as the boast of the Hottentot or of the Red Indian. Whatever theorists may say, the fact cannot be denied that the conduct of mankind has been much more in obedience to the maxim "might is right" than to the more just and humane principle that "right

is might." Like the celebrated saying of Bonaparte, that Providence is always on the side of the best disciplined armies, right seems to have kept studiously on the side of might. Such at least is the moral of the history of nations. Driven by necessity rather than by choice, civilized nations endeavour as far as possible to support right and to suppress wrong amongst members of the same community, living under the same sovereign power, and subject to the same laws. But the age has not yet come when justice can be administered in the community of which nations are the units with as much perfection as in communities of which the units are individuals. It is on this account that international law has not acquired as much precision as municipal law. But the uncertainty of international law sinks into nothing when compared with the vagueness of political principles. Persons of the same race and language, living under the same laws and constitution, take diametrically opposite views of identical questions; political dissensions have, in a great measure, taken the place in modern Europe which in the Middle Ages was occupied by religious controversy. But in succeeding to religion, politics have not only inherited its vagueness, but also its blind enthusiasm and sanguinary spirit. The present age looks with contempt on bigotry in religion as fanaticism, but admires bigotry in politics under the name of public spirit. Discussions of politics are therefore fraught with no ordinary difficulties. They seldom carry conviction. In India, especially, where discussions of political questions are carried on between Englishmen and the natives, difficulties are greatly multiplied. To the usual diversity of opinions is added the difference of race and feeling. The question of the main causes conducive to the security of British rule in India, is of all questions the most difficult to discuss. Unless we are sadly mistaken, the vast majority of Englishmen take delight in the fallacious idea of being the "conquerors of India," and they like the constant feeling that not only were their ancestors "the conquerors," but that "the glory and the rights of conquest" have been inherited by them with as little trouble as they have inherited the complexion or the language of their forefathers. We shall endeavour to analyse the causes which lead to this delusion. The delusion would not be so unyielding if self-adulation were not a human weakness, or if the political circumstances of the country did not favour it. It has been our lot occasionally to meet Englishmen in India who tread the land of our birth with much greater consciousness of "the glory and the rights of conquest" than we imagine ever filled the bosom or characterized the demeanour of the hero of Plassey or the victor of the battle of Buxar. However natural and excusable this state

of feeling may be, it greatly enhances the difficulties of showing, what we believe to be a fundamental truth concerning the British rule in India, that it owes its strength and security not to physical force but to moral causes. He must be sadly ignorant of the history of India who denies that the British rule is the most civilized, the most humane, the most just of any form of government which India has ever seen. It is also more settled and more honourable than any rule that preceded it. Of India, before the Mohammedan invasion, we know next to nothing. But history has left credible accounts of the rule of Mohammedan dynasties, and of the system of Mohammedan governments. The history of the Mohammedan period is one long narrative of assassinations and cold-blooded butcheries, of religious fanaticism and anarchical despotism, of rebellious wars and cruel persecutions. There were intervals of comparative peace and order; but they were never long, and depended mainly upon the ability or character of the ruling king, and lasted for his natural life. Reigns were so short that we doubt whether there are many even among the most educated classes of the Mussulman community who have even heard the names of all the Mohammedan kings who have ruled in this country since the day when the standard of the Crescent first obtained a firm footing in India. After the downfall of the Mohammedan power and before the supremacy of the British, the condition of India was such as the mind shrinks from conceiving. Constant bloodshed and warfare, kept up by rival tyrants and petty chiefs, villainous intrigues of courtiers, merciless rapacity of officials, internal broils and foreign inroads of plunderers from beyond the limits of India, massacres of unresisting citizens and slaughters of helpless prisoners, characterize that period of Indian history,—that age of darkness and oppression. The names of the principal actors in that drama of human suffering will ever be held up by history to the execration of the civilised world. Carnage and devastation, riots and rebellions, robberies and assassinations, were the commonest events of those days; and the manner in which the people of this country bore these calamities, supply the extremest instance of national endurance and helpless patience. Widows and orphans, the poor and the oppressed, prayed with up-lifted hands for release from the clutches of those tyrants and devourers of mankind. The dictates of Providence answered the prayer of millions, and sent forth a power, from a direction from which no power had ever proceeded before, a power guided by the virtue and wisdom of England, and supported by the combined valour of the Saxon and the Indian, a power destined to suppress tyrants and bring peace and order, comfort and civilisation such as this country had never witnessed before. The rule of the East India Company supplied a distinct want. It was a

rule which held the balance of justice in one hand and the sword of strength in the other. It brought order and good government, peace and civilization. It bore no enmity to the Mohammedan, and showed no partiality to the Sikh; it did not favour the Mahratta, or degrade the Rajpoot. Persecution or conversion, massacre or plunder, did not come in its train. Justice and toleration, peace and civilization, were the principles on which it was conducted; and the unanimous common sense of India accepted it as a blessing from Heaven. Nothing has happened to shake this belief; facts prove the truth of the conviction. Life is secure, rights of person and property are regulated and respected, roads and bridges, railways and telegraphs, facilitate communication between the towns; travel, which at one time was fraught with peril to human life, is now a means of luxurious diversion; education of the public is a part of government; liberty of private belief is guaranteed; commerce flourishes, enhancing the wealth of the country in the sense in which wealth ought properly to be understood. The population of the country, and the value of land are rapidly increasing; large tracts of land are irrigated by canals; millions of acres which lay waste for want of labour, are being brought under cultivation. The dullest mind can perceive these blessings, and if we sometimes grumble and complain, it is not because we are unaware of, or do not appreciate them, but because, accustomed to peace, and possessing the essentials of good government, our standard of life and feeling has improved, and we demand as rights and needs what in reality are only our wants and desires. Those are sadly mistaken who think that the stability and security of the British rule in India are due to steel, or to gunpowder. To be sure, both are necessary and indispensable for peace and good government, but they are equally necessary and equally indispensable in England itself and her kindred dependencies, and indeed in all countries of the world. Knives and forks are necessary for every civilized household, but it would be pure infatuation to say that these useful articles of domestic economy *maintain* the household. We believe that the comparison here suggested is not exaggerated, and is absolutely true. It is hardly possible to deny that, as things now are, the British rule is the best form of government India can have. The excellence of the British rule is its main strength and its chief recommendation. India submits to it because without it there would be anarchy. In this matter we have no more choice than we have in buying an English watch in preference to inferior manufacture, if we are anxious to have our time properly regulated. We take English manufactures because they are the easiest and best to get; we submit to the English rule, and wish its continuance because under the circumstances submission is not only the

best, but the only thing we can do for the preservation of order and good government. To say that we buy English cloth or English knives in preference to the coarse texture of the native weaver, or the rough handiwork of the native blacksmith, because we are physically forced to do so, would be an absurd and inaccurate statement; and we believe it is equally absurd and equally wrong to say that the maintenance and security of British rule is due to physical force. The British rule in India is the noblest manufacture England has sent out to our shores, and we prefer it to the coarse material which indigenous statesmanship could furnish. We are aware that to many the comparison will appear ridiculous, but ridicule is no answer to arguments based on facts. And facts will support the arguments we have advanced. There are thousands of square-miles which do not hold a single Englishman, there are millions of our countrymen who see an English face once a year, when, in search of sport or in pursuance of duty, some English official goes into camp. Yet we never hear of rebellions in India; we are strangers to internal broils. Whole districts are ruled and kept in order by half-a-dozen Englishmen; two hundred and fifty millions of human beings are kept in peace and order by a handful of foreigners, whose number is less than two hundred thousand. The greatest machinery of destruction which the ingenuity of man can invent could not produce such a result if the will of the country were opposed to the circumstance. There are no rebellions in India now, because rebellions are not necessary; no internal broils because for them there is no occasion. The British rule is conducted on such sound principles of toleration and justice that it neither rouses religious fanaticism nor exasperates human feeling. It seems to have followed the policy attributed by the Æsop of the East to the great Macedonian Conqueror:—" 'How didst thou conquer the Eastern and Western worlds,' they said to Alexander of Rūm, 'when former kings surpassed thee in treasures and territory, and long life and armies, and yet did not obtain such victories.' He replied: 'By the aid of the Most High God, whenever I subdued a country I did not oppress its inhabitants and never spoke disparagingly of its kings.'"^{*} The British rule seems to have had for its guiding maxim the spirit of the celebrated lines of Sadi, of Shiraz:—

"The king who dares his subjects to oppress,
In day of need will find his friend a foe—
A mighty one. Soothe, rather, and caress
Thy people; and in war-time thou wilt know
No fear of foes; for a just potentate
The nation's self will be a host to guard the State."

* *Gulistan*, Ch. I., Story XLI.

Those who think the complaints made by natives of this country, or their rude criticism of the Government, are indications of disloyalty, must be ignorant of the real state of native feeling. Our own experience shows a different path, and leads us to quite a different conclusion. Those who are most violent in abusing the British rule would be the last to wish for its departure from the shores of India ; those who are most forward to advance complaints against the Government are its greatest appreciators ; those who are most anxious to have the claims of India satisfied and her grievances redressed are the warmest supporters of British rule. Judge India by what she does, or does not do, not by what she says, or does not say, and you will arrive at the truth. Of all animals the elephant is the most firm-footed and the most sagacious ; and a proverb* of the country, of which he is an emblem, has brought out the fact, half humorous and half instructive, that he has one kind of teeth for showing and another for eating. All we want is that, when discussing the animal's powers of mastication, people should look at his inner teeth and not at his tusks, and when deciding the question whether India is in favour of British rule or against it that they should consider her acts and not her words. Even if our argument is fallacious, the fact remains unchanged. We believe that if a plebiscite were taken, India would vote for the British rule and the majority would be overwhelming. To be sure we want reform, we want a larger share in the administration of the country and the disposal of its revenues ; we want a voice in the policy and the legislation of the land, and a larger number of dark faces amongst its higher officials. But our complaints, at their worst, are like the complaints of spoilt children, and not like the malicious curses of injured foes. Yet in spite of unheeded complaints, of unsatisfied demands, of unredressed grievances, we doubt whether even a small minority could be obtained to vote against British rule, or whether there is a single native of India who, aware of the political situation of this country and of the world, could place his hand on his breast and say : " I wish the British rule at the bottom of the sea." As mal-administration and oppression have been and are the weakness of the Ottoman empire, and the cause of its constant troubles, so the good government, justice and toleration of British rule are the main sources of its strength, its stability and its security. Let those who deny the truth of our facts, or doubt the accuracy of our arguments, read the lessons of history which the able pen of a living author has recorded. Mr. Keene's *Fall of the Mogul Empire* furnishes us with an illustration which we cannot forego. What was it that made the reign of Akbar so illustrious and prosperous ? What

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was it that made the reign of Aurangzeb the cause of the downfall of the Mogul empire? Mr. Keene has studied that important period of the Indian history better than any writer with whom we are acquainted, and we will quote him as our authority:—

“The abilities of . . . Alamgir, known to Europeans by his private name, Aurangzeb, rendered him the most famous member of his famous house. Intrepid and enterprising as he was in war, his political sagacity and statecraft were equally unparalleled in Eastern annals. He abolished capital punishment, understood and encouraged agriculture, founded numberless colleges and schools, systematically constructed roads and bridges, kept continuous diaries of all public events from his earliest boyhood, administered justice publicly in person, and never condoned the slightest malversation of a provincial governor, however distant his province. Such were these emperors; great, if not exactly what we should call good, to a degree rare indeed amongst hereditary rulers.*

* * * * *

“Aurangzeb, when he had imprisoned his father and conquered and slain his brothers, was, on his accession, A.D. 1658, the most powerful of all the emperors of Hindostan, and at the same time the ablest administrator that the empire had ever known. In his reign the house of Timur obtained its zenith. The wild Pathans of Kabul and Kandahar were temporarily tamed; the Shah of Persia sought his friendship; the ancient Mussulman powers of Golconda and Bijapur were subverted, and their territories rendered subordinate to the sway of the empire; the hitherto indomitable Rajputs were subdued; and if the strength of the Mahrattas lay gathered upon the Western Ghats like a cloud risen from the sea, yet it was not to be anticipated that a band of such marauders could long resist the might of the Great Mogul.

“Yet that might and that greatness were reduced to a mere show before his long reign terminated; and the Mogul empire resembled—to use the familiar image—one of those Etruscan corpses which, though crowned and armed, are destined to crumble at the breath of heaven or at the touch of human hands. And still more did it resemble some splendid palace, whose gilded cupolas and towering minarets are built of materials collected from every quarter of the world, only to collapse in undistinguishable ruin when the *figus religiosa* has lodged its destructive roots in the foundation on which they rest. Thus does this great ruler furnish another instance of the familiar but ever-needed lesson, that countries may be over-governed. Had he been less anxious to stamp his own image and superscription upon the palaces of

* *Fall of the Mogul Empire.* p. 25, Ed. 1876.

princes and the temples of priests ; upon the monies of every market, and upon every human heart and conscience ; he might have governed with as much success as his free-thinking and pleasure-seeking predecessors. But he was the Louis Quatorze of the East ; with less of pomp than his European contemporary, but not less of the lust of conquest, of centralization, and religious conformity. Though each monarch identified the State with himself, yet it may be doubted if either, on his deathbed, knew that his monarchy was dying also. But so it was that to each succeeded that gradual but complete cataclysm which seems the inevitable consequence of the system each pursued.

"One point peculiar to the Indian emperor is that the persecuting spirit of his reign was entirely due to his own character. The jovial and clement Turkomans from whom he was descended, were never bigoted Mohammedans. Indeed it may be fairly doubted whether Akbar and his son Jahangir were, to any considerable extent, believers in the system of the Arabian prophet. Far different, however, was the creed of Aurangzeb, and ruthlessly did he seek to force it upon his Hindu subjects. Thus there were now added to the usual dangers of a large empire the two peculiar perils of a jealous centralization of power, and a deep-seated disaffection of the vast majority of the subjects."*

We apologise for the length of the quotation, but the whole of it deserves to be quoted. It brings out our argument that moral causes have before now, in this very country and among this very people, operated as infinitely stronger supporters or destroyers of a rule than material weapons or physical force. Aurangzeb was undoubtedly the ablest member of the house of Timur. His reign saw the greatest extension of the Mogul empire. His armies were far greater than those Akbar, his illustrious great-grandfather, could ever muster. He was more learned, a better soldier and a more efficient administrator. But he was a bad politician, and his statesmanship relied for its success on martial discipline and physical force. The power of moral causes he entirely ignored ; the feelings of his subjects he did not consult. He learnt the noble lesson but too late, that it is

" —more humane, more heavenly, first
By winning words to conquer willing hearts
And make persuasion do the work of fear."

His policy alienated the Hindus, though it for a time subjugated them. His faithful servant and friend, Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpore, the representative of one of the oldest reigning houses in the world, whose devotion to the house of Timur was constant, who sacrificed his life to that loyalty, addressed some

* *Fall of the Mogul Empire.* p. 27-29, Ed. 1876.

words of advice to his master. They are contained in a letter unsurpassed in its originality of wisdom, its earnestness of solicitude, its beauty of taste, and above all, its soundness of policy. It contains a touching illustration of the proposition which we have enunciated; it explains a policy which lent lustre and prosperity to the three successive reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, and violation of which brought decay to the Mogul empire; it expresses a feeling which we are convinced is the guiding star of the success of British rule in the East; a feeling which we wish we could believe was as universal with individual Englishmen in this country, as it undoubtedly is the foundation and the mainstay of the British supremacy in India. An apology is hardly necessary for quoting an extract from the letter:—

“Your royal ancestor, M. Jalaludin Akbar, conducted the affairs of the empire in dignity and safety for fifty-two years, keeping every tribe and class in peace and prosperity; whether they were followers of Jesus, or of Moses, or Mohammed; were they Brahmans, were they (Atheists); all equally enjoyed his countenance and favour, insomuch that his subjects distinguished him by the title of ‘Protector of the Human Race.’

“His Majesty, M. Nuruddin Jahangir, also extended for a period of twenty-two years the shadow of his protection over his people’s heads; successful by constant fidelity to his allies, and vigorous exertions in the affairs of State.

“Nor less did the illustrious Shah Jahan, by a propitious reign of thirty-two years, acquire to himself immortal fame, the just reward of clemency and righteousness.

“* * * * * During your Majesty’s reign many have been alienated from the empire, and further losses must ensue, since devastation and rapine reign without restraint. . . . How can the dignity of a sovereign be preserved who employs his power in exacting heavy tributes from a people miserably reduced? At this juncture it is said, from East to West, that the Emperor of Hindustan, jealous of the poor Hindu devotee, will exact tribute from Brahmans, etc.; that, regardless of the honour of his Timurian ancestry, he condescends to exercise his strength against the inoffensive religious recluse.

“If your Majesty places any faith in those books by distinction called divine, you may there learn that God is the God of all mankind, not of Mussulmans only. The Pagan and the Moslem stand alike before him. . . . In your mosques, it is in His name that the call to prayer is uttered. In a house of idols, where bells are rung, it is still He that is the object of adoration. To vilify the religious customs of other men is to set at naught the will of the Almighty. When we deface a picture, we necessarily incur the resentment of the painter.”

The old man's words were wise, calm and serene; but they were not heeded. The reign of Aurangzeb, with all its martial glory and powerful administration, with all its conquests and physical force, succumbed to the law of Nature, succumbed to the ardent and originally defensive opposition of the pious Brahmin, to the curses of the suffering devotee, to the united force of exasperated millions. He died whilst still at the head of a great campaign: the most glorious and the most inglorious of India's Mohammedan rulers, the destroyer of his ancestral heritage, the degrader of his race and his religion. He lies beneath the dust of those very plains which had seen his greatest martial achievements and had felt his greatest force.

What the Mohammedan, with his forty millions of co-religionists, to whom war was a part of their sacred creed, failed to establish by physical force, the British, with two hundred thousand at the utmost, can hardly hope to achieve. But why, it may be asked, if such is the case, are Englishmen called the rulers and the natives the ruled? The answer is very simple. By a curious coincidence, such of the British subjects as belong to the European race, happen to possess better training for holding high civil and military offices of State than their Indian fellow-subjects; the public sees every high official with a white face and an English name, and owing to the natural indolence of the human mind, owing to the difficulties of analytical reasoning, this mere coincidence of race and training produces the vague and confused conclusion that these white faces rule India because they are white, or because they belong to the British race. Supposing the people of this country were as civilized as the people of Australia or of Canada, what would be the result? It is unwarrantable to say that the English would not be here. England has once learnt a lesson by the treatment she gave to her colonies in America, and the lesson will never be forgotten. As India advances in civilisation, her children will share yet more in the administration of the country, till a day may come when no office of the State will be closed to the native; when the Secretary of State will take the advice of his Indian Members of Council; when the Viceroy of India will see among his colleagues as much of the native element as of the English; when laws will be framed by the consent of the country; when the highest tribunals will propound law through native, as through English mouths; when the responsibility of the administration of whole districts will depend upon native efficiency; when commissioned appointments in the army will be as often filled by natives as by Englishmen; and India, safe from internal disorder, will depend for its defence against foreign invasion on the military ability of a General Nabi Dad Khan or a Colonel Anup Sing, as it now relies upon the tactics of a General Jones or

a Colonel Robinson. All this may happen, and we hope will happen some day, without the name and the head of the British sovereign being removed from the coin of India, without the British flag being pulled down from the fortifications of Fort William or Fort St. George. True, at present, it sounds like a dream; but we do not see the impossibility of its realization. Put aside the hopeful future if you will, and what does the present situation of the country actually show. India is ruled by the consent of her people and her princes, it is guarded from foreign aggression and secured from internal disorder by the combined valour and the disciplined efficiency of her British and her native troops; her administration is carried on by the guidance of the virtue and wisdom of England, and the trained ability of her English and native officials. The result is peace, order and prosperity.

Such, we believe, is the truth concerning the origin and growth, security and maintenance of the British supremacy in India. But great indeed is the delusion of those, and we fear their number amongst Englishmen in India is large, who, in the glory of British rule and the prosperity of India, forget the truthful lessons of history, who think that the reign of *VICTORIA* in this country owes its firmness and its security chiefly to British bayonets, who hold that the physical power of the English nation, owing to superior valour, or to mechanical and chemical inventions, is so great that it is in their power to slaughter or keep alive the teeming millions of this country like the sheep of the wool-grower in Australia. The day when such becomes the conviction of those who guide the political affairs of the vast empire of Britain, will see the commencement of the decline of the most glorious empire which a distant nation has erected in foreign climes and amongst a foreign people; that day will see the beginning of the decay of the most wonderful phenomenon in the history of the world, a decay which, though perhaps slow and gradual, will ultimately put an end to the most marvellous product of human virtue, human energy and human civilization. We hope, and we hope with millions, that that day will never come; we pray, and millions join us in the prayer, that the British rule may last, that no foreign aggression or internal disaffection may prevent the fulfilment of its great mission. And there can be no greater guarantee for the life of the British rule in India, than that its origin should be known, the causes of its growth and strength, stability and security be properly understood, its blessings sufficiently appreciated, its duties vigilantly carried out, and its obligations religiously observed.

SYED MAHMOOD.

ART. II.—THE TURKS IN HUNGARY.

THE conflict which was lately raging in South-Eastern Europe between Christian and Musalman, was but one episode in the world-old struggle which has gone on unceasingly in the same regions, and in the countries round about them, between the rival systems, and the hostile nations, of the East and West, between Ormuzd and Ahriman, between light and darkness, between liberty and slavery, between democracy and despotism, between a living hope in the present and a dead faith in the past. From the siege of Troy to the siege of Plevna history repeats the varying tale of the strife between Europe and Asia—

Never ending, still beginning,
Fighting still and still destroying.

It is twenty-four centuries since, at Marathon, the tyrant of the Chersonese proved himself "Freedom's best and bravest friend," and to-day the despot of all the Russias stands forth as the champion of the rights of the down-trodden nationalities.

Macedonian and Persian, Roman and Parthian, Frank and Arab, Byzantine and Ottoman, have by turns held possession of the theatre of war, and the war-cry and the battle-flag have many times changed. Sometimes ambition and lust of sway, sometimes the impetus of national growth, sometimes the fanaticism bred by the contact of opposing faiths, have impelled the rival nations upon each other, and the tide of war has rolled backwards and forwards between the Danube and the Euphrates, from the minarets of Baghdad to the spires of Belgrade. From the earliest dawn of history to the present day, this tide of conquest has ebbed and flowed between Western Asia and Eastern Europe with almost monotonous regularity. The invasions of Darius and Xerxes were avenged by the victories of Alexander. The disciplined legions of Rome carried her eagles to the banks of the Tigris, but they were again and again driven back into Syria by the swarms of the Sassanide cavalry. The early Khalifs and their Arabs led the East to victory again; Africa was for ever severed from European domination, and the farthest kingdoms of the West felt the weight of their arms. Another turn of the tide and the Crusaders are in Jerusalem, the orientals driven from Crete, Sicily and the Iberian peninsula, maintain themselves with difficulty in Africa and on the confines of Asia Minor. The scene changes again, and Batu Khán and his Moguls from the East are trampling Russia under their horses hoofs, while the Ottoman crescent advances from victory to victory till it halts before the ramparts of Vienna. There the tide turns for the last time, and has continued since to ebb Eastwards and Southwards, nor are there any

signs of its staying in its course; on the contrary it continues to flow out more swiftly than ever.

One of the most interesting episodes which this long series of wars presents to the student of history, is the conquest of the kingdom of Hungary by the Ottoman Turks, and its recovery from them by the Germans. Hungary was the most Western State in Europe which was attacked and subjugated by the Osmanlis, and its conquest brought their hitherto victorious empire face to face with a power stronger than itself, the great empire of the West, the Holy Roman Empire, as the old German empire called itself. The Sultán of the invaders, on his part, had assumed the title of Kaiser of Rûm, and claimed the inheritance of the Romans by virtue of his conquest of the City of Constantine. The struggle between these two great monarchies of the East and the West, for the possession of prostrate Hungary, lasted for nearly two hundred years, and was only decided by the modern improvements in the art of war adopted by the Westerns which gave them an overwhelming advantage over their less progressive foes. It is this contrast between the European and Asiatic, the modern and the ancient systems of war, which gives the record of the later campaigns against the Turks in Hungary a peculiar value in the eyes of the student of military history. Here we have not the immortals of Darius or the kushúns of Típu Sultán, physically weak and constitutionally timid, shrinking from the shock of bolder and harder foes. The Turkish soldier was in strength, in physical courage, and in natural aptitude for war, superior to the Swabian or Saxon peasant who shouldered a musket under Augustus or Eugene. The Ottoman armies were always greatly superior in numbers to their antagonists. But the lax discipline prevailing among their soldiery, their ignorance of tactics and, above all, of strategy, more than counterbalanced all their other advantages, and brought their mighty hosts, one after the other, to irretrievable ruin.

It was in the year 1363 that the Hungarians first came into contact with the Ottomans. The rapid and conquering advance of the latter had caused a general uneasiness throughout Christendom, and Hungary, long before she was herself threatened, despatched her chivalry to the aid of the Servians against the common foe. At this time the Slavonic States of Servia, Bosnia and Bulgaria, professing the Greek faith, looked to the Byzantine empire as their political centre; while the kingdoms of Hungary and Poland were united to Western Europe by their profession of the Catholic faith, and their acknowledgment of the Papal supremacy. These political and religious differences were lost sight of in the necessity for combined action against a common danger, but they, unfortunately, reappeared on the first gleam of success, and no sooner was the

immediate dread of subjection to the Sultán removed, than the rival claims of Pope and patriarch changed allies into bitter enemies. The orthodox populations of the Balkan peninsula, compelled to choose between Rome and Islam, preferred the latter, like the sea-beggars of Holland and Zealand, who wore crescents in their caps as a sign that they would rather serve the Turk than the Pope.

But, even had the nations of Eastern and Western Christendom remained firmly and loyally united against the Moslem, it is unlikely that their efforts could have confined him to his Asiatic home. The armies of the Osmanli were then as superior to the forces arrayed against them as the Anglo-Indian army is to the troops of a native State now-a-days. The whirlwind onset of their cavalry, the firm array of the serried ranks of their Janissaries, and a little later on, the moral effect produced by their enormous trains of artillery, had no counterpart in the Christian armies, which relied for success solely on the undisciplined valour and heavy armament of their men-at-arms. The value of infantry was only beginning to be appreciated in Western, and was unknown in Eastern, Europe. The "chivalrous Magyars" were especially a nation of horsemen, and their cavalry was only second to that of the Turks themselves, but all their efforts to stem the tide of conquest proved fruitless. King Sigismund of Hungary organized a regular crusade to drive the Turks back from the line of the Danube, but the crusading army was overwhelmed by Bajazet at Nicopolis. Fifty years later, Murad II appeared before Belgrade, the frontier city and strongest bulwark of Hungary. It was successfully defended by the famous white knight, John Hunyady, who afterwards, in concert with Scander Beg, the champion of Albania, drove the Ottomans back to the Balkans and rescued Servia and Bosnia. A fresh crusade led to the death of king Ladislas of Hungary at the disastrous battle of Varna, and the Ottomans again recovered all that they had lost. Mohammed, the Conqueror, after taking Constantinople, laid siege to Belgrade, to open a way for the Turkish army into Hungary. Old John Hunyady defended the city, and the Conqueror was obliged to raise the siege with the loss of all his artillery and siege equipage, after leaving 40,000 men under the walls. Matthias Corvinus, the son of Hunyady, was elected king of Hungary, and he raised a standing army of Hussars to repel the incursions of the Turks, whose territories were now conterminous with the kingdom. A desultory war was carried on for sometime and some brilliant victories were gained by Hungarian valour. The Turks were for sometime engaged in wars with Persia and in the conquest of Egypt, but on the young Sultán Sulimán ascending the throne in 1520, he made vast preparations for achieving the conquest of Hungary. The following year he set out with a mighty

host and laid siege to Belgrade, which fell into his hands after a gallant resistance, and other strong places in the south of the kingdom were conquered. Having thus secured a base for his future operations, Sulimán turned aside for a time to the conquest of Rhodes, and other enterprises in Asia and Africa.

It was not until 1526 that he found himself at liberty to renew his designs on Hungary. He mustered a mighty host, reckoned at two hundred thousand men, of whom a large number were regular troops. The reduction of Belgrade had left the country open to him, and he marched up the course of the Danube making straight for Buda. The Hungarian militia were mustered in hot haste, but the military resources of the country had been neglected during the long minority of the young king, and appeals for assistance were made in vain to the king of France and the emperor of Germany. King Lewis took the field with only twenty-five thousand men, nearly all cavalry. John Zapolya, the governor of Transylvania, was at the head of a considerable force; but he failed to form a junction with the army of his royal master. His subsequent pretensions to the crown support the accusation that his delay was owing to treachery. Lewis marching from his capital had arrived at Mohacz, a village on the Danube, half-way between Buda and Belgrade. There he was met by the advanced guard of Turkish cavalry which was equal in numbers to the whole Magyar army. There was hot skirmishing, and the loss and annoyance caused to his small force by the incessant attacks of the Turks, and the rash impatience of the Hungarian magnates, led the young king to take the unfortunate step of risking all on a decisive battle.

It was the morning of the destruction of Mohacz. Paul Timoreus, the warlike archbishop of Koloeza, who marshalled the Magyar army, drew them up in alternate bodies of horse and foot, to make the most of their numbers: a chosen troop of horsemen was told off to guard the person of the king. The left of the army rested on the Danube, and the right was appuyed upon the camp, which was surrounded by an improvised fortification of waggons. Opposite, on the plain, the mighty army of Sulimán, tenfold in number, was arrayed in two lines. In the centre of the first line was the dark array of the Janissaries, the lighted matches of their calivers shewing, says the quaint fancy of the Persian historian, like the star-clusters of the milky way on a moonless night: at their head rode their Agha. In front of them, and to right and left, were the ponderous field-guns, immovable from their places till after the close of the battle, when the long teams of oxen might again be yoked to them. The wheels of the guns were linked together by iron chains, forming a barrier against the enemy's horse, while they could be unhooked and dropped in an instant to allow the

Janissaries to charge through the intervals. It was this chain that the hero-king of Irán, Shah Ismail Saffevi, severed with his battleaxe at the battle of Chaldiran, an exploit which has been magnified by Persian tradition into his cleaving the panel of the gate of Constantinople. The sturdy Topjis were around the cannon, "busy at their guns as ants." On the right wing in the first line were the feudal cavalry of Asia, on the left that of Europe; the Beglerbeg with his banner in the rear of the centre of his bands; each Beg, with his rallying standard, at the head of his squadron. The mass of horsemen sways like a stormy sea, with a tossing of plumage and flags, and a rattling of harness and chain armour, and the neighing and trampling of steeds, blending in a hum above which are heard the monotonous notes of the kettledrum, and the hoarse shouts of the Begs and their Cháušhes, as they ride along the ranks vainly trying to marshal the irregular ranks into a straight and unbroken line.

In rear of the Janissaries, occupying the centre of the whole first line, rode the Grand Vazír with his staff, and his standard-bearers carrying his horsetails and standards, and near him was stationed the tabalkhána, or band, whose drums, fifes, and cymbals were to give signal for the battle.

The Sultán himself rode in the centre of the second line, formed at a convenient distance for the support of the first, in a day when field-glasses and army signalling were unknown, and rifled-artillery unfeared. The monarch was surrounded by the officers of his court, by his cháušhes or aides-de-camp, and guarded by his troops of mutafarrika or lifeguards. His companies of bustánjis or footguards were drawn up close by. To the right and left were the paid or regular cavalry, the sipáhis of the red standard on the right and the sipáhis of the yellow standard upon the left, ready if needed to support the charge of the feudal cavalry with their steadier valour.

Behind the second line comes the baggage in a compact mass, the treasure chests under a strong escort of sipáhis, and the rear of the whole is brought up by a Pasha with a strong rear-guard of troops of all arms.

Such was the scene on which a spectator might have gazed that autumn morning on the plain of Mohacz. But not for long. Ever since dawn the Turkish akinji, or light-horse, have been scouring the plain, annoying the Christian ranks with Parthian arrow-shots; and now the activity of the topjis and the loud booming of the great guns, tells that a more serious assault upon their fortitude is begun. But the intention of the Turkish cannoneers is better than their execution. The "far-hissing globes of death" fly harmlessly above the Christian ranks; the topji Bashi misjudged the distance when he planted his guns. The impatient Sultán will

brook no longer delay, and the fierce Zaim and Timariot cavalry in the van are hardly to be kept from breaking their ranks in their eagerness for the fray. Scimitars and battleaxes are rising and falling, and the sharp stirrups are chafing the flanks of the fretting stallions. Now the royal signal has been given; the cháúshes are speeding like lightning over the field, the ends of their turbans streaming to the breeze. A wild wail goes up from the tabalkhána, and with its first sound the war-shout of "Allah" rings through the reverberating air, echoed and re-echoed from two hundred thousand throats until it mingles with the yell of onset. The Janissaries are already running forward, and opening a dropping fire from their calivers as they run; and in an instant, "like bottled whirlwind now at last let loose," the whole of the feudal cavalry of both wings bear down at racing speed upon the enemy. The Begs and their standard-bearers and best mounted men are soon leading, the rest tailing away to the rear; so that each squadron presents the appearance of a wedge with its point to the front, before it reaches the hostile line. Now in go the points of all the wedges almost simultaneously with a fearful crash, with whirling of swords and battleaxes, with the flash and smoke of firearms, with yells and imprecations and all the horrid sounds of combat, and in a minute the horsemen on both sides are mixed in irretrievable confusion, every man fighting as if the issue of the battle depended upon his single arm. But every Christian champion has two or three Musulmans upon him. The Turkish horsemen on the left have turned the Magyar's right wing, and are attacking the camp. Their numbers have forced an entrance, and the king's bodyguard has ridden to save the camp, leaving Lewis alone and unattended. The whole army was so hotly engaged that few could extricate themselves from the carnage to fly. The archbishop, seven bishops, and twenty-eight magnates of Hungary were slain on the spot; a small remnant fled, hotly pursued by the victors. Many days after, an armoured corpse, fished from the muddy waters of a feuny stream which crossed the path of the fliers, was recognised by the jewels in the plume-case of its helmet as that of Lewis, king of Hungary. "This woeful battle," says Knolles, "not sufficiently to be lamented, as the ground of the miseries of that worthy kingdom, was fought on the 29th day of August, in the year 1526."

After the battle, Sulimán marched to Buda and took possession of it without opposition. The whole country submitted to him. He returned to Constantinople in triumph, carrying with him 200,000 Hungarian captives of diverse sex and age to replenish the harems of Istambol, the barracks of the Janissaries, and the row-benches of the Corsair galleys. The Hungarian

magnates who had survived the battle assembled in Presburg and elected Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, brother of the Emperor Charles the fifth, and brother-in-law of the slain king Lewis, to the vacant throne. But Zapolya, the Governor of Transylvania, usurped the monarchy, and he found many of the nobility to stand by him, for there was some prejudice against the occupation of the throne by a foreigner and a German. Zapolya sought and obtained the countenance of Sulimán, acknowledging himself to be the vassal of the Sultán; and, though Ferdinand was willing to purchase the friendship of the Turks on the same degrading terms, his offers to them were scornfully rejected. A war ensued between Ferdinand and Zapolya, in which the former was victorious, and drove his rival out of Hungary into Transylvania. He called on Sulimán for aid, and the Turkish hosts were mustered to drive the Germans out of Hungary. Unusual floods and storms in the spring of 1528 caused the expedition to be deferred for another year, but in 1529 Sulimán set out and marched straight on Buda. The German soldiers in garrison there, believing themselves unable to hold out against so mighty a force, mutinied, and put their commander in arrest, and these surrendered the fortress and city to Sulimán on condition of life and liberty being granted to them. But the Janissaries were wrath at losing the plunder of the town, would have been theirs after a successful assault, as well as the assault-money which was always paid to them for serving on the forlorn-hope. They were therefore much disgusted with the Germans for surrendering without fighting what would have proved an easy conquest, and as the garrison defiled out of the castle between their ranks, they reviled them as cowards. One of the German soldiers struck a Jannisary, who retaliated by cutting him down, and this was the signal for a general massacre, in which the whole garrison perished.

Sulimán installed Zapolya as king in Buda, and then marched on to Vienna. All the strong places on the road were reduced by the Turks or abandoned by their garrisons, and the Sultán soon sat down before the walls of the Austrian capital. Accident delayed the arrival of his battering cannon, and the Turks were forced to carry on operations against the city, principally by mining. Meanwhile forty thousand *akinji*, or irregular horse, under the command of Mikháil Oghli, a descendant of the famous Greek renegade Mikháil Kúsa (Michael of the scanty beard) swept the whole country round with fire and sword, cutting down the fruit-trees and burning the crops, and committing horrid cruelties on the inhabitants. The peasantry, in revenge, burnt alive every Turkish straggler who was so unhappy as to fall into their hands. Sulimán remained two months before Vienna, and repeatedly tried to storm

the town, but the Turks were always repulsed with great slaughter. They at length refused to go forward against the Greeks, though Sulimán even distributed the assault-money to the Janissaries, which was never given but after a successful assault, in the hope of stimulating them to renewed exertions ; but all was in vain, and at last he broke up his camp and returned into Hungary, abandoning all the places he had taken between Vienna and Buda which were soon re-occupied by the Germans

Whilst the siege of Vienna was going on, one of Sulimán's Begs, with a number of volunteers from the cavalry, set off on an excursion into the interior of Germany, and their retreat being cut off, they fought their way southwards into the Venetian territory, and at last reached the Turkish post at Essek on the Drave ; all but three hundred had fallen " martyrs " in the expedition. Their commander, Kasim Beg, received the title of *Ghàzi* for this exploit and afterwards became a Pásha and Begler Beg of Rumelia.

In 1532, Sulimán again led a host of 300,000 men to the invasion of Germany. The report of his designs this time thoroughly frightened the Germans and great preparations were made for his fitting reception. The Emperor, Charles the Fifth, led to the succour of his brother Ferdinand a mighty power of a hundred thousand foot and thirty thousand horse with a huge train of artillery. The rendezvous for the forces was Linz, but they afterwards took up a position to cover Vienna. The terrible Spanish infantry were there, and the Swiss mercenary bands, German lanzknechts, and Italians, Flemings, and Walloons. The order of battle in which the Turks were to be received was carefully rehearsed. The whole of the pikemen in the army were formed into three battalia, which seem to have been immense hollow squares ; the same formation adopted by the Russians against the Turks and Tartars two centuries later, and by Napoleon at the battle of the Pyramids. These battalia were at some distance from each other, and the cavalry was to be drawn up in two divisions in the intervals between the battalia, to neutralise the great superiority of the Turks in cavalry, and prevent their overwhelming the Christian horse by the sheer weight of numbers, and out-flanking and surrounding them as they had done at Mohacz. The Emperor himself commanded the right division of the horse, and the Archduke Ferdinand the left. Twenty thousand arquebusiers were drawn up in line in three bodies, directly in front of the battalia of pikemen. Their lines were formed in five ranks, and it is remarkable that great exception was taken at the time by military men of experience to such a novelty as a line composed of only five ranks. They fired by alternate ranks, the first having re-loaded by the time that the fifth had delivered its fire. If they were oppressed by the enemy they were to retire into the square among the

pikes. The artillery was posted in front of the arquebusiers. The Hungarian horse were to act independently as occasion offered, the swiftness of their horses and lightness of their armament enabling them to keep the field against the Turks. "For, in light skirmishes," says Knolles, "the German horsemen are oftentimes put to the worst, who mounted upon heavy horses fitter for a set battle. can neither so readily charge the enemy, nor pursue him in his flight, as can the Turks with their nimble, ready, light horsemen, so well acquainted with that manner of flying fight, that they would with wheeling about easily frustrate the first charge of the heavy horsemen, and by-and-bye come upon them again with a fresh charge, and so often retire and come on again, until they had either wearied or overthrown them. But the Hungarians, acquainted with that manner of fight as well as they, and also better armed,* did easily encounter the Turks and foil them, although they were in number more."

The eyes of the whole civilised world were bent upon the plains where the great struggle for world-empire between the two greatest monarchs of the age, the emperors of the East and West, was expected to take place. But Sulimán's heart must have failed him; he had seen the soldiers of the West fight at the siege of Vienna, and perhaps he shrank from the conflict. At all events, instead of marching up the course of the Danube, he turned westwards across Hungary and invaded Styria. The little fortress of Gúus, lying in his path, detained his army twenty-five days, and withstood incessant assaults, and at length he raised the siege rather than waste more time under its walls. He took Gratz in Styria, wasted the country, and returned home. Mikháil Oghli and the Akinji bands had, unluckily for themselves, entered Austria to repeat their former devastations. They probably thought that the main army under Sulimán was following them. As soon as it was known that the Sultán had entered Styria, the Christian cavalry was sent off from Vienna and Linz to account for the akinji or "Sackmen" as the Germans called them. They laid their plans so well that they enclosed the marauders and cut them up terribly. They were scattered and hunted down by the troops and peasantry. In the neighbourhood of Siebenstein many of them were forced over a precipice, which still bears the name of the "Turk's fall;" Mikháil Oghli himself

* Knolles alludes to defensive armour. Contemporary Christian writers often allude to the supposed disadvantage the Turks laboured under in not using armour; and speak of the Turk's horsemen being all "naked men" i. e., unarmoured men. At the siege of Vienna the Turks

could not kill a Christian knight whom they had overthrown, not being able to get at him through his armour; nor did they know how to take off his armour. Chain armour was little used by the Turks, and plate armour not at all.

was slain, and his jewelled helmet, with its vulture wings, may now be seen in a museum at Vienna. Very few of the discomfited *akinji* escaped into Styria to join the main army.

For some years an incessant frontier war was carried on, between the Germans and the partisans of Ferdinand on the one hand, and Zapolya, aided by the Turks, on the other. Sulimán, who wished to be free to carry on wars in Persia, concluded a truce with Ferdinand, who himself was nothing loth; but the German captains on the one side, and the Turkish *Sarhad ághás*, or lords of the marches, on the other, observed it only so far as it suited their own convenience. Especially Muhammad Pasha of Belgrade carried on a regular system of incursions into Upper Hungary from the strong *tête du point* of Essek on the Drave. Ferdinand, seeing the Sultán employed far away, thought that he had been misused in the matter of the truce, which tied his hands, when he had an opportunity through the absence of the Sultán of recovering his kingdom of Hungary. He resolved to make a beginning by chastising the insolence of Muhammad Pasha, and forthwith assembled an army of 20,000, to the command of which he appointed John Kazzianer, one of the captains who had successfully defended Vienna. There were some choice Italian companies of arquebusiers among the troops, commanded by an officer called Sodrone. The rest of the foot were Germans. The horse were Germans, Bohemians, and Hungarians. The army was destined for the capture of Essek, and set out in the season of 1537. This expedition thoroughly proved the superiority of the Turkish troops in campaigning and in manœuvring. The enterprise was a miserable failure. From the commencement the commissariat was utterly deficient, and the activity of the Turkish horse made foraging difficult and dangerous. The army, however, arrived before Essek, the Turks steadily refusing battle. The soldiers were starving; frequent councils of war were held. The army left Essek to try and obtain some provisions. The Turks followed it; no provisions were found, and it was decided to make the best of their way back to their own frontiers. They were encumbered with their artillery and with many sick and wounded. The Turks harrassed them incessantly. The line of march was wooded and mountainous, and the Turks, outmarching them, laid ambuscades on the road and seized the passes. On one occasion the Hungarian horse charging, took some field pieces (*falconets*), but the Janissaries, charging in their turn, recovered the guns. It is remarkable that, even in those days of matchlocks and wooden ramrods, cavalry were scarcely expected to cope with musketeers. At length the remnant of the Christian army arrived within a day's march of the Castle of Walpo, which held for king Ferdinand, and where they expected to

find supplies, and a refuge from the assaults of their untiring enemy. But the forest of Walpo lay between them and safety, and it was rumoured that the Turks had felled trees across the road, and laid ambuscades in the wood. A council of war was held, and it was determined to march off at night, secretly and in silence, for Muhammad Pasha and his troops were encamped close by within hearing of what went on in the Christian camp. All the guns and carriages were to be left behind, and the sick and wounded to be carried *en croupe* behind the horsemen. A single trumpet from the general's tent was to give the signal for the start. No sooner had night fallen, however, than the soldiers, eager to be the first in the flight, began, without orders to steal away by whole troops, and many had so left, when Kazzianer, finding out what was going on, and thinking the whole army was dispersing, started off himself, without even thinking of sounding the trumpet-call, so that a few of the cavalry and most of the infantry who were under better discipline than the rest stayed in their bivouac until morning expecting the sound of the trumpet, and when day dawned found themselves deserted by their general and the rest of the army.

Sodrone, who was the senior captain left, encouraged the men, and hamstrung his horse with his own hand to shew them that he was resolved to cast in his lot with them, and exhorted them all to hold together as the only means of reaching Walpo in safety. So they set out, but soon found themselves followed and out-marched by Muhammad's forces, now much superior in number to themselves, the Turkish horse threatening to charge, while the Janissaries sorely galled them with arrows and shot, to which their haste to escape prevented them replying. At last they came to a place where there was a hedge running parallel to the road. The Janissaries and Turkish bowmen, running on before, had lined it, and from its shelter poured so heavy a fire on the infantry that they could no longer keep their ranks, and Sodrone was desperately wounded, and at the same time the Turkish horse from the other side charged and broke in upon them when a general slaughter took place, all who survived being made prisoners. As the Turks feared Sodrone might recover from his wounds, they made sure of him by striking off his head, which they sent to Constantinople to be presented to Sulimán. Kazzianer was disgraced for his misconduct of this campaign, and was tried for his life, but he escaped from prison and took refuge with the Turks. This was one of the most signal successes ever gained by the Turks over the Germans in Hungary, for they destroyed and dispersed the enemy's army, taking all their guns and equipage, with a very trifling loss to themselves. Their success was no doubt partly due to the faults committed by the Christians ;

but their own commander, Muhammad Pasha, by his skill and prudence, contributed much to the successful issue of the campaign.

Ferdinand, having lost his army, and despairing of further success, was desirous of ending the war; and Zapolya was no less weary of it, for the unfortunate Hungarians were the only sufferers by all the raiding and harrying that went on, the Turks, who had no stake in the country, looking on the war as a pastime and source of profit. Ferdinand and Zapolya therefore agreed to conclude a peace, the former consenting to recognise the latter as king of Hungary; but there was a secret article in the treaty by which the kingdom, after the death of Zapolya, who had no children, was to devolve on Ferdinand. This article was to be kept carefully secret from Sulimán; but Ferdinand, in the hope of injuring Zapolya's interest with him, treacherously divulged it to him. Sulimán, who looked on the kingdom of Hungary as his own to do what he liked with, was furious when he heard of it; but divining Ferdinand's motives for letting him into the secret, he dissembled his wrath, and did not alter his behaviour to Zapolya. The latter meantime married a daughter of the king of Poland, and by her had a son, shortly after whose birth he died, leaving the kingdom by will to his son, and commending the infant to the protection of Sulimán, in spite of his compact with Ferdinand.

The latter in vain claimed the kingdom in right of his treaty with Zapolya. Most of the Hungarians rallied round the queen, who proclaimed herself regent during the minority of her son, and called on Sulimán for aid. Ferdinand sent down a German army under the command of Count Roggendorff. They took Pesth and laid siege to Buda. Meanwhile he sent an ambassador to conciliate and offer tribute to the Sultán. But the envoy happening in his address to use the title of Kaiser in speaking of Charles the Fifth, Sulimán flew into a passion and sent him to prison; and despatched orders to the Pashas of Belgrade and Bosnia to march at once to the succour of the queen. They set out with all the forces they could muster, conveying their guns and stores up the stream of the Danube in a flotilla; but the river freezing, their progress was stopped, and they had to encamp on the open plains of Hungary during the whole of a most rigorous winter, during which time the Turkish soldiers suffered the extremity both of cold and want with exemplary fortitude. The Germans had gone into winter-quarters, and in the spring resumed the siege of Buda, but the Turkish Pashas soon arriving to raise the siege, the Germans in their lines were more besieged than besieging.

Experienced officers in vain besought Roggendorff to withdraw the army across the river to Pesth: he obstinately maintained

his ground. Both sides had flotillas in the river; and an incessant war of posts and skirmishes was carried on along the banks, the Turks gradually winning ground, and hemming in the Germans. Suddenly news arrived that Sulimán himself was coming up to Buda with his grand army; and Roggendorff now thought it high time to be gone. On a dark night, the German army began to cross over to Pesth; but the Turks, who always had intelligence of the enemy's movements from Hungarian spies, immediately commenced a general attack by land and water. They set fire to some stacks of forage by the river side, the flames of which made the whole scene as bright as day, and enabled the Turks to direct their guns upon the point of embarkation and the bridge of boats which the Germans had constructed. The latter was soon adrift, and the Turkish flotilla coming up, the stream became almost choked with craft. The Germans in Pesth, on the lookout to receive their own countrymen, seeing the white caps of the Turks in the boats approaching the shore, fled panic-struck; and a few boatloads of Janissaries took possession of the fortress. Some of the Germans escaped in boats up the river to Gran. Among them was their general Roggendorff who had been badly wounded and disabled in the beginning of the rout; many were killed and more drowned, and a thousand were made prisoners. All the camp and stores of the Germans, and nearly 200 pieces of cannon were the Turks' trophies of victory.

Soon after this success Sulimán arrived with his grand army and found the work already accomplished. He bestowed rewards and commendations on the victors, and made Muhammad Pasha of Belgrade, and Beglerbeg of Rumelia. He then held a grand parade of his whole force, when the German prisoners taken in the late battle were brought out bound with ropes, and murdered in cold blood by the Turkish recruits. Knolles relates an instance of the refinement of Turkish cruelty on this occasion.

"Among the prisoners was one soldier of Bavaria, of an exceeding high stature. Him, the Sultán, in despite of the German nation, delivered to a little dwarf (whom his sons made great account of) to be slain, whose head was scarce so high as the knees of the tall captive, with that cruel spite to aggravate the indignity of his death. Whereas that goodly tall man, mangled about the legs a long time by that apish dwarf with his little scimitar, as if it had been in disport, fell down, and was with many feeble blows hardly at last slain by that wretch, still heartened on by others, to satisfy the eyes of the princes beholding it for their sport."

Sulimán now put in force the scheme he had long meditated. His camp lay outside the walls, but the Turkish soldiery used freely to come and go in the city. One day so many Janissaries

were passing and repassing at one of the gates that they made quite a crowd, and lo! suddenly they fell in as if at guard mounting before the guard-house, while sentinels quietly posted themselves on the different beats. At the same time their comrades, who had been lounging in the streets or chaffering at the shops, drew up in military array in the market-place, and a large body of troops marched through the occupied gate into the town. Buda was seized by the Turks thus without a blow: hardly was even a word spoken.

The persons of the queen-regent and the young king having been secured, Sultán Sulimán announced the annexation of Hungary to the Turkish empire, and its division into Pashaliks; while the dethroned son of Zapolya was created tributary prince of Transylvania, to which country he and his mother were sent under escort of a Turkish army. Turkish garrisons were stationed in all the fortresses of Hungary, and the land parcelled out in fiefs for the support of the Turkish cavalry. Sulimán then returned to Constantinople.

No sooner had he gone than Ferdinand sent another army to attempt the conquest of Hungary; but he was again unfortunate in the choice of his general, the Marquis of Brandenburg. The famous Maurice of Saxony served as a volunteer with this expedition: it miscarried like the preceeding ones. After some skirmishing, with varied success, the Germans laid siege to Pesth, which was defended by a weak Turkish garrison, and soon by battery made "a saultable breach;" but the Turks, with great diligence, cut away the rampart inside from the crest of the breach, so that when the stormers topped it, they could not leap down into the place but at the risk of their lives, and stood there, exposed to the galling fire of the arquebusiers and archers of the Turks, who knelt behind breastworks of sandbags on the terreplein, and on the ramparts on each side. The assault failed, and the news of the Sultán's coming to the relief of the place having reached the besiegers, they decamped with precipitation. The Turks were at once on their heels, and a catastrophe, like those which overtook Kazzianer and Roggendorff, was very nearly ensuing, and was only averted by the courage and steadiness of three companies of chosen Italian soldiers who had been lent by the Pope to Ferdinand. It is said that some of the Turks who knew Italian, called out in that language during the fight, telling the Italians, not to sacrifice their gallant lives for the sake of the lazy and cowardly Germans. It is remarkable that, at this time, the Spaniards, Italians and Walloons, as well as the Swiss, were looked on as the best soldiers in Europe, while the military character of the Germans stood very low.

Sulimán had returned to Hungary immediately on hearing

of the danger of Pesth, and he now determined to teach the Germans a lesson. He marched from Buda to Gran which lay on the road to Vienna, a strong castle and city, called by the Turks *Usturghún* (from the Latin name *Strigonium*).

The Turks pushed on the siege briskly, as usual, and one of their gunners knocking the brazen cross off the Cathedral roof by a well-aimed shot, its fall was looked on by both besiegers and besieged as an omen of the fall of the place. The garrison soon agreed to capitulate on condition of their lives being spared, and the Janissaries were admitted at the gates. An unfortunate accident had nearly brought on the usual massacre, for, as the Christian soldiers were commanded to throw down their arms and accoutrements before the Janissaries, who were drawn up to take over charge, one of the soldiers carelessly threw down his arquebus with the match burning, which set fire to the powder in a powder-flask, whereby the heap of weapons was blown all over the place and among the ranks of the Janissaries, who hardly knowing what had happened, began to attack and kill the Christians, but their officers seeing it was an accident, managed to pacify them and saved the lives of most of the garrison.

Sulimán next marched to *Stuhlweissenburg*, another fortified city, which he also took after a desperate siege in which a great slaughter was made of the garrison; for the city was surrounded by marshes and only approached by causeways leading through them, the heads of the causeways being strongly fortified. The Turks confined their attention to one of these fortifications, and though it was almost surrounded by swamps, in a few days their multitudes of men filled the swamp by bringing fascines from the neighbouring woods, and they then gave the assault so suddenly that the Christians had not time to open the great gates at the causeway head which communicated with the city, and the throng of fugitives got jammed in the wicket. There was no escape; numbers leaped into the marsh and there served as targets for the Turkish archers and arquebusiers; the rest were put to the sword. This event so terrified the garrison of the city that they capitulated on condition that the German and Italian soldiers should be allowed to march out with the honours of war. These terms were granted, and, for a wonder, observed by the Turks, who took nothing from them but the horse-pistols which the German reiters carried at their saddle-bows. These had the newly-invented wheel-locks, which much excited the astonishment and admiration of the Turks who had never seen any firearms except matchlocks.

Sulimán left strong garrisons in Gran and *Stuhlweissenburg* (the latter was called by the Turks *Istúli*), to prevent the Germans again

penetrating into the heart of Hungary, and returned home. His lieutenants had meantime taken Funfkischen and other cities in Southern Hungary, and had extended the Turkish frontiers in those quarters to the westward. On the Sultán's departure, the Pasha of Buda continued the war, but without gaining any great success, and in 1562 Ferdinand, weary of the endless and profitless strife, obtained a truce for eight years on the condition of his paying tribute to Sulimán for the part of Hungary which remained in his possession. In 1664 Ferdinand died, and was succeeded in the empire and in the archduchy of Austria by his son Maximilian, whose captains on the frontiers first broke the truce, and the Turkish Pashas not being slow in making reprisals, the border-war began with renewed vigour. The Pasha of Buda was twice repulsed with loss from the walls of Sigeth, and Maximilian, bringing a considerable force into the field, pressed the Turks hard, driving them for refuge into their fortified towns. Transylvania was invaded by a German army from the north, and Sulimán sent an army of Krim Tartars to aid the prince of Transylvania, the first time these wild horsemen had taken part in the wars of Hungary. Their depredations forced the prince to turn his arms against them, and while he was driving these ruinous allies out of his country, the Germans reduced many of his castles and towns. Sulimán with a great army now entered Hungary for the sixth time, and ordering the Pasha of Buda with the forces of Hungary to observe Maximilian's army on the Danube, he himself laid siege to Sigeth, intending to open up the way to enter Austria and turn the flank of the Emperor's position. The story of the heroic defence of Sigeth by Count Zriny, the Leonidas of Hungary, is well known. After holding out with the most heroic constancy and fortitude for seventeen days, against repeated assaults, the garrison, reduced from 2,500 to 600 men, had been driven into the upper castle, the buildings of which were set on fire by the enemy. Zriny seeing that all was lost, put himself at their head and made a desperate sally in which he and nearly all his men were slain fighting like heroes. Some of the Janissaries saved a few of them from the fury of their comrades by putting their own caps upon their heads, a deed of chivalry worthy to be recorded; unhappily there are few such to be found in the records of the Turkish army. Christian writers state that the incredible number of 35,000 Turkish soldiers perished at the siege of Sigeth, but it is evident that, in all the wars with the Turks, the estimates of the strength of his armies and the numbers of his slain, "greatly exceed the reality." Unfortunately the statistics of the Turks themselves are not more trustworthy.

The great Sultán himself expired during the siege of Sigeth.

The concealment of his death from the army, ensured by the truly Turkish expedient of the murder of the physician who attended him, averted the disgrace which would have attached to the Ottoman arms by the abandonment of the siege, and sealed the fate of Zriny and his companions. The Turks repaired Sigeth and put a garrison into it, and the grand army left Hungary to meet the new emperor, Salém II.

The war continued, after a desultory fashion, for two years more. In 1568 Maximilian and Salím agreed to a truce for eight years on the basis of *uti possidetis*, Maximilian to pay the tribute for his half of Hungary, and moreover to pay up all arrears.

After the conclusion of this truce there was a long interval of peace between the German and Ottoman empires, for the truce was renewed in 1575 and again in 1583. Yet the petty war of surprises and raids, in which the Turks took such delight, was kept up fitfully in the debateable ground which lay along the ill-defined frontiers of both empires. The articles of the truce always stipulate that persons who may have paid taxes to the tax-collectors of one empire, should not be required to pay them to those of the other. The state of affairs along the frontier indeed much resembled that obtaining on the borders of England and Scotland during the reigns of the Plantagenet kings. The Turkish province of Hungary extended along both banks of the Danube to a point between Gran and Raab ; comprising about one-third of the kingdom. It was bounded on the east by the principality of Transylvania which was governed by a native prince elected by the assembly of nobles, subject to the confirmation of the election by the Sultán. But, whenever war broke out, the Emperor of Germany used also to lay claim to the suzerainty of Transylvania, and between the Germans and the Turks, and the conflicting claims of rival pretenders to the dignity of Prince, the country had a troubled time of it. It was continually ravaged by the Turkish and Tartar armies in the guise sometimes of friends, sometimes of foes. The Hungarian nation itself was cruelly circumstanced, its high spirited nobles hated both the Turkish and Austrian despotisms and could only find a refuge from one in the other. A large party of the Magyars were Protestants, who were bitterly persecuted by the Austrian Jesuits, while under the rule of the Turks they enjoyed a share of the contemptuous toleration afforded by the Ottomans to all Christian sects.

In race, and in their habits of life, there was a strong affinity between the Magyars, and their Turkish conquerors. The Osmanlis classed the Majár (Magyar) with the Sakláv (Sclavonians) among oriental nations, and did not include them among the hateful Farang. The Hungarian resembled the Turk in his horsemanship, his mode of fighting, his arms and even his dress. The

kalpáh and the long straight upright plume, the curved sabre and the dalimár or pelisse were common to both nations. In the early days of the Turkish occupation, we find the Magyar magnates and the Osmanli Pashas frequently feasting together, but the conversion of their lands into Turkish fiefs, and their churches into Musalman musjids, alienated both the nobles and the priests from the usurpers, and the faith of the Cross was sufficient to turn the scale with the masses, wavering in their allegiance between the German Catholic, and the Turkish Infidel. But for another century-and-a-half their country was destined to be the scene of incessant wars and continual bloodshed as the debateable land between the frontiers of Christendom and Islam.

In 1593 the smouldering flames of war broke out again. The Basha of Buda made a great foray into the Christian lands, but, as he was returning with many captives and great spoil, he fell into an ambuscade and lost nearly all his men. As he had been unsuccessful he was strangled by the Sultán's command for having broken the peace without waiting for orders. The peace once broken, however, was not easy to mend or to keep, and the forces on both sides were mustered for the fray. Hosan Pasha of Bosnia, besieging Sissek on the Unna, was defeated and drowned, but Sultán Murád III sent Sinán Pasha with a great army who avenged his fall by the capture of Sissek.

The Basha of Buda was, however, beaten in a battle fought near Stuhlweissenburg, which so intimidated the Janissaries that they refused to leave their garrisons to assemble for the relief of Filek; and that strong fortress was taken by the Germans, who overran a large part of the Turks' country before the close of the year. During the winter the Emperor Rudolph made great preparations for war, and next spring (1594) his brothers, the Archdukes Matthias and Maximilian, took the field at the head of large and well-appointed armies, wherein many gallant knights from all parts of Christendom served as volunteers. Maximilian drove the Turks out of Croatia; Matthias besieged Gran and had well-nigh taken it, but the Turkish garrison defended it with heroic bravery. The Hungarian peasantry rose in insurrection and cut off the Turks' supplies. The Prince of Transylvania renounced his allegiance to the Sultán and declared for the Emperor.

But Sinán Pasha again entered Hungary with a mighty host and forced Matthias to raise the siege of Gran. He himself then laid siege to Raab, and Matthias encamped in the neighbourhood to interrupt his operations, but Sinán surprised his camp and the Germans were routed with the loss of all their guns and baggage. Raab surrendered, under strong suspicions of treachery on the part of the Governor, Count Hardegg. He was afterwards tried for having delivered up a tenable fortress, provisioned for one year,

and was condemned and executed. Fifty thousand Krim Tartars came through Valachia and Transylvania to join Sinán's army in Hungary, and they pushed their raids to within a few miles of Vienna. They swam the Danube and other broad rivers on horseback, so that the Christians were never safe from their surprises.

The next year, 1595, the Emperor had assembled a splendid army under the Archduke Matthias, who was assisted by Count Mansfeld, one of the best generals of the time. Many fortresses were taken from the Turks, and Gran capitulated after a long and obstinate defence. Count Mansfeld died during the siege. The Germans pushed their incursions up to the walls of Buda, and crossing the Danube took the town of Hatvan by assault, where they committed cruelties on the Turks that shocked the public opinion even of those times. Ripping up women with child and spitting infants on pikes were among the least of the cruelties practised by the Walloons at Hatvan, cruelties which the same troops not long afterwards repeated on the Protestants of Magdeburg. Their captains endeavoured to excuse these excesses by alleging that they were only retaliations for similar deeds inflicted on Christians by the Turks. It is sad to say that the indiscriminate murder of Turkish women and children formed the rule and not the exception at the capture of a town by assault in these savage wars. Sinán Pasha had gone into Transylvania to suppress the revolt there, but he was more than once grievously beaten by Sigismund Bathory, the gallant prince of that country. The Slavonians in the South of Hungary rose in revolt, and the Turks' affairs seemed on every hand to be going to wrack and ruin.

The clamours of his subjects at length stirred the indolent Muhammad III to some exertion, and he took the field, sorely against his will, and entered Hungary with an army of 200,000 men. After mustering his forces at Buda he marched against the Christians in Eastern Hungary and besieged and took Erlau. The Archduke Maximilian, who had succeeded his brother Matthias in the command, hastened to its relief and met the Turks' army returning after its capture. The Christian army numbered thirty-two thousand horse and twenty-eight thousand foot: the Turks were over one hundred thousand. The armies occupied opposite banks of the stream of Ceresztes, which runs through a marshy plain. The advanced guard of the Turks, who had occupied the banks of the rivulet, were driven back upon the main body. Next day the Turks commenced a general attack, but they were repulsed, and the Christians attacked in their turn, "coming on through the marshes," says the Turkish historian Náima, "like an immense herd of swine." They carried all

before them, and had penetrated to the Sultán's tents, when the whole army seems to have dispersed to plunder the Turks' camp, and a sudden counter-attack of the Turks causing a panic among them, they shamefully took to flight, abandoning all they had taken and their own guns and camp to boot. Some say that the panic was caused by the Sultán's household troops, who guarded his pavilion, making a desperate charge upon the Christian spoilers; others that the cry that the treasure chest was in danger rallied the flying Turks; others that the famous Italian renegade, Jaghálazáda, (Cicala's son) charged the disordered victors with a body of horsemen who had been left in reserve. At all events the panic of the Christians was complete and their rout irretrievable; many of their best captains were slain trying to rally their men. The Turks were nearly as much frightened; Muhammad himself and most of his army had fled, and it was some time before their scattered troops could be re-assembled. Jaghálazáda, however, kept possession of the field and of the spoils of victory.

After the battle Muhammad returned to Constantinople to boast of his victory, and the war continued with varying success in Hungary. Hardly a day passed without some border foray or fierce skirmish taking place, but few important events happened. Neither side possessed a large army in the field, and the war was mostly one of sieges.

In 1598 Raab was recovered for the emperor. Some Italian soldiers who had been taken prisoners by the Turks in Raab escaped, and flying to Comorn, told the Governor of that place of the weakness of the Turks' garrison in Raab and of the negligent watch which they kept. He laid a plan for the surprise of the town, and on a dark night blew open one of the gates with a petard and forced his way in. The Turks made a desperate resistance, their women defending the houses and hurling missiles on the assailants from the roofs and windows; but the place was won and the heads of two Turkish Pashas who had been slain in the defence were sent to the Emperor Rudolph at Prague. After this the Archduke Maximilian, now again at the head of a large army, reduced both Gran and Stuhlweissenburg after long sieges and laid siege to Buda, where the Turks forsook the town and retired into the citadel; but the approach of winter compelled the Archduke's army to go into winter-quarters. Next year they resumed their attempt on Buda and took Pesth by surprise; while the Turkish army under Hasan Pasha besieged Stuhlweissenburg. The city was hard pressed, and the soldiers of the garrison became mutinous and compelled the Governor, Count Isolani, to beat a parley, and the terms had been arranged for the garrison's marching out with the honours of war, when the soldiers at the breaches, fearing to be behindhand in the prepara-

tions for departure, left their posts without orders. The Turks and Tartars seeing the walls undefended, also without orders, scaled them, and entering the place commenced a general massacre of the garrison and inhabitants, hardly sparing one of them, and then sacked the town. After this, Hasan Pasha laid siege to Pesth, while the Imperialists were besieging Buda on the other side of the river; but the approach of winter caused both sieges to be raised, and the armies went into winter-quarters within their own frontiers, there being no supplies in the desolated country. The garrisons of Buda and Pesth began cannonading each other across the river, but by mutual agreement soon desisted and agreed to spend the winter in peace; but when the river was frozen over they began to cross on the ice, to surprise each other's posts and cut off each other's supplies, and hostilities were resumed. Next year Hasan Pasha again entering Hungary with a mighty army, the Governor of Pesth, out of fear, shamefully abandoned the town, blowing up the fortifications, and in his flight met reinforcements coming to strengthen him, but it was too late to return. He was thrown into prison by the Emperor for his cowardice. Hasan Pasha afterwards besieged Gran, the recovery of which was the most cherished project of the Turks, but after several assaults had been repulsed, the Janissaries flatly refused to try the fortune of war any more, and, insisting that they had done all that they could be expected to do, compelled the Pasha to raise the siege. The war now assumed a new complexion owing to the general defection of the Transylvanians and Hungarians from the cause of the Emperor, which was brought about by the persecution of the Protestants and the prohibition of their rites; measures introduced by the Emperor at the instigation of the Jesuits, and which soon afterwards brought about the Thirty Years' War in Germany. The Transylvanians who had placed themselves under the protection of the Emperor, revolted from him, and chose as their chief one Stephen Botchkai, who was joined by the malcontent Hungarians, and made himself master of Northern Hungary. He allied himself with the Turks and consented to pay tribute to the Sultán, who in return recognised him as Prince of Transylvania. The Germans, having now lost the aid of the Hungarians, could hardly maintain themselves in the West of the kingdom. The Krim Tartars came in hordes every year and plundered the country to the confines of Germany. Many towns and castles were also delivered over by the treachery of the mercenary garrisons to the Turks. Kanisa was yielded by its commandant, he being bribed thereto. The French and Walloon soldiers in Pappa mutinied for their arrears of pay, and offered to deliver up the town to the Turks at Stuhlweissenburg on payment of a certain sum, of which they received part, and had agreed to take

service under the Sultán, but were prevented by the German army laying regular siege to Pappa. The mutineers defended themselves stoutly, but they being at last overcome, many were slain, and the rest made prisoners, and put to death with most horrid tortures, all the captains and soldiers of the victorious army vying with each other in inventing exquisite torments for men who could betray a Christian town to the Turks and who were therefore looked on as enemies of God. Many barbarous executions of soldiers and captains for treachery or cowardice took place at this time among the Imperialists. But the most infamous instance of the kind happened at the siege of Gran, when it was renewed by the Turks' grand army, under Sardár Pasha. The Emperor was so weakened by the revolt of the Hungarians and by the religious troubles in Germany, and withal so impoverished by the long war, that he had not wherewithal to pay his soldiers, or to entertain new ones, and could not keep a respectable army in the field; so that Sardár Pasha had no interruption to fear when he sat down before Gran with an army of Turks, Tartars, and Hungarian rebels. After some desperate fighting the Turks won the lower town and sprung mines under the walls of the upper town, making a large breach, when the Christian soldiers began clamouring for a surrender, in spite of the exhortations and example of their officers. They at length proceeded to open mutiny, arrested the Governor, Count Dampier, and themselves entered into treaty with the Pasha, who was overjoyed at the prospect of so easily winning the city. The terms were soon agreed upon, and the cowardly mutineers, leaving the guns and military stores to the Turks, marched out with their own arms and baggage, and with the honors of war, "ensigns frilled up and fire in their matches." On their arrival at the Christian head-quarters at Komorn, they were disarmed and the ringleaders arrested and tried. They were sentenced to have their tongues torn out, their right hands cut off and nailed to the gallows, and to be afterwards hanged or beheaded; but the sentences were afterwards commuted to simple beheading.

The fall of Gran removed the chief obstacle to the conclusion of peace, for the Turks had always refused to make terms while it remained in the hands of the Christians; the Ottoman pride not consenting that a place which had ever been Dárul Islám should again remain in the hands of the Giaurs. But the internal dissensions of their empire made them sincerely desirous of peace, and the Emperor was not less eager for it. By the peace or truce of Sitvatorok, concluded in 1606, between the Emperor Rudolph and Sultán Ahmad I, the Turks resigned their claim to tribute for Hungary, and agreed to grant the title of Emperor to the sovereign of Germany. The possessions on both sides

were to remain *in statu quo*, and the truce was to last for twenty years. The relative position of the two combatants, as regarded territory, was almost the same as when the war commenced: it had been waged for fifteen years with hardly any result. Transylvania was to remain tributary to the Sultán. The Krim Tartars and the Hungarian rebels were to be included in the peace.

This peace or truce between the two empires lasted almost fifty years. It was renewed by the Sultán Murad IV and the Emperor Ferdinand II. The Germans were busy with their Thirty Years' War, and the Turks with domestic troubles. Rebellious Pashas and riotous soldiers defied or dethroned successive Sultáns. The degenerate representatives of the House of 'Othmán passed from a prison to a throne only to become the slaves of sensuality and the servants of their own mutinous soldiery.

Meantime the "little war" went on as usual on the Hungarian border marches, not regarded of any body so long as no great power and no field-pieces were employed on either side. The Turks were the most active in this guerilla war. The Janisseries of Buda stoned the Pasha in the streets because he wished to observe the terms of the peace faithfully. When Bethlem Gabor, the Turks' tributary prince of Transylvania, made war on the Emperor in the Protestant cause, and marched to the gates of Kenwa, many Turks served as volunteers with his army. The Emperor had his hands too full to resent these injuries, and the disorders among the Turks prevented them from taking advantage of his weakness. These disorders were rife during the long minority of Sultán Muhammad IV, but they were at last appeased by the conduct and vigour of the Grand Vazír Muhammad Kúpríli. The cessation of domestic broils was at once the signal for foreign war to the restless Osmánlis. George Rakockzy, the prince of Transylvania, was putting forward pretensions which were displeasing to Kúpríli; in the unsettled state of affairs in Hungary a pretext for hostilities was never wanting. A Turkish army invaded Transylvania and defeated Rakockzy. This was the signal for a general war. Rakockzy appealed for aid to the Emperor. The Hungarians revolted against the Turks. The Pasha of Buda was defeated by the rebels. For this he was disgraced, and Seidi Ahmad Pasha was appointed in his room. "The new Governor invaded Transylvania and gave battle," says the Turkish historian, Aoliya Afandi, "to the detested Rakockzy's army." After narrating the defeat of the Christians, he goes on to say: "The white bodies of the infidels were strewed upon the white snow, and the carriages, cannon and tents were sent to Constantinople, where, however, no thanks were voted to Seidi Pasha for the victory, nor was even a well-

done said on the occasion, although it was a victory not less brilliant than that of Erlá by Muhammad III; for Seidi Pasha had no more than eleven thousand men opposed to a hundred and sixty thousand infidels, now inhabitants of hell." Soon afterwards the victorious Seidi Pasha brought "the vile Rakockzy" to battle again at Koljovar. The Transylvanian prince was again defeated and was this time mortally wounded. "He expired," says the Musalman chronicler, "calling out 'Receive me, O Jesus.' Jesus, however, would not receive him, but he was seized by the angel Azráíl. Seidi Pasha carried an immense booty with several thousand heads to Constantinople."

The Transylvanian estate chose a nobleman of the name of Kemeny to succeed Rakockzy, but the Turks set up a rival candidate in the person of Michael Assaffy. The Grand Vazír Kúpríli Muhammad Pasha, took the field in person against Kemeny, and he had already entered Transylvania when he received an imperial khatt-i-sharif informing him of the revolt of Kará Husain Pasha in Anatolia, and summoning him to quell it. "Well done Kará Husain," exclaimed Kúpríli, "to come at this moment to the aid of the Hungarian infidel; may thy end be fortunate!" He, however, left an army of seventy sanjaks (standards) of cavalry and twenty regiments of Janissaries and Topjis under the command of Seidi Pasha, in Transylvania. They defeated and slew Kemeny, proclaimed "the infidel Assaffy Michael" king, and collected the arrears of tribute which had been due for three years. They also carried off with them one hundred thousand captives as slaves. The new Grand Vazír, Fázil Ahmad Pasha Kúpríli Oghli, who succeeded to the seals on his father's death, assembled a great army for the war against Austria, for the German Emperor had espoused the quarrel of the Transylvanians and German forces were besieging the Turkish frontier fortresses: they were forced to abandon their enterprise and concentrate at the approach of the Vazír's army. Ahmad Kúpríli took Varadin, and then, marching up the Danube, he took the city and fortress of Neuhausel. He then marched against the Imperial army which was drawn up on the banks of the Raab, near the monastery of St. Gothard, which gave its name to the battle which followed. The Imperialists were commanded by Count Raymond of Montecuculi, the best tactician of his time, while the Grand Vazír had no real military education. Noble volunteers served in the German ranks, who had thronged to Hungary from all parts of Christendom at the news of a Turkish war, and especially there was a body of 6,000 French horsemen under the Duc de Feuillade. The Turks called him Fúládi, 'the man of steel,' from the cuirasses which he and his men wore. The battle was obstinate and bloody. The Turks, flushed with success, and be-

lieving in the fortune of the Vazír, fought as men assured of victory, but their army was completely out-generalled and out-manceuvred, and many thousands of Moslems, their retreat being cut off, were drowned in the Raab. Their total loss was supposed to be 17,000 men. The French volunteers greatly distinguished themselves, riding down and scattering the Janissaries, the flower of the Turkish army. This battle opened the eyes of Christian Europe to the weakness of the Turkish military power. The Vazír fled to Stuhlweissenburg, whence he sent proposals of peace. The Emperor himself was very desirous of peace, and, to obtain it he consented that the Turks should retain their latest conquests of Varadin and Neuhausel. These were the last conquests made by the Turks in Hungary. The Turkish protégé was also recognised as Prince of Transylvania. This peace, which was signed at Basvar, was to last twenty years.

Turkish Hungary had now attained its utmost limits. It was divided into five provinces: Buda in the centre, Nehausel, the new conquest, in the north-west, Varadin, also a new conquest, in the north-east, Karisa in the south-west, Temeswar in the south-east. Buda had 8 sanjaks, the seats of Sanjak Begs, or lords of the feudal cavalry, Neuhausel had 5, Varadin had 4, Kanisa had 4, Temeswar had 7. These Sanjak Begs had the title of Páshá in these later times and carried one horse-tail. The Páshás, who were governors of each of the five provinces, had two tails, except the Páshá of Buda, who, as Viceroy of the whole country of Hungary, had the style of Vazír and three horse-tails. He had a divan also composed of the Government officials at Buda and the chief officers of the Janissaries, an humble imitation of his great master's divan at Constantinople. As it behoved in a warlike and conquering nation like the Turks, the frontier province, thrust forward like a wedge into the heart of Christendom, enjoyed the highest rank amongst its fellows. The Páshá of Buda ranked above all the Páshás of the empire in Europe, and only next to the Páshás of Baghdád and Cairo in Asia and Africa, and he wore a plume like the Sultáns, but upon the left side of his turban.

The Turkish population in Hungary was not large. The Turks never seem to have thoroughly colonised the country as they colonised the Grecian peninsula. Their immigration appears to have reached its extreme limits in the reign of Sultán Sulimán the Magnificent, who made the first settlements of Turks in Hungary. The chief strength of the Ottomans in the province consisted of the regiments of Janissaries who formed the permanent garrisons of the large fortresses, and who had each a depôt at Constantinople. The men were mostly married and they formed a large proportion of the Turkish inhabitants of the towns.

The "Kirk Bin Kul," or forty thousand slaves as they were generally styled, were at this time the real masters of the Ottoman empire. Though forty thousand was the number supposed to be actually under arms with the kettles, double the number were borne on the rolls. These men who enjoyed the privileges and prestige of Janissaries without serving as soldiers, were called yangichari yamáki, or assistant Janissaries, and were held liable to be called out to fill vacancies in the ranks of those on active service. Their real use was to swell the political faction which the Janissaries dominated, and to enable it to dictate to the rest of the nation. Some of the most famous regiments of Janissaries were quartered in Hungary. The Turnájis (Guards of the Cranes) were quartered at Belgrade. The origin of their name we do not know, but probably they were originally men who assisted the Sultán in his field-sports, for we find other favourite regiments bearing the names of Samsúnjis (guards of the mastiffs) and Zagharjis (guards of the pointers). Dogs of these kinds were led before the Sultán by Janissaries of these regiments at Constantinople in his triumphal processions.

The Janissaries were still armed with the matchlock, arquebus and scimitar, besides a yataghán for cutting off the heads of their fallen enemies. It was remarked, at the battle of St. Gothard, that their armament made it physically impossible for them to sustain the charge of determined cavalry. Still the Turks could not be induced to adopt the pike, nor, later on, the bayonet, as a weapon for infantry. Military science among the Turks had made absolutely no progress since the Sultáns had themselves ceased to take an interest in their army. Sulimán the Magnificent was the last of their monarchs who had made war his pastime. In his time things were different. Knolles writes at the commencement of the seventeenth century: "The Turks can very well learn of us that which is for them profitable, and make use thereof to their own advantage." By the end of the same century their pride and foolishness had made them unable to borrow inventions which were absolutely necessary to military efficiency. The discipline of their Sipáhis and Janissaries had become so relaxed that the officers feared the men more than their men feared them, and they always had to be bribed or cajoled into doing their duty.

The feudal cavalry of the Turks had also degenerated in point of training; but the men, having a stake in the country, had an interest in maintaining good order, and were made use of to curb the license of the Janissaries. The decay of the Turkish military system was as yet hardly suspected

by the nations of Christendom, and the vigorous administration of the two Kúprilis and the general success of their foreign wars, obtained by their own energy, backed by the resources in men and money at their command, had infused afresh a warlike spirit into the Turks. Their old lust of conquest was aroused, and the new Grand Vazír, who had succeeded to the seals on the death of Ahmad Kúprili, was not the man to let it slumber. He was vain, rash, and ambitious; and he found the vast resources of the empire, well husbanded by the Kúprilis, at his own absolute command, for the indolent Sultán interfered as little as possible in public affairs. Events soon offered Kará Mustafá (Black Mustafá) the opportunity for distinction that he eagerly sought.

Austrian encroachments on civil and religious liberty provoked a rebellion against the Emperor's authority in Hungary. It was headed by Emeric Tekeli, a young nobleman whose father had perished on an Austrian scaffold. Despairing of ultimate success he craved aid from the Sultán. The latter, on the advice of Kará Mustafá, afforded it, and promised to him the Emperor's half of Hungary, to hold as a tributary vassal of the Porte, like the Prince of Transylvania. The armistice of Basvar had not yet expired, and there were wise counsellors who urged the Sultán not to put himself in the wrong by breaking the truce, but to wait a couple of years more till its expiration. But Black Mustafá was too impatient for glory and spoil. The Hungarian rebellion and the known unprepared state of Austria offered too favourable a conjunction of affairs, to be passed over: an ambassador sent by the Emperor Leopold to offer any reasonable concessions to avert the storm was insulted and imprisoned. The Vazír of Buda was instructed to assist Tekeli, and the order went forth for a general muster of the forces of the empire at Adrianople. Turks, Tartars, Moors, Arabs, and Mamelukes swelled the numbers at the rendezvous. The Sultán himself was present, and the horsetails were pitched to the north-west of the Imperial pavilion to indicate the direction of the road to Hungary. The total number of the fighting men that were, as we should say in modern parlance, 'mobilised' for the war, reached 275,000. Probably not more than half of these were ever assembled at one time under the Vazír's immediate orders. Sultán Muhammed IV confided the sacred standard of the prophet to Kará Mustafá and saw him set out with his host to the conquest of Germany. This the Turks gave out as their avowed object, and pretended prophecies in Arabic were circulated foretelling the extension of the sway of Islám over the kingdoms of the West. After the defeat at Vienna it was too late to be remembered that the unusual storms which had wrecked the camp

and blown down the banners of the army were the sure signs of the wrath of the Almighty on the perfidious truce-breakers, and the presage of the fulfilment of the curse which Sultán Sulimán had imprecated on any of his descendants who should undertake the enterprise in which he had himself failed.

The Emperor Leopold had only thirty thousand regular soldiers wherewith to meet this formidable invasion. He sent pressing entreaties for assistance to all the Princes of the empire and induced John Sobieski, king of Poland, to join him in a defensive alliance. Poland was under treaty-obligations to the Turks; but the Pope was happy to grant a dispensation from the duty of keeping faith with infidels. The recovery of Kaminiék and the country round about it, which had been wrested from the Poles by Ahmad Kúprili, was a favourite object of Sobieski's, and he prepared to lead an army of 40,000 men to the assistance of the Germans. The Austrian army was under the command of Charles Leopold, Duke of Lorraine, who had learned the art of war under Montecuculi and had fought the Turks at St Gothard: he was a brave soldier and a clever general. He gained some successes over the rebels and the Turks in Hungary and laid siege to Neuhausel, but at the news of the approach of the Vazír's grand army he raised the siege and retired within the Austrian frontiers. Kará Mustafá halted at Essek where he was joined by Tekeli. He then marched on to Raab and laid siege to it. Salím Girái, Khán of the Crimea, joined him with a horde of Tartar horsemen. This remnant of the great Horde then inhabited not only the Crimea but all the coasts of the Black Sea from thence to the mouth of the Danube, a region called by the European geographers of those days Little Tartary, to distinguish it from the great Tartary in Central Asia. They could send a hundred thousand horsemen to serve the Sultán in his wars. Khán Salím Girái was one of the most renowned of his illustrious family, a man of letters and a poet, and an expert soldier in the Turkish acceptation of the term.

Many councils of war were held in the Turks' camp to decide on the plan of the campaign. The Vizír was all for an attempt on Vienna. He imagined, as was natural to an Oriental mind, that the fall of the capital would ensure the fall of the monarchy; but Tekeli and Ibrahim Páshá the Vazír of Buda, who knew the Germans better, earnestly endeavoured to dissuade him. Tekeli wanted first to be put in real possession of his visionary kingdom of Hungary. Ibrahim Páshá spoke in parables and said: "A certain king once put a pile of gold pieces in the centre of a spacious carpet in his hall of audience, and said that whoever could take up the gold without treading on the carpet should have the money for his pains. A wise man took hold of the

corner of the carpet and rolled it up before him, and thus reached the gold. Hungary must be rolled up in like manner before we can reach Vienna with safety. Raab and Comorn should be ours first."

Kára Mustafá, however, rejected these prudent councils. Hoping to take Vienna before a sufficient army could be raised to cover it, he broke up from before Raab and marched straight on the capital. The Duke of Lorraine threw part of his army into the city to reinforce the garrison, and with the rest took up a strong position in the neighbourhood, waiting for his Polish and German allies. The Emperor Leopold and many of the inhabitants left the city and betook themselves into Bavaria for safety. Kará Mustafá sat down before Vienna on the 15th July 1683.

(To be continued).

ART. III.—RECENT INVESTIGATIONS INTO ARCHAIC FORMS OF MARRIAGE.

THERE is scarcely any human institution so important, so universal, and so striking in its features as marriage. Like other institutions whose origin was lost in the obscurity of past ages, marriage in ancient times was everywhere ascribed to some deity, or god-like hero or legislator; the Chinese ascribing it to Tohi, the Hindus to Sweta Ketri, the Egyptians to Menes, and the Greeks to Cecrops. A study of barbarian life, however, teaches us that the institution does not owe its origin to any individual deity or man, that it is one of slow development through different stages of barbarism, presenting in each stage a character peculiar to itself. Difficult as it is to imagine in the present day, it is yet a fact that, in the most rude and archaic stage of human barbarism, the institution of marriage did not exist, and man and woman met promiscuously even like beasts of the forest, while tribes roved about the woods like wild animals. Long, very long after this, when tribes were divided into family groups, marriage was still either a sort of robbery or theft, or a sort of bargain, the strong man taking away a woman by force, or stealing her, or taking her from her "owner," be he father or brother, by simple purchase. And from this stage again it has slowly developed itself into that social and religious institution with which we are familiar.

Montesquieu, Bachofen, McLennan, Sir John Lubbock, and indeed all writers who have thought and written on this subject, agree in thinking that, in the most archaic stage of human barbarism, marriage, in the sense that we understand it, was unknown, and that the system which prevailed was hetairism, or the communal marriage system, according to which all men and women in a community were regarded as equally married to each other. Of the barbarians of the present day there are few or none in this utterly wretched state of rudeness, yet in the obscurity of inland forests we do come across men who present nearly this low stage of civilisation. Dalton, speaking of the wild men in the interior of Borneo, says that they are found living "absolutely in a state of nature, who neither cultivate the ground, nor live in huts, who neither eat rice nor salt, and who do not associate with each other, but rove about some woods like wild beasts! The sexes meet in the jungle, or the man carries away a woman from some company. When the children are old enough to shift for themselves, they usually separate, neither one afterwards thinking of the other. At night they sleep under some large tree the branches of which

hang low. On these they fasten the children in a kind of swing. Around the tree they make a fire to keep off the wild beasts and snakes. They cover themselves with a piece of bark, and in this also they wrap their children: it is soft and warm, but will not keep out the rain. The poor creatures are looked on and treated by the other Dyaks, as wild beasts”*

Similarly, among the Andamanese, a man remains with a woman till the child is born and weaned, and then seeks another companion. In these primitive institutions we distinctly trace the habits of inferior creatures, rather than of civilised man, and the institution of marriage may truly be said not to exist.

How the institution of the union of one man with one woman through life rose out of this chaotic state of disorder, is a question which has puzzled the ablest thinkers. Montesquieu’s theory that “l’obligation naturelle qu’a le pere de nourir les enfants a fait etabli le mariage, que declare celui qui doit remplir cette obligation,” is wholly unsound, for the sense of the natural obligation he speaks of must have come after marriage, and could not have existed before that institution was known. Still more unsound is the theory of Bachofen, that women were shocked with a system of promiscuous intercourse and revolted against it, and established the marriage system with female supremacy. The sense of decorum and shame is entirely the result of education and social condition; and in a state of society which sanctioned communal union no shame could attach to that system.

McLennan’s conjecture, that the communal system was first modified into polyandry which is a sort of communal marriage within the family circle, and then into the civilised marriage system, is plausible. So is the theory of Sir John Lubbock, that, in a state of society in which women were held as the common property of the tribe, exception would be made in the cases of captured women who would be the exclusive property of the warriors capturing them, and that with the progress of society such exclusive possession of women by individual men would be found more convenient than, and would therefore supersede, the more ancient and rude custom of possessing women in common.

Both these processes may have taken place and modified the communal system into the modern system in particular countries and among particular tribes, but, we apprehend, the error of McLennan and Sir John Lubbock, as of other theorists on this subject, consists in believing that these processes or indeed any processes were *universal* in their operation, that the civilised marriage system arose in all countries and among all tribes in the same

* Sir John Lubbock’s “Origin of Civilisation.”

fashion. Undoubtedly, in many countries, the polyandrous system was the intervening link, and very likely in some places the process indicated by Sir John Lubbock was in operation; but different nations and different tribes have acquired civilisation after different methods, and the modifications in the marriage system, too, were not the same in all places. All attempts, therefore, to find out *one* universal process through which communal marriage has been modified into civilised marriage will be futile. All that we can assert on this point is that, as, with the progress of society, tribes which held their grounds and woods in common, found it convenient to split into separate groups and make a corresponding division of property, even so the communal system of marriage, which had answered well enough before, was found inconsistent with a more advanced stage of society, and women were divided also, and appropriated, either by distinct individuals or, by distinct families.

In no two countries, probably, is the history of the rise of proprietary rights the same. Among some tribes who are still barbarous, we find families holding possession of lands separately from other families, while among other races far more civilised, we still find the idea of proprietary right less developed, and lands are held in common by the people of a village and often divided annually, or after fixed periods. Similarly, in no two countries, probably, has the history of tribes splitting into separate groups been the same. Judging from the advanced and civilised institutions of the Hindus, the Jews, and the Romans, the learned and ingenious Sir Henry S. Maine has imagined that the patriarchal system, recognising the father as the head of the family, including wife, children, grandchildren and slaves, was the primitive and universal system all over the world. Yet, as we have already seen, the tribal system, which recognises the tribe as the unit, and knows of no division into families, is more archaic than the patriarchal system; nor have tribes been always modified into the modern family system through the patriarchal system. On the contrary, relationship through the female line is more archaic than through the male line, and still prevails in many barbarous countries; in Australia, and among the Indian tribes of America.

We have been drawn into this argument to shew that a general resemblance in the broad features is all that we can expect in the history of proprietary rights, as well as in the history of the development of family groups among different tribes. Why should we expect a greater uniformity in regard to the rise of the marriage system? All that we can assert about the splitting of tribes into families is, that it was brought about by the progress of civilisation; that in an advanced stage of society man found it

inconvenient to live in herds, as it were, and settled down, therefore, in distinct groups with distinct rights. All that we can state of the rise of the idea of proprietary rights is that, with the advance of civilisation, it was found convenient to make a division of property hitherto held in common, be it annually, or after fixed periods, or permanently. And similarly, all we can state of the rise of the marriage institution is that, with the advance of civilisation, women, who were held in common, and regarded merely as property among rude tribes, were divided, for that measure was found consonant with the advanced state of society, and were appropriated by particular families or particular men. This was not a measure brought about in a day, or decided upon by a common council, but was the result of centuries. Ideas slowly changed, and manners with ideas. This change was in some places brought about through the polyandrous system, in others, in other ways. We find the polyandrous system, or traces of the polyandrous system, prevailing among some comparatively refined races of men, while among some very rude tribes not the faintest trace of that system can be detected, and there is no reason to imagine that such a system ever existed.

Thus, then, with the advance of civilisations, tribes which held their women in common found it convenient to split into separate groups, and divide their lands and property and women also; and so the communal system of marriage was abandoned and was slowly modified into modern systems. We are anxious to shew that, in making this statement, we are laying down no new theory, but merely stating one which can be accepted, and has been accepted, by every thinker on this subject. Thus, Sir John Lubbock holds, as we have already seen, that when women were held in common by tribes, exception was made in the case of captured women, who would be regarded as the exclusive property of the captors; and that in course of time this latter custom superseded the former, and the individual marriage system replaced the system of communal marriages. If we enquire why the one was superseded by the other, Sir John Lubbock answers: Because the individual marriage system was found more convenient, more consonant with the improved state of things of latter days. In other words, he would assign the very reason which we have given. Similarly, McLennan can assign no reason why the communal system was changed into the polyandrous, and polyandrous into the individual marriage system, save that these successive changes were found more and more consonant with civilised manners and life.

We can therefore accept it as a fact, that the primitive marriage system was communal, that in which all women and men in a tribe were regarded as equally married to each other, and that

with the progress of ideas, tribes found it convenient to divide their women, just as they divided their property and split themselves into separate groups. This change was introduced by different methods and through different processes in different places, so that our attempts to trace any uniform process in the change can never be other than bootless.

It follows from the above that, in the earliest stages of human barbarism, relationship would be reckoned through females alone. And as our ideas change very slowly, and races cling to their old institutions long after they have ceased to be useful, we find many barbarous nations (among whom fathers are now considered the heads of families) still recognising relationship through the female line alone. These races have entirely forgotten that more archaic stage of rudeness when the child knew its mother, but could not know its father, and therefore, they can give no reason whatever why relationship among them is still reckoned through the mother alone. The Australians, the inhabitants of many of the Polynesian islands, most of the North and South American Indian tribes, and many other races of barbarians scattered all over the world, still recognise relationship through the female line only. The Australians are divided like other rude races into local tribes, but "on close examination, the tribes are found to be fused and welded together by blood-ties in the most extraordinary manner. According to credible accounts the natives of different tribes, extending over a great portion of the continent, are divided into a few families, and all the members of a family in whatever tribes they may be, bear the same name, as a second or family name. These family names and divisions are perpetuated and spread throughout the country by the operation of two laws; first, that the children of either sex always take the name of the mother, and second, that a man cannot marry a woman of his own family name. Thus, as the Australians are polygamists, and a man often has wives belonging to different families, it is not, in quarrels, uncommon to find the children of the same father arranged against one another; or indeed against their father himself, for by their peculiar law the father can never be a relative of the children".*

Similarly, the American Indians, North and South, were divided into local tribes, but each tribe was again "divided into a number of clans, varying in the several nations from three to eight or ten, the members of which, respectively, were dispersed indiscriminately throughout the whole nation. It has been fully ascertained that the inviolable regulations by which these clans were perpetuated amongst the Southern nations were, first, that no man

* *Primitive Marriage.*

could marry in his own clan, secondly, every child should belong to his or her mother's clan" †

It was probably this circumstance which led Bachofen to suppose that there was a period of female supremacy, when woman had the mastery over man and husbands were the subjects of their wives. This, however, is a very great misconception. Not only did such a state of female supremacy never exist among rude nations, but it is easy to shew that such a state of things *could* never have existed in any low stage of civilisation. Our faculties, mental or physical, are held in higher or lower estimation according as they are useful or otherwise to society in any given stage of civilisation. Intellect, and what we call moral virtues, are held in high esteem because they are useful to society in the present stage of civilisation, while among ruder tribes valour and physical prowess are held in higher esteem, because they are more useful to society, more necessary for the very preservation of the race, than a good memory, ardent affection, or a brilliant fancy. Such being the case, woman, who has always been inferior to man in physical prowess, has always and necessarily been a degraded and despised being in the ruder stages of civilisation. She was tolerated because she was necessary to the preservation of the race, and because she ministered to the pleasures of the other sex, but she always remained and was content to remain his humble slave. The more barbarous the society, the lower is her position, and it is only in advanced stages of civilisation, when faculties such as she possesses begin to have a greater influence on the happiness of society, and therefore rise in estimation, that she, as the possessor of such qualifications, also rises in man's estimation and occupies a more elevated position. The possessor of a keen intellect and tender emotions is despised in a stage of society when her qualifications can further but little the prospects of a race engaged in perpetual wars and depending on warlike virtues for its very existence. But when, with advancing civilisation, man learns the arts of peace, he finds his helpmate's qualifications more and more conducive to his happiness and esteems her accordingly. Relationship by the female line was the first recognised because it was the first possible, but the world has never seen a state of society where woman ruled over man.

It is not necessary for us to crowd our pages with instances of the degraded position of woman in barbarian society. Every reader of modern times is sufficiently familiar with the details of barbarian life to be able to reach numerous instances of such degradation. Among the Australians women are treated with a reckless cruelty which would perfectly surprise a

† *Archaeologia Americana.*

civilised man. They are bought and sold as wives and often captured and stolen; they are mercilessly beaten and speared by their husbands on the slightest provocation; they work hard for their husbands, and yet, while the husband is gorging himself with food, he often scarcely deigns to fling a bone to his wife, although she may be starving. A man with many daughters or sisters is considered rich, as he has so much property to sell. To stun the wife senseless with a blow is a frequent and common occurrence, and to kill her by spearing her through, is not considered cruel, but only an indiscreet act, as the husband thereby loses for ever a property of some value. Nor is it difficult to account for this degraded position of the woman. In the frequent and, indeed, ceaseless tribal wars she can render no assistance, she has no share or hand in a victory, and she cannot do anything to prevent defeat or slavery. All feelings of honor, pride and admiration, cling round acts of valour, or cruelty, or revenge, which can benefit a race; the bold warrior, the dark, cruel, revengeful schemer, the man of wiles, these are the pride of a race. In such a state of continual hostility woman can further but little the true interest of a nation, she is often a burden in times of war, and very often the cause of calamity, for nothing is so fruitful a source of war as the theft of the women of one race by another. Society naturally looks up to those who further its happiness, and looks down on those who do not, and women in Australia are regarded much in the light of beasts of burden, necessary, no doubt, but not entitled to greater care or kindness than is absolutely essential to the preservation of their life.

And such, or nearly such, is the condition of woman all over the barbarian world. All over Africa, among the North and South American Indians, and in most of the Pacific islands, woman is more or less the slave of man. She performs the most tiresome duties habitually, looks on her husband as a superior being, and receives a more or less cruel and discourteous treatment in return for her devotion. Some German patriots fondly imagine that, among their barbarian ancestors, the position of woman was better than even among civilised races, but such outbursts of patriotism are scarcely consistent with truth. Tacitus ridiculed the immoral luxury of Rome in comparison with the simplicity of the barbarous Germans, and for this purpose now and then lent to barbarian life a color which did not legitimately belong to it. But withal, his pencil was a faithful one, and he distinctly states that in Germany men gave themselves up to the noble occupations of drinking, gambling, feuds and hunting, leaving to *slaves and women* the meaner occupation of keeping the cattle and tilling the soil.

Nowhere among barbarians is woman other than a degraded, despised being. It is only with the advance of civilisation which makes war less frequent, and brings on the blessings of a settled, peaceful life, which cultures the human feelings and makes them less and less brutal, that the devotion and tender domestic virtues of woman and her intellectual and emotional gifts are more and more appreciated, because more and more conducive to the happiness of the race; and to woman therefore a higher position in society is accorded.

Among the barbarian races of whom we have just spoken, marriage is generally either sale, or capture, pure and simple, or with some forms superadded, however, which, do not in any way disguise the sale. We have already said that in Australia woman is sold by her "owner," and this is marriage, and a man who has two or three sisters can afford to indulge in the luxury of having two or three wives by giving each sister in exchange for a wife. Throughout the interior of Africa the custom is well nigh the same. The bridegroom must first satisfy the father with a number of presents equivalent to his intended bride, and then, when the real transaction, the purchase, is over, comes the ceremony called marriage. Not unoften there is a great deal of haggling about the value of a woman, the avaricious father pointing to his blooming daughter and expatiating on her beauty and virtues to increase the price. Among American Indians, too, the real transaction is sale, which underlies the ceremony. As may well be imagined, among races continually at war with each other, marriage is as often based on capture as on sale. Wife-stealing is an every-day occurrence in Australia, as we have already stated, and often the same woman is stolen, successively from race to race, and taken further and further from her native country, and while she serves each new lord with the same uncomplaining devotion (she cannot help it) she receives in return from each the same cruel, reckless treatment and blows. All over South America the system of capture is seen in its greatest perfection. The horse Indians of Patagonia, the Oeus or coin-men, the tribes of the Amazon, all make excursions from their homes and return rich in women, and are also subject to similar excursions from neighbours and are often deprived of their wives. The great Caribbean nation were found by Humboldt to depend on capture for their wives to such an extent that among none of the Caribbean races did the two sexes speak the same language.

Thus we find that, among barbarian races, woman is regarded as the property of man, marriage being either capture or sale. It is noticeable that, while among utterly barbarous races who live in continual hostility, capture is more extensively prevalent than sale, among more polished barbarians, who live settled,

56 *Recent Investigations into Archaic, &c.*

peaceful lives, comparatively speaking, sale is the general practice. Thus, among the North American Indians and the Caffres of Africa, capture is less frequent than among the Australians and the South Americans. We should not, however, at once jump at the conclusion that the earliest form of marriage was capture and the next form was sale, for we have just seen that both capture and sale prevail among most barbarians. All that we can say is that capture is more extensively prevalent among the rudest races, while sale prevails more among polished barbarians. In this sense, therefore, capture may be considered the more archaic method of marriage than sale.

This supposition receives confirmation from the fact that, among races with whom marriage is now sale, capture is still symbolised as a marriage ceremony. It is apparent from this that in former times these races depended on capture for their wives, and though that custom, with the advance of civilisation, has been supplanted by sale, yet the invariable practice of ancestors is preserved in symbol. One instance will suffice. Among the Kalmuk Tartars marriage is *de facto* a sale. The terms of the contract are first settled, the price to be paid for the girl to her father is fixed, and when this real transaction, this purchase, is over, then comes the symbol of capture. The bridegroom sets off at horseback with his friends to carry off the bride. A sham resistance is made by the friends of the bride; the bride rides off at full speed, the bridegroom pursues, and captures her, and the marriage is consummated on the spot.

We have seen that, from the earliest stage of utter barbarism with its communal marriage system, man passes into the individual marriage system by slow degrees. With the progress of society men find it convenient to make a division of their property as well as of women, and to settle down in distinct groups or families rather than live in herds. In this second stage of civilisation, if we may so call it, woman is considered the property of man, her father or her brother, and marriage is therefore possible only by sale or capture. We shall now speak of another great transition, which brings man onwards to the third or the last stage of civilisation, by demolishing the idea of property with respect to women, and so once more entirely remodelling the custom of marriage.

With the advance of civilisation the relation between man and woman came to be affected by a hundred different ties, the influence of which was little felt before. She was the mother of his children and the sharer of his happiness and sufferings; she ministered to his domestic happiness and graced his home. She was no longer the mere object of his pleasures, or the necessary creature for perpetuating the race, but she was the intelligent

companion of his life and ministered to his happiness. A hundred tender influences became more and more perceptible and clearly recognised with the advance of civilisation, civilized habits and customs. Woman was more and more esteemed, and the idea of property in a being so esteemed died a natural death. The civilised man might, in an angry fit, dash out the brains of his dog; but to dash out the brains of his wife (a common occurrence among barbarians) was now something more serious. In selling his dog he might still continue to regard the value given as the only thing worth consideration; but in giving away the beloved girl or sister, the father or brother now came to consider the qualifications of the bridegroom, rather than the money he obtained in exchange, the chances of her future happiness, rather than the profit she brought him. Thus, as ideas were reformed in the course of long ages, marriage, which was before either sale or capture, became a civilised, voluntary union, the object of which was the happiness of both. And this is modern marriage. Yet the primitive forms of marriage cannot be altogether ignored, and sale, or capture, or both, are still preserved, but as symbols only, among most of the civilised nations in the world. McLennan has pointed out how universally the form of capture is preserved symbolically in civilised countries up to the present day, and Sir H. S. Maine has shewn from a philosophical study of the Roman law that the marriage ceremony of ancient Rome was but a modification of the ceremony of sale. And this was true not only of Rome, but of most of the ancient nations. Sale and capture were obsolete after woman had ceased to be considered the property of man; but what was fact before, became symbol afterwards, for we always continue to stick to forms long after they have ceased to be useful or have any significance. These symbols have their uses, and symbolical capture and symbolical sale in modern marriages point to an ancient fact of actual sale or capture which is verified by a study of the life of modern barbarians.

Thus, then, we find that the institution of marriage has passed through distinct stages. The first is the stage of the communa marriage system, when all men and all women in a tribe are considered as equally married to one another, and children are the children of the tribe. The wild men in the interior of Borneo and the inhabitants of the Andamans present a state of society nearly resembling the above.

With the advance of civilisation tribes split into families, and divide their property as well as their women, and thus is developed the second stage in the history of marriage. In this stage woman is considered the property of man, and marriage is only possible either by capture or by sale. The former is more archaic than the latter, and we have recorded one instance where marriage is

de facto sale, and capture has passed into a symbol. The Australians and many of the wild tribes in the interior of Africa and America belong to this stage.

With a further advance of civilisation the ideas of proprietary right with regard to women die a natural death, and the third stage of the marriage system is developed. Marriage is then considered a voluntary union for the happiness of both man and woman, and sale as well as capture have now both passed into symbols, or are lost sight of altogether. The ancient civilised nations, as well as modern Europe and civilised America, belong to this stage.

Such are the results of modern investigations into the archaic forms of marriage, and we cannot better conclude this paper than by asking ourselves how far these results are confirmed by the annals of Ancient India. The literature of Ancient India is fruitful of suggestions to the philosophical enquirer, and even the recollections of ancient systems of marriage such as no other civilised nation possesses, have been curiously enough interwoven in the story of more modern society recorded in the great epics of the Sanscrit language. The anachronism is so marked that it cannot be mistaken. The *Mahábhárata*, for instance, describes a civilised state of society in which the arts of war and peace, and laws, manners and customs, had attained a high degree of civilisation. But, in the midst of this picture of a comparatively modern age, we find, in the traditions clinging round the heroes and heroines themselves, distinct evidences of an anterior date. What took place therefore, is apparent. The story of the Pandavas and the Kurus is of a very ancient date, handed down from generation to generation; and when the writers of a later and more civilised age framed an epic out of it, they tried their best to explain away some customs about marriage belonging to the anterior age but obsolete in that in which the epic was written. Satyabati, the mother of Bichitrabirya bore, when she was yet unmarried, another son, the illustrious Vyasa, the issue of an illegitimate intimacy with Parasara, and this was not looked upon as a sin. Bichitrabirya left no son, and it was perfectly legitimate for his step-brother, Vyasa, to beget children by his widow Amba, and Dhritarastra and Pandu were thus considered the children of Bichitrabirya, though begotten by Vyasa. Pandu married Kunti, a lady who had given birth to a son Karna, through an intimacy with Surya, while she was yet unmarried. After her marriage she found her husband Pandu prevented by a curse from having any intercourse with her, and she was allowed to have three sons begotten by three deities, while Madri, the other wife of Pandu, had also two sons similarly begotten. And all these five sons passed for the sons of Pandu. And lastly, we find all these five brothers marrying

one wife, a strange anachronism in the annals of civilised Aryans. It would be unphilosophical to refer all this to the vagaries of a poet's imagination; a poet never invents anything which makes his heroine contemptible in the eyes of his readers. No; these are but the ancient recollections of the civilised Aryans, which, true to their conservatism, they have not let die, but have preserved even in the midst of their later and more refined story of civilised life.

The *Ramayana* presents us with no such traces with regard to the Aryans, but shews that, among the aborigines of Southern India, there prevailed the sort of polyandry by which the younger brother succeeded to the estate and to the hand of the widow of the elder. Sugriba succeeded to the estate of his deceased brother and to the hand of his widow, and Bibhisana similarly succeeded his elder brother Rahana in the kingdom of Ceylon and married his widow.

We pass from these indefinite traditions to more tangible evidence, and we shall now examine the eight forms of marriage prescribed by Manu. We quote from Sir William Jones' translation.

"(27.) The gift of a daughter, clothed only with a single robe, to a man learned in the *Veda*, whom her father voluntarily invites and respectfully receives, is the nuptial rite called *Brahma*.

"(28.) The rite which sages call *Daiva* is the gift of a daughter whom her father has decked in gay attire, when the sacrifice has already begun, to the officiating priest who performs that act of religion.

"(29) When the father gives his daughter away after having received from the bridegroom one pair of kine or two pairs for uses prescribed by law, that marriage is called *Arsha*.

"(30) The nuptial rite called *Praja Pátya* is when the father gives away his daughter with due honor, saying distinctly; 'May both of you perform together your civil and religious duties.'

"(31) When the bridegroom, having given as much wealth as he can afford to the father and paternal kinsman, and to the damsel herself, takes her voluntarily as his bride, that marriage is named *Asura*.

"(32) The reciprocal connexion of a youth and a damsel with mutual desire, is the marriage denominated *Gandharva*, contracted for the purpose of embraces and proceeding from sensual inclination.

"(33) The seizure of a maiden by force from her house, while she weeps and calls for assistance, after her kinsman and friends have been slain in battle or wounded and the houses broken open, is the marriage styled *Racshasa*.

"(34) When the lover secretly embraces the damsel, either sleeping or flushed with strong liquor, or disordered in her intellect, that sinful marriage called *Paisacha*, is the eighth and the basest." (*Manu's Institutes*, Chap. III.)

It will be seen that what is virtually only rape or elopement, is considered by the legislator not one of the offences to be punished, but one of the *forms of marriage*. And though Manu condemns these forms, yet he distinctly says: "Let mankind know that the first six in direct order are by some held valid in the case of a priest; the four last in that of a warrior; and the same four, except the *Rakshasa marriage*, in the case of a merchant and a man of the servile class." It is evident therefore that, though Manu condemns the last two forms of marriage, yet in stages of Indian civilisation previous to that in which he lived, even those two were considered valid forms of marriage. What, then, is the solution of Manu's eight forms of marriage? Reverse the order and you will read in these eight forms the history of the progress of the marriage system from barbarous to civilised times! True to their conservatism, the Hindus have not let the recollections of past institutions die; they have kept them embalmed in their codes, though, having adopted better and more civilised forms now, they look down upon, and condemn, the old and archaic.

The Hindus were too long civilised to have any recollection of the communal system of marriage which we have described as the first and most ancient system. The next, we have stated, is that in which woman is considered the property of man, and capture and sale are the only possible forms of marriage, the former being older than the latter. Reversing Manu's order we find *Paisacha* (34), *Rakshasa* (33), and *Gandharva* (32) to be but different modes of capture, the first two being forms in which the girl's consent is not consulted, the third a form in which she is stolen away from her "owners," with her consent. Going higher up we find, in the forms *Asura* (31) and *Arsha* (29), only different modes of sale, the "owner" selling his girl to the purchaser, who is her husband, at a higher or lower price. And, going still higher up, we find in the *Prajapatya* (30), *Daiva* (28), and the *Brahma* (27) forms of marriage, the modern institution, which is a voluntary union for the happiness of both.

We have in the present paper attempted to ascertain, from a study of barbarian life, the history of the rise and progress of the marriage institution. Do we not find the whole history imbedded in the recorded recollections of the civilised Hindus?

ART IV.—MISTS AND ROCKS OF INDIAN POLITICS. (*Independent Section.*)

IT is my object to write critically, but loyally, touching certain details of Indian politics and progress, which I have carefully studied for some years, and to dwell, so long as editor and public are satisfied, first, upon the mists or fogs, many of them our own creation, through which the ship of the State has to be steered; secondly, upon the rocks or perils which loom ahead, and on which we may be drifting.

It is true, the facts of Indian politics cannot be so definitely demarcated into delusions and dangers, as the above features of nature are broadly distinguished from each other. For instance, self-interest or self-conceit blinds us, no doubt, to the value of native services in administrative spheres, civil and military, from which they are now excluded. At first it only conceals from us our own errors; it becomes afterwards a direct and active element of unpopularity; it is in fact, both a mist and a rock.

Confusion of symbols would in fact be inevitable if I were to follow the parallel out exactly, but the metaphor is rather intended to afford a purview of the general aim, than to help in working out a logical division of Indian phenomena into causes and effects.

In beginning a work, which will be nothing if not critical, I wish if possible to conciliate or, at least, to soften, the antipathy which an official class, and especially an alien official class, must always feel for those who bring their shortcomings to notice.

There is no argument like necessity. If I can show that certain reforms must be carried out, if we are to remain a loyal and prosperous *integer* of the British empire, I know I shall receive a fair hearing; and I think the best way to prove the necessity of these reforms is to show how it happened that a great State, with whose mournful history we are familiar, suffered under the same evils, was blinded by the same delusions, and was wrecked on the very rocks on which the breakers may now be heard from our own decks.

Further, I think, I may partly relieve myself in the opinion of some from the charge of picking out particular errors in Indian administration and thence impeaching the system, by exhibiting the remarkable parallel which exists between the Indian polity, social, fiscal, administrative, and that which prevailed in France before the Revolution. I hope thus to conciliate public opinion, for whatever tended to the establishment of a republic must be reprobated by all true Englishmen. I write

for busy men, and will sacrifice all literary aim to terseness and condensation. I borrow from De Tocqueville's *France, before the Revolution of 1789*. First, touching the Government. In most cases, I will merely quote the Frenchman, as the parallel will be apparent enough. "In the centre of the kingdom there had gradually been formed an administrative body of extraordinary authority close to the throne. It possessed, moreover, as a council of State subject to the pleasure of the king, a legislative power; it fixed and assessed the taxes. As the superior administrative board, it had to frame the general regulations which were to direct the agents of Government. From that centre was derived the movement which set everything in motion. The council was not composed of men of rank, but of persons of middling or even low extraction, former intendants, and other men of that class." So much for the executive supreme council of India or France.

"The central administration had a single agent in each province, nobles were still to be found bearing the title of Governor of Province" (nawabs, nazims, rajas). "They were the ancient and often the hereditary representatives of feudal royalty; honors were still bestowed upon them, but they no longer had any powers; the intendant was in possession of the whole reality of Government. The intendant was a man of humble extraction, always a *stranger to the province* and a young man who had *his fortune to make*; he was called in the administrative language of the time, a 'detached commissioner'. He was at once administrator and judge, he was the sole agent of all the measures of Government." In Oudh he is called a "deputy commissioner," elsewhere a magistrate and collector. "Below him in each canton was placed an officer nominated by himself and removeable at will, called the sub-delegate. The intendant was very commonly a newly-created noble" (that is, a C.S. or, perhaps a C. S. J.); "the sub-delegate was always a plebeian" (tehsildars are always natives). "He nevertheless *represented the entire Government* in the space assigned to him."

As for Public works: "All the great roads and even the cross-roads leading from one town to another were made and kept up at the cost of the public revenue. The sub-delegate got together the compulsory laborers who were to execute them; the care of the bye-roads was alone left to the old local authorities, and they became impassable." As for the famine department we read: "No single being was any longer compelled by law to take care of the poor in the rural districts, and the central Government had *boldly undertaken* to provide for their wants by its own resources." "In times of scarcity the intendant caused corn or rice to be distributed among the people." "The council annually issued ordinances for places

where the poorer among the peasantry found work at low wages; alms thus bestowed from a distance were indiscriminate, capricious, and always *very inadequate*."

"Further, the central Government undertook to teach the peasantry the art of enriching themselves. It caused the distribution of *small pamphlets* upon the science of agriculture by its intendants and their sub-delegates, offered prizes, and kept up, at a great expense, nursery grounds, of which it distributed the produce.

"It would seem to have been more wise to have lightened the weight and modified the inequality of the burdens which then oppressed agriculture, but such an idea never seems to have occurred."

"The towns could neither *establish an octroi*, nor sell, nor sue, nor administer their property, nor even employ their own surplus revenues without an order in council, made on the report of the intendant. All their public works were executed on plans and estimates approved of by the council, generally by engineers of the State. The Government was always consulted; it regulated public festivities, caused salutes to be fired and *houses to be illuminated*."

"The officials were clever men in their profession, thoroughly possessed in all the details of administration, but, in the great science of government, which teaches the *comprehension of the general movement of society*, the appreciation of what is passing in *the mind of the masses*, and the foreknowledge of the probable results, they were just as much novices as the people itself." As for taxation. "In Languedoc the tax was on real property; its fixed and known base was a survey which had been carefully made and was renewed *every thirty years*, and in which the lands were divided according to their fertility into *three classes*."

Another point of resemblance will arouse painful reminiscences in Indian officials. "The Comptroller-General gradually took upon himself all the affairs that had any thing to do with money, that is to say, almost the whole administration."

Some allege that the Financial Department in India is similarly assuming authority; that they have recently seen questions referred to it, such as the propriety of a judge's proceedings as a judge, the literary and utilitarian merit of a gazetteer. It is possible that this department will soon not advise, but decide, and partly from a rupee point of view, such matters as the elevation of the native civil service, permanent settlement, armament of native troops, retention of salt-duties, the existence or otherwise of a famine. In one matter the state of things in provinces like Oudh is more backward than France exhibited.

"The judicial administration of the old monarchy was complicated, troublesome, tedious, and expensive, but servility towards

the Government was not to be met with there, that servility which is but another form of venality, and the worst form. The judges *could not be removed*, and they sought *no promotion, two things alike necessary to their independence*, for what matters it that a judge cannot be coerced if there are a thousand means of seduction ?”

The French monarchy, said the Parliament of Paris, would be “reduced to a despotism, if ministers could dispose of the judicature itself by partial exile or by the *arbitrary translation of judges*,” that is, by sending an officer to Basti, Banda, or Sultanpur.

“In France there was a standing antagonism between the judicial and executive bodies when the ordinary tribunal allowed proceedings to be instituted against any officer. An order in council usually intervened to withdraw the accused persons from the jurisdiction, for, said a councillor of state, a public officer thus attacked would have had to encounter an adverse prepossession in the minds of the ordinary judges.”

A similar proposal, on similar grounds, was made in 1877 to withdraw all cases against officials from native *munsiffs* in Bengal ; it was supported by a majority of the civilians in the executive council, and disallowed by the casting vote of the Viceroy.

A curious check upon arbitrary power in France had been furnished by its own vices. All the judicial appointments were regularly sold, and those who bought them retained them for life. Therefore, “As the king was almost entirely powerless in relation to the judges of the land, as he could neither dismiss them nor translate them, nor even for the most part promote them, their independence soon proved embarrassing to the crown.”

In India, on the other hand, such are the innumerable changes and chances of promotion and transfer, that the judges are not likely to offer any factious opposition to the executive which can make or mar them. A judicial officer could be named who during eighteen months of 1877-78, has been actually transferred to, or ordered to, five different districts, at distances up to 300 miles from each other. Further, he has either actually received, or been informed on authority that he was to receive, the following different scales of pay in rupees per mensem : 439, 800, 1,133, 1,200, 500, 833, 1,833, 1,000, 1,200. He is not without hopes of still further bettering his condition by the favor of Government, and it is not likely that, in his judicial capacity, he would rush into offensive criticisms of his patron. Still all officers cannot be trusted, and on many occasions in India we find the French system reproduced.

“The Council continually intervened, by way of what was termed evocation, or the calling up to its own superior jurisdiction

from the hands of ordinary officers of justice, suits in which the administration of the State had an interest," for, said an intendant, "an ordinary judge is subject to fixed rules which compel him to punish any transgression of the law." Let us look at India. In the first place, in all serious cases against Europeans, the governing class can only be tried by special officers. There are some hundreds of native judges in Oudh; some of them have been empowered to decide civil cases involving £10,000 or more; but not one is a J. P., so not one can try a European even for a petty assault.

Further, whenever any important case affecting Government is to be tried, the ordinary tribunal is generally superseded. The most curious parallels sometimes occur. DeTocqueville reports: "A mounted overseer of the board of public works, whose business was to direct the forced labor of the peasantry, was prosecuted by a peasant whom he had ill-treated. The council evoked the cause, and the Chief Engineer of the district, writing confidentially to the intendant, said: 'It is quite true that the overseer is greatly to blame, but that is not a reason for allowing the case to follow the ordinary jurisdiction.'"

While I write, several cases against an overseer of Public Works, for flogging peasants and subordinates, have been transferred from the ordinary tribunal to another, settled by that tribunal, and again taken up under Government orders, and investigated, but *not judicially*. Every case of note which I can remember, which had even "an almost imperceptible connexion with any subject of administrative interest," as De Tocqueville says, has been transferred from the ordinary tribunal. "Specially selected judges tried the Williams' libel case; the Surat cases; the attempt to murder the Bareilly judge; the Wahabis; Surendra Nath Banerjee.

There is always some reason for the selection: superior men, free from local prejudices, are chosen. For instance, all three men who were concerned in the trial of the Patna Wahabis, have been promoted to very high honors—the public prosecutor, the committing magistrate, the judge.

The fact remains, that the ordinary tribunals are superseded. This happens also in entire classes of cases. Whoever, either on the stage or through the press, uttered any thing of a "scandalous or defamatory nature," or likely to excite feelings of disaffection to Government, was to be punished by the executive. Two different laws in 1876 and 1878 were passed to remove such cases from the ordinary tribunal.

Again, in 1877, a special procedure and punishment were ordered for "mobs who disputed about prices with bunyas," and "showed a more or less turbulent spirit." The local authorities, tehsildars, could not generally inflict the punishment ordered, 30 lashes, and

so cases were transferred. Similarly, writes De Tocqueville : "Most of the riots so frequently caused by the high price of corn gave rise to transfers of jurisdiction of this nature."

Sir James Stephen, it is true, asks boldly : "Does any one doubt that, as a fact, Indian judges are absolutely independent in the sense of being perfectly impartial between the Government of India and private persons?" I assert that a large proportion of the judges of India are not only exposed to a "thousand modes of seduction," but that they are often admonished by high executive authority to decide cases as Government would wish. I have before me, as I write, numerous proofs of this, either remonstrances after cases were concluded, or illegal reopenings of decided cases, or intercession for official criminals when cases were pending, or transfers of cases to other courts. The motive being not only a care for Government interests or credit, in prosecution of officials, or for breaches of salt law, but simply the general wish that police prosecutions should be successful, with this result, that every officer trying a criminal case knows that his executive patron is anxious for plenty of convictions.

No doubt the above administrative measures are more or less necessary, but the fact remains that our tribunals are not independent either of the promises or of the menaces of the State, and one important security for the public weal which was present in France is absent in India.

Statistics were in vogue then, as now.

"The Comptroller-General required reports upon the nature of the soil, the quality and quantity of the produce, the number of cattle, the occupation of the inhabitants. The information thus obtained was neither less circumstantial, nor more accurate than that afforded at the present day."

"Official language is colorless, flowing, vague, and feeble. An ordinary phrase was, 'we are ready to show submission to, all the commands of your greatness,' just as *huzur ku hukum* is addressed to the Commissioner, or his deputy, in India.

Of Indian official style Sir James Mackintosh remarks : "Indian placemen's compositions are stately and evasive ; frankness is dreaded as imprudent, and nothing but adulation is bold. This is the style of India, and it must be owned there cannot be a worse."

The rich were invited to subscribe to public objects. "If the sum offered was sufficient, the Comptroller-General wrote on the margin of the list of contributions, 'Good, express satisfaction,' but if the sum was considerable, he wrote, 'good, express satisfaction and sensibility'." The bureaucratic idea in India was, as expressed by the Chief Commissioner of Oudh, that "the tenant with no motive for exertion would be idle," if moderate rents were fixed. The intendants of France

"continually reported that the tenants are naturally lazy, and would not work unless forced to do so in order to live." In India they are even worse, for not even in order to live will they walk to the relief-works.

I note a minor matter; jealousy about precedence was then as common as now. "It has just been decided that holy water is to be offered to the magistrates before it is offered to the corporation." Holy water is represented at Indian durbars by *attar* and *pan*. "Again, the eagerness with which the townspeople of the middle-class sought to obtain these places under Government was really unparalleled." The universal passion for places was made to penetrate to the bowels of the nation, where it became the common source of *revolution and of servitude*." So much about the system of Government, and the officials.

As regards the different classes of the people, and first the nobles :

They had no authority left. "A superior power had relieved them from the care of protecting, of directing, of assisting, their vassals; but as that power had left them in the full enjoyment of their pecuniary rights and their honorary privileges; as they still marched first, they thought that they were leading. They still had about them men whom, in the language of the law, they called their subjects (*ryots*), but in reality they were alone, and when those very classes rose against them, flight was their only resource."

"They imagined that they should preserve their rank while they evaded their duties, but *an invisible malady* appeared to have infected their condition. The seignorial jurisdiction had been cut down, limited, subdued. Such had been the fate of all the peculiar rights of the French nobility; the political element had disappeared, the pecuniary element alone remained, and in some instances had been largely increased."

"The feudal rights were of great number, of amazing diversity. Everywhere seigneurs levied duties on fairs and markets. A very universal and onerous seignorial right was that of the fine, called *lods et venter*, paid to the lord every time lands were bought or sold within the boundary of his manor.

"All over the country the land was burdened with quit rents, rent charges, or dues in money, or in kind, due to the lord from the copy-holder. Under all these differences one common feature may be traced. All these rights were more or less connected with the soil or its produce; they all bore upon him who cultivated it."

Be it remembered the man who thus denounces feudal exactions, their heavy pressure upon the people, the blindness of the chiefs themselves, was himself one of the men whom he reproaches, educated among them, steeped in their prejudices.

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Similarly, in after times, some descendant of an Oudh taluqdar or the Bengal babu, may denounce the oppression of his class-fellows, and will relate how they and the English Government leaped hand in hand into the dark, when on the very verge of an abyss which they never dreamed of.

In the unpublished volume of the *Oudh Gazetteer*, page 120-121, may be found the following remarks on the precisely identical state of things in Oudh, to which every word of the above description is applicable.

"Public order, police, and a rough criminal jurisdiction were attached to the Raja's rule not by law, but of necessity, and the mutual dependence between him and the ryot exactly answered to the reciprocity of allegiance and protection which has been formulated in European constitutions."

Now, the lord is a mere landowner. He has discharged his forces, given up his cannon; Government fulfils his functions as the guardian of the peace, he merely sits at the receipt of custom. Far from being required to protect his tenant from outsiders, he does not even need baliff or process-servers to exact his own dues, the Courts supply him with these instruments of order.

He still continues to demand his rent, although he gives comparatively nothing in return. He has not the opportunity of performing services to his tenantry; he cannot appear as their champion or protector from armed marauders. Such evils do not exist under English rule. The Raja no doubt feels that the nobler part of his role can no longer be played. The nobles have immense power of extortion and oppression, the result of a fierce competition for land, of which the feudal lords practically hold a monopoly. In fact their power is greater than formerly, although exercised through other instruments.

It is not the fear of the sword, or the lash, or the red-hot ramrod, or the bag of pepper, it is the dread of eviction, of starvation, of banishment from the old home, it is the spectre of the jail, with which the feudal lord now rules. His power is as great as ever but it has meaner developments. Again:—

"The system of taxation enforced by, it is hoped, only a few of the taluqdars, includes a fee on each marriage, on every sale of a cow or a goat; another, on every animal grazed on the estate, even within the village boundaries; a tax on ploughs; another on every village for the right to use the Government matchlocks lent to keep down the wild animals; another fee on the birth of each child; a tax of four rupees on each grave; another, nominally a charge for weighing, but really a tax upon

sales of grain, cloth, &c. Besides these, twice a year, at certain festivities, every resident presented money-offerings. The *chamar* gave shoes, the weaver a roll of cloth, each householder a hearth tax or *parjout*, each trader transit duties; a fourth of the price is levied for the lord on each sale of a house or grave."

The parallel is complete, but it may be worked out still further. In India and in France caste was supreme, the nobles of France were just as exclusive as the Kshatri and Seyud baron of Oudh. "It will be sufficient to remark," says De Tocqueville, "that during the middle ages the nobility had become a caste, that is to say, that its distinctive mark was birth. In England, on the contrary, the system of caste had been not only modified but effectually destroyed, the nobility and the middle-classes in England followed the same business, embraced the same professions, and, what is far more significant, intermarried with each other."

"In spite of its privileges the nobility is ruined and wasted day by day, and the middle-classes get possession of their large fortune," that is the banyans acquired the baronies both in India and France.

Caste was rigid even in social matters. Arthur Young, in France, wished to converse with some of the best farmers. His host, a French Duke, ordered his steward to collect the information.

"At an English nobleman's house there would have been three or four farmers asked to meet me, who would have dined with the family. I have had this at least a hundred times in the first houses of our islands."

In the same way, an Indian baron, who knows little about farming, would order his *karinda* to send a *kaifyat* to any inquisitive Englishman.

As for the mass of the people in feudal France, I have already quoted from DeTocqueville. As to their connexion with public works, with famines, I may add a few more features, all identical with what are found in Oudh.

"The peasantry were no longer the subjects of the gentry the gentry were not yet the fellow-citizens of the peasantry, a state of things unparalleled in history. This gave rise to a sort of *absenteeism of feeling*, even more frequent and effectual than absenteeism properly so called.

The peasant was thus almost entirely separated from the upper classes. In proportion as they attained to enlightenment or competency, they turned their backs on him; he stood as it were tabooed in the midst of the nation."

"Let me show you what a forsaken class of society becomes, which *no one desires to approach, but which no one attempts to enlighten or to serve.*"

This oppression was less apparent in the positive evil done to these unhappy classes, than in the impediments which prevented them from improving their own condition. They were still without industrial employment amidst all the wonderful creations of the modern arts. "The husbandry I see before me is that of the tenth century," said Arthur Young.

"In the depth of isolation and indigence, the French peasantry lived, yet nothing seemed as yet externally changed; the manners, habit, faith of the peasant, seemed to be the same. He was submissive and was even merry. When the poor and the rich have scarcely any common interest, common grievance, or common business, the darkness which conceals the mind of the one from the other becomes impenetrable."

It is curious to observe in what strange security all those who inhabited the upper or the middle stories of the social edifice were living at the very time when the Revolution was beginning. How they discoursed on the virtues of the common people, on their gentleness, on their attachment to themselves, on their innocent diversions. The absurd and terrible contrast of '93 was already beneath their feet. "There is something fallacious in the merriment which the French often exhibit in the midst of the greatest calamities. It only proves that, believing their ill-fortune to be inevitable, they seek to throw it off by not thinking of it, but not that they do not feel it. Open to them a door of escape from the evil they seem to bear so lightly, and they will rush towards it with such violence as to pass over your body, without so much as seeing you, if you are in their path."

The Indian poor present precisely the same features. During the recent North-West famine, I have heard highly-paid officers urge that the meagre wretches who crowded to the relief-works could not be very badly off because they were "merry and laughing." These very merry-makers, when the gates were opened through which access was given to the grim poor-house, with its hard work and wretched fare, crowded in, struggling so fiercely for what still was life, that the European officers were knocked down and trampled on in the rush. Where the resemblance fails between the Indian and the French laborer it is because the exploitation of the former has been more uniform and complete.

While the State has done much for the landlord in India, much for the banker, a good deal in a desultory and partial way for the tenant, it has done hardly anything for the laborer and artisan, except secure his life and property, if he has any, against violence.

Nay, State influence has been freely used to expel the latter from his hereditary craft, and to make him a mere producer of

raw material for the English mill. We have tried to make the weaver and cotton printer, men of delicate frame and soft touch, shoulder the mattock and drive the plough. In the official catalogue of the 1862 London Exhibition, detailed instructions are given how best to "drive the Indian manufacturer" out of the market.

In France, at any rate, no foreign country was allowed to ruin its manufactures. For centuries the policy of England was to discourage Indian cotton-weaving, either by absolutely prohibiting the import of the cloth, or by imposing heavy duties, while its own productions, were admitted at nominal duties. The hostility to calicoes reached even to the tomb, and the dead were ordered to be draped in woollen cerements. England also allows India to pay about six millions sterling per annum for the service of English officers and gentlemen, who draw their pay or pensions from Indian revenues; these men form the ruling class, they set the fashion, they foster home trade and manufactures, so there is no Indian glass, or pottery, or cutlery, or watches, or paper-making, and till very recently silk and cotton-weaving were equally distressed.

Every one, native or European, who has the means, drinks if he drink at all, European liquors, and clothes himself from his shoes to his shirt in English goods. What is the result? The classes which have in largest proportion taken Government relief in the recent North-West famine are Chamars, Koris, Mullahs. Chamars are the leather-workers, Koris the weavers, Mullahs the boatmen. Nottingham has reduced one, Manchester the second, our railways have taken the bread from the third.

On the other hand, Louis XVI made the interest of the Paris artizans his peculiar care. Thoughtfully, almost lovingly, he laid-down rules for their protection and abolished the guild regulations which checked their industry. The Faubourgs returned his favours by shedding his blood, but that is what bureaucracies must always expect. The immediate cause of their dissolution is, as a rule, not to be found among their many vices, but among their few virtues. At some time or place they relapse a little; backslide towards liberty or humanity. This is taken for weakness, and the evil passions which ages of outrage and injustice have fostered, burst all barriers.

Long centuries roll over a dynasty while men of furious passions and hateful lives wield the sceptre; a good king comes at last, then revolution, and he atones with his blood, or in exile, for the sins of his fathers. A royal house expires far oftener with a Charles I, or a Louis XVI, than with a Tarquin. As in France it was the most favored class which turned upon its royal benefactor, so was it in India.

Of all the dwellers in India the most petted was the Pande. He it was, not the starving weaver, or the rack-rented ryot, or the ruined salt-maker, who rose on his master. It was under clemency Canning, and not under grasping and devouring Dalhousie, that the rebellion occurred, and so we may expect that khojas and bhoras, newspaper editors and pleaders in the courts, mill-workers, lascars at Surat, the few who do grow fat under English rule, would be the first to lift up their heel against it.

The cultivators of the soil in the India of our day, bear a wonderful likeness to the wretched creatures whom Arthur Young saw. Not only is their condition the same, their habits, tenures, passions, prejudices, but the same causes have led to these results; they are not only of the same species but their family likeness is extraordinary. Let me add to the features already noted one or two more.

The peasant on the Loire made wine from grapes, and paid one quarter of the vintage to the landlord. Beside the Ganges, he distils from *mhowa* blossoms, and pays one-half generally. The lord of the manor in France received one-sixth of the price, whenever the tenant-right of farms or houses was sold within his estate. In Oudh one quarter, and sometimes half, is taken by the landlord when a mango-grove, or house, or garden is transferred. Here, too, the advantage lies altogether on the side of the Frenchman.

By the French *corvée* the landlord was entitled to a certain number of days' labor from all laborers and workmen. In Oudh this is now generally limited to forced requisition of plough-cattle and ploughmen.

On the whole, the Indian masses in 1878 are just as the French were in 1778. In the North-West Provinces, it is true, the genius of Thomason rescued from this misery a million at least of the cultivators. What the exact number is, no one knows, but in Oudh all the schemes devised for their benefit have been utterly abortive, and there is little doubt that the position of nine-tenths of the cultivators in that province, and of probably two-thirds in the N.-W. P., is worse than what existed in France before the Revolution, or in India under the Moguls.

I may proceed to give a few more resemblances or rather identities.

We have already seen how, in France and India, the system of authority, taxation, poor-relief, public works, centralisation bore a marked resemblance. I now come to the villages, houses, townships.

"A parish is an assemblage of cabins," as Turgot has justly observed, "and of inhabitants as passive as the cabins they dwell in."

The cultivators lived in the villages and they had the Indian lumberdar and patwari. "In most of the parishes the parochial officers were reduced to two persons, the one named the collector, the other most commonly named the syndie."

They had even the time-honored *wajib al ain* and *jummabandi*. "Each manor kept rolls called *terriers* in which from century to century were recorded the limits of fiefs and the quit-rents, the dues, the services to be rendered, and the local customs."

So it would appear that the blessings of the *bandobast* were not withheld. In famines the "poor found only exceptional tribunals, prejudiced judges, a hasty and illusory procedure and a sentence executed summarily and without appeal. The provost of the constables and his lieutenant are to take cognizance of the gatherings and disturbances which may be occasioned by the scarcity of corn; the prosecution is to take place in due form, and judgment to be passed without appeal."

So in 1877 men, disputing with *bunnias* about prices, were pronounced to be "well-fed malefactors" who should be tried summarily, and receive 30 stripes. A sentence, of course, without appeal, as appeal is useless when the punishment has been inflicted.

The cultivators were in debt. All these small landowners were in reality ill at ease in the cultivation of their property, and had to bear many charges or easements on the land which they could not shake off. They received no aid from the middle-classes. They all "dwelt in the towns."

Order was maintained among them just as sometimes in India. "I have thrown into prison," says an Intendant, "some of the chief persons in the villages who grumbled, and I have made these parishes pay the expense of the horsemen of the patrol," as police are quartered in an Indian village for infanticide or rioting.

We will now leave the peasant, his carts, his bullocks, his groves and gardens, his huts and villages, his earth hunger, his feudal lord, his wooden sandals, his wife's silver earrings, his usurers, his plundering priest, even his weekly bazaar, all the same whether on the Seine or the Ganges.

I may add one more remark: In all centralised countries the rural districts lose their wealthy and enlightened inhabitants. The art of cultivation remains imperfect and unimproved, a commentary on the profound remark of Montesquieu when he says, that land produces less by reason of its own fertility than of the freedom of its inhabitants.

In France, as in India, the diversities of the different races which contributed to this mass of misery gradually gave way. All became welded together; a general passive submission to the central government fostered the rankling hostility which lay

beneath. Above the waters were calm, but the undercurrent of wrath was becoming each year more swift and deep. Says De Tocqueville; "Throughout nearly the whole kingdom, the independent life of the provinces had long been extinct. This had powerfully contributed to render all Frenchmen very much alike; through the diversities which still subsisted the unity of the nation might already be discerned, uniformity of legislation brought it to light. As the eighteenth century advanced, there was a great increase in the number of edicts, royal declarations, and orders in council, applying the same regulations in the same manner in every part of the empire." So in India distinctions of religion, of race, of caste, old feuds and vendettas, are being effaced by common subjection. The press, the railway, and the post office, marvellously hasten the process of unification, but its main motive is the same freemasonry - which was found among Sparta's helots, and Carolina slaves.

The songs of the country now bear strong evidence at once to the strength of the principle, and at the same time to its imperfect development.

*Punjabi Punjabi se bolo,
Angrezi Angrezi se bolo,
Hindustani ham se bolo,
Dil ka khunji kholo.*

Legislation has aided still more in blending all the varied races into one homogeneous mass. The same laws of evidence, of procedure, of contract, of punishment, apply to tame Bengali and to fierce Rohilla. The Raja of Puri and the Guicowar appear before civilian judges, accompanied by assessors, and are tried by the same rules, applied with rigid monotony. Any one who reads the native journals, or mingles with the people, must be aware that already the whole of North India has quietly and insensibly entered into a league of mutual amity and support, an agreement often concealed from fear, often broken for a time through local causes, but sure to be re-knit and strengthened.

I may touch of course delicately upon the press. "The minister had a favourite paper, the *Gazette de France*. A circular was issued to intendants that His Majesty was desirous to render that journal interesting, and to ensure to it a superiority over all others." The minister was devoted to natural science, so "bulletins were to be sent of everything that happened in your district, more especially whatever relates to physical science, or natural history," &c. Similarly in India, natural science seems specially patronised by Government; it innocently engages minds whose speculative time might be directed to politics.

In 1872-3, when famine was in Bengal, it was officially the duty of the Department of Agriculture to get up an interest in natural phenomena; so its head at Calcutta issued practical instructions for "collecting birds' eggs, nests, and skeletons," while contributions were invited to a journal of ornithology called "Stray Feathers." Doubtless the study of natural science in all its branches is desirable for those who have to acquaint themselves with all practicable means for the prevention and cure of famine.

"Over the press generally a species of control was exercised; authors were persecuted enough to excite compassion, not enough to inspire them with terror. They suffered from that kind of annoyance which irritates to opposition not from the heavy yoke which crushes."

In India the only possible mode of interfering in politics lies through the press. Those who meddle with the latter are regarded with suspicion, dislike or hatred, according to the degree of hostility they exhibit to established institutions. Says DeTocqueville: "The administration of France was already characterised by the violent hatred which it entertained indiscriminately towards all those not within its own pale, whether belonging to the nobility or to the middle class, who attempted to take any part in public affairs."

"But as it had been always necessary to allow the French people the indulgence of a little license, to console them for their servitude, the Government suffered them to discuss with great freedom all sorts of general and even abstract theories of religion, philosophy, morals, and even politics. It was ready enough to allow the existence of God himself to be discussed, provided no comments were made upon the very least of its own agents." The reader will bear in mind that in India the parallel is here partially imperfect. Extracts from the vernacular press are regularly laid before Government, and its chiefs treat their critics among outsiders with a courtesy becoming their position.

Distinct progress, too, is apparent. Sir Henry Montgomery styled the missionary "that very respectable individual, Mr. Schwartz," but in 1878 a noted journalist is described by a Lieutenant-Governor as "a person of some consideration." It is not unlikely that outsiders may shortly be officially referred to as gentlemen, and although they do so often forget the respect due to authority, it would be well if such were the sanctioned designation. This gentleness, however, is only outward varnish, the real feeling for the critic in India, as in France, is bitter, vindictive hostility. For evidence of this we need not go further, perhaps, than the letters from Naini Tal which appeared in an Indian journal during the recent famine. A Calcutta journalist

severely, sometimes perhaps unjustly, criticised the famine policy of a Government because half a million of people had died. In return his private affairs and family connexions were dragged before the public, and improper motives assigned for his advocacy of the cause of the starving, and this by a journalist who boasted that his materials were supplied from the official bureau.

Says De Tocqueville :

"The smallest independent body which seemed likely to be formed without its intervention, caused alarm ; the smallest voluntary association, whatever was its object, was considered troublesome, and none were suffered to exist but those which it composed in an arbitrary manner, and over which it presided." Similarly, in 1878, no central famine committee ever has been formed throughtout the N.-W. P., and if an officer aided in, or started, voluntary relief associations he was censured. This, while Government confessed its own incapacity to induce the people to attend the relief-works and be saved. Bureaucracy never will act on Bacon's maxim : "Embrace and invite help and intelligence touching the execution of thy plan, and do not drive away such as bring thee information."

Insensibly one feature of India, social and political, has overlapped another in the above sketch, just as it is impossible to treat quite separately the people who pay taxes and the nobles, or Government, which takes them.

I have now come round to bureaucracy as it existed in France and India, and it may be as well to define it. It is simply government by, or in, an office, that implies necessarily the absence of a consultative assembly or its practical nonentity ; of that Parliament through which, said De Comins, "those kings of England are better served than any others." It means more or less secrecy ; red-tape ; paper work. It means extension of the range and function of the central authority to all the middle land of education, poor relief, local improvements, which, under liberal governments, are more or less entrusted to private effort or enterprises. Village *panchayats* are abolished ; so are Mussulman *kazis*. Village accountants are looked after and trained from their boyhood ; municipal committees have to procure the approval of the central Government for every trifling detail of their taxation and expenditure. Police-offices, jails, poorhouses, latrines, all have to be on the "sanctioned plan" ; nuisances to be committed only in sanctioned places ; spirits to be distilled in sanctioned stills ; the dead to be buried at sanctioned depth.

It is a needful consequence that, when the members of an alien and highly-paid bureaucracy attempt with their small staffs to do work which other Governments, even with much voluntary assistance

and vastly larger staffs, leave entirely to outsiders, they cannot cope with the gigantic task which they have set for themselves; they inquire perfunctorily, they decide erroneously, and they carry out imperfectly.

The worse work is done, the more jealously is criticism resented, for no part of the administrative work will bear scrutiny. It matters not what it is, executive, judicial, public works, education, police; in each there are huge blots, well known to those inside, which they dare not reveal. They dare not admit a failure, for then the outsider would like to look a little further, and more discoveries would be made. So criticism must be nipped in the bud. Officers insensibly are encouraged to forward glowing reports, which relate achievement where there was failure, all well where really all was ill.

Hypocrisy and equivocation are called in; the native staff contributes its quota of unblushing falsehood. This is received without distrust, and takes its place among facts "published by authority."

Year after year accumulates piles of reports. Let the reader take up any one about ten years old, and he will be amazed at the broadness of the divergence from actual facts which they exhibit, and which time has revealed.

"The Company's servants," says Mill, "have commonly seen such things only as it was their desire and expectation to see." Finally, the one common feature of French and Indian bureaucracy is that the "executive administration holds the whole people in tutelage."

I have now gone over the central authority, the legislation, the district executive, the system of taxation, public works, famine relief, agriculture, the press, the nobles, the peasants, the burthens upon the land as they existed in France before the Revolution, and I have pointed out, where needful, the very remarkable resemblance between the institutions which led to that event and those which exist in India at this day. My object in doing so was to confute one of the fallacies with which bureaucracy stifles the voice of conscience, wakening at last when it finds a system denounced by every European thinker, and opposed in many points to the lessons of all European history. That fallacy is "no resemblance between Europeans and natives, no arguing in India from European precedents."

I have shown that the institutions of France in the eighteenth century much more closely resembled those of India, than they did those of England just across the Straits of Dover. I might say the same of Ireland. Lord Mayo on one occasion remarked to me the marked similarity of the questions before him as Governor-General and as Chief Secretary of Ireland. De

Tocqueville's writings are full of warnings to all those who distrust and obstruct the ingress of free institutions. I quote one or two of his maxims.

"It is the government of one man which in the end has the inevitable effect of rendering all men alike and all mutually indifferent to their common fate."

"True institutions, are not less necessary to show the greater citizens their perils than the lesser their right."

"What man or what class has ever had the penetration to see when it became necessary to come down from a lofty pinnacle in order to avoid being hurled down from it?"

Many Englishmen echo these last words, and are beginning to think that we must drive the bureaucratic spirit and system out of India, or they will some day drive us out. They can point to great men in former days, who were far removed from any disloyal or even revolutionary spirit, and yet quite agreed with Sir James Mackintosh's denunciation of the "accursed political monopoly" of the English in India.

I have here pointed out, on authority which no one can dispute, that it is possible for a system of Government to flourish for centuries; to culminate in all the conquests and glories of the *Grand Monarque*; to be active, enterprising, enlightened; to boast among its members, philanthropists, economists; to be supported by a gallant army, chivalrous nobles, a devoted church; to believe itself the glory of the age and a model for all others, yet at the same time to be, for all the real ends and aims of good government, a miserable failure, condemned by inexorable laws to inevitable destruction, and certain to involve in its own ruin that of the entire social fabric.

Let us take the lesson to ourselves and cease to think that all is well because we are better than the Mogul or the Pathan. We fondly dream we were never more popular than now. So also, when the hatred of the French people for noble, priest and king, for all established authority, was mounting to a climax, the last of its monarchs, who died in his bed just before the Revolution, took to himself with general approval the title, *Le Roi bien aimé*.

ART. V.—GEORGE ELIOT'S NOVELS.

THERE is no new thing under the sun, said the wise king who had the good fortune to live in the pre-Edisonian epoch, before the days of phonographs and other infernal machines. And daily experience seems to show that there is as much truth in this as in any other epigram; though, as we once heard a clergyman, in the course of a sermon, remark: "If this be so, my friends, it must be allowed that by this time we have made and are making some extraordinarily good imitations of original uses of the old materials." The thought of the grain of truth in Solomon's dictum almost makes us shrink from attempting to say anything fresh about a writer whose works have been so long before the public, whose words have been so often criticised and discussed, as the subject of this article. But when we remember that what has before been written is no more than the sum of the separate conclusions of many individual minds, we are emboldened to try whether, by the application of a new force to the old matter, some not wholly valueless mental product may be elicited, or some known facts presented in a novel, if not more striking, light. Originality is to be found no less in the manner of treating a subject than in the outcome of that treatment. But we have another reason for prefacing our suggestions with the well-worn text. We have heard it declared, by a man of vigorous and subtle intellect, and a careful student of our own and many an oriental literature, that, in the record of events and lives which form the subject-matter of the novelist, in the analysis of human thought and the motives of human action, in the history of the progress and development of any individual soul, there is by this time nothing new to be thought, or said, or done. That every possible element of our nature has been exhaustively discussed and illustrated. That all which the ablest writer and thinker, who turns to this form of composition as a means of educating the minds of those around him, can now do, is to re-arrange the old materials, and to say, in a different way, it may be, what has already been said far better by some one or other of his predecessors. That everything which is now written as romance, and taken by the unthinking as the sounding of a new harmony, is no more, if rightly considered, than a harping upon an old string, by this time worn and thin and at the point of breaking. But those who hold this view seem to assume, perhaps unconsciously, that men's minds, and the principles and motive powers which govern them, are merely a set of mosaics of a practically limited number, and

capable of arrangement in a practically finite number of ways ; and that, when all these modes have been exhausted, there is no resource but to begin again, and repeat a pattern which has been already shown. This is far from the truth. The difference between the souls of men is infinite. And, as in the physical world, it is said there are no two objects, however similar, without some characteristic shade of difference, so, in the moral world, no two sets of circumstances are precisely the same, no two phenomena of human history, if the whole were laid bare before us, would present exactly the same facts for our inspection. And this brings us to our immediate subject. We believe that there is still scope for the novelist to explore untravelled regions, to discover the well-springs of human action. As regards George Eliot, we hold that she has done more than re-arrange materials already worked out. We hold that she has laid before us facts and truths of human nature, and analyses of motives and passions, which have not before been examined. The object of this article will be to give some reason for the faith that is in us as to George Eliot's genius ; and to throw out a few hints to assist ourselves and others in a critical appreciation of her works.

It is not an original remark, but one which cannot well be omitted in the discussion of our subject, that, in modern times, the place once occupied by the English drama is filled by the English novel. To many, not unreasonable, observers, this must appear to be a most unworthy substitution. But it must be remembered that every true artist necessarily conforms to, what Lord Beaconsfield calls, "the spirit of the age." And in order to the existence of a great dramatic literature, there must be an heroic age, a time of strong effort and stirring aspiration, when men's minds aim high and look for the promise of great things, when there is a power at work to knit men's hearts together in the pursuit of some noble end, in the attainment of some spiritual truth, in the resistance to some common foe. The times which have been most favourable to the production of a succession of splendid dramas, have been those times in which there have been nations capable of listening to and comprehending the utterances of a great dramatic poet in the presentation of his sublimest conceptions, worthy to gaze reverently and with a certain holy joy at the purest ideal that could be set before them—a nation such as lived within the walls of Athens when its citizens thronged to witness the masterpieces of Æschylus and Sophocles, such as arose in England when the sun-crowned glory of the Elizabethan circle shed yet another splendour upon "the specious times of Great Elizabeth."

Degenerate children of degenerate years,
We know no more the gods who ruled of old,
Honour and truth have fled with bitter tears—
We worship only gold.

And, in such an age as the present, when Philistinism is rampant in art and song, in church and state, there is no possibility of a dramatic literature such as Greece and England then knew. We are very far from being heroes now-a-days; and we cannot understand a poet when we meet him in our midst. The nearness of the sun is too dazzling. We must have something lighter than the highest forms of art. In order to do what is possible to educate those for whom he works, to the acceptance and practice of a nobler faith than that which their own grovelling instinct commends, if the literary artist's labours are to have any practical effect, he must assume that form of expression by which his hearers' hearts may be most surely reached. In the present day, that form is, undeniably, the novel.

Among novelists, then, we think it is not too much to claim for George Eliot the same place as that which is held among dramatists by Shakespeare. And should there seem any overboldness in this assumption, let us consider a little the grounds upon which it is made. Even at the risk of setting the minds of all readers against us by the very sound of the word, we must remark that, from the critical and artistic point of view, the chief merit of Shakespeare is his intense objectivity. The showman keeps in the background; and, as far as we can see, leaves his puppets to act at their own sweet will, to tell their own story, and work out their own development, by the utterance of their several lips and the performance of their proper actions. It may seem that this virtue is inherent in the very form of dramatic composition. But a moment's thought will bring to mind the infinite difference that exists between the characters of the great masters and those of men less gifted with dramatic genius. The former are real men and women, with a distinct personality of their own; the latter are more or less imbued with the personality of their creators. It would not surprise us to be told that, if there is one thing in which George Eliot fails, it is in this objective presentation of her characters. That she is constantly obtruding upon her readers her own personality and her particular views about things in general, and thereby distracting some amount of attention from the observation of the real story. But, as a little consideration will show, this is beside the question. There is, no doubt, a large amount of philosophical discussion included in George Eliot's works; and remarks from the author's own lips upon most of the questions which vex the souls of her contem-

poraries are sprinkled abundantly through her books. These scraps of philosophy, which form the 'tags,' so to speak, of so many chapters, are not the least charming of our novelist's utterances. But, as far as the delineation and development of character is concerned, there is no writer of these times, at least, who permits the persons that crowd her stage to speak so simply and entirely for themselves. It is impossible for any one, working under the influence of the subjective glamour thrown over the literature of the Teutonic races by the respective lights of Wordsworth and Goethe, to achieve the absolutely objective colouring of Shakespeare. The habit of analysing their own feelings and the springs of their own ideas, is so strongly characteristic of all who now take the trouble to think at all; the introspective faculty, which may be counted as a comparatively modern discovery, is so constantly turned upon the working of our own souls, that, quite involuntarily and almost unconsciously, a writer impresses some trace of his personality upon his productions. But, in spite of this, what can be done, is done by our author. Her characters are not like the scenes in old dramatic representations, labelled with distinctive appellations; they are presented to us and we are left to form from their actions our own opinion as to their merits and demerits.

In yet another way is George Eliot gifted with the true dramatic instinct. She turns aside, it is true, to discuss, not frequently, except in *Daniel Deronda*, the motives of her characters or the characters themselves, but often some point suggested by a passing allusion, some question arising naturally from the situation in which the persons of the story have placed themselves, or from words spoken by one or other of them. But these digressions, though they add to the value of the books, and are not to be looked upon as artistic blemishes, are seldom, if ever, of the essence of the story. They assist in working out the artist's purpose, but they are not necessary and leading elements in the main design. There are certain thoughts running through the whole of these works, some particular and vital truths which the writer has in her heart, and which she wishes to impress upon her readers, as among the important facts of human existence, without an examination of which it is impossible to comprehend fully the working of the external and internal life around us. But these truths are nowhere insisted upon in her works in so many words. They are to be found by reading carefully, and, as only students of Wordsworth know fully how to read, "between the lines." The cardinal points of George Eliot's philosophy, into a detailed analysis of which we have here no leisure to enter, may be briefly, if

imperfectly, summed up as follows. We are placed in the world, why and by what power we know not ; but, under such conditions, that every spoken word and acted deed is as seed sown, destined to bear a harvest in after years for the actor and those around him. There is nothing particularly original in this, any more than there is in Dr. Tyndall's atomic theory. The only difference between the preacher and the novelist, who both take for their text, "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap," is that the former holds out hopes, that, by a little skilful manipulation, the penalty of the law may be evaded, while the latter knows that by no possible means can a man escape the consequences of his own acts. We can call to mind no single instance, in which George Eliot suffers a sin to go without retribution. As Emerson has finely put it, crime and punishment are two flowers which grow on a single stem. Again, the effects of a wrongful act never cease with the doer. The lives of all men are so closely related, that every pebble we cast into the stream flowing past our feet has some influence on the utmost wave of the ocean of Eternity. Thus, too often, the penalty for a misdeed falls upon the innocent and the guilty. And this brings us to another point in our author's conception of the world, a point which will be seen to have the closest connection with that last-mentioned, *viz.*, that in many, perhaps in most, cases, to adopt the words of Mr. Ruskin, "God permits his best gifts to be trodden under foot of men, His richest treasures to be wasted by the moth, and the mightiest influences of His spirit, given but once in the world's history, to be quenched and shortened by miseries of chance and guilt." Do what we will, strive as we may, there is yet in Nature an awful waste of all the fairest fruits. To illustrate the above sketch, let us point to the wonderful and beautiful nature of Romola, capable of such high results, if wedded to a soul worthy of her, and fit to raise her to a loftier level than man or woman singly can attain, but warped and ruined, for the greatest and best work in the world, by her union with the miserable Tito. Let us call to mind Dorothea, a soul not less marvellously pure and sweet and gracious than that St. Dorothy of whom Mr. Swinburne has sung, but with the best years of her youth, and the richest opportunities of development, thrown away in the pursuit of the false ideal which induced her to become the wife of Edward Casaubon. Even in the end, when poetical justice is half appeased by her happiness with Will Ladislaw, we think few of us have closed the book without a sigh, and, at least, a passing regret that one who has become like a sister to us should be linked with what seems to us a less noble nature. Dorothea is worthy of the love of Deronda, the king Arthur among George Eliot's knights, could the chances

of the world have ever brought them together. So much for what Mr. Ruskin terms, perhaps somewhat inaccurately, but well enough for our purpose, the "miseries of chance." And turning to the "miseries of guilt," there is the same sad story to be told. The little seed of a small sin, at first almost unnoticed, never fails to bud and blossom and bear fruit, and to overshadow with its influence the fairest hopes of a once splendid promise. Let Romola once more bear witness for us. Consider Tito as we first see him, and Tito at his death. See how the bright, free nature, with all its inherent nobility and all its brilliant forecast of a great and useful life, with all its joyful anticipations of love and happiness and fame, is miserably blighted and irretrievably ruined, daily growing lower and baser, by the fatal effects of one sin, which, "like a worm i' the bud," withers the beauty of the spring-nurtured flower. Another instance occurs to us from the latest work, *Daniel Deronda*, which, though perhaps the least pleasing and least artistic of the books we are discussing, is good enough to have gained a name for any less noted writer. Here Gwendolen sins against light and conscience by wedding the man whom she knows to be already bound to another woman by a tie not less close, if less holy, than that of marriage.

In the eyes of the world, the sin, if known, might have been small; Gwendolen's intention to do no wrong to her rival may be sincere and heartfelt. But, as she never for an instant seeks to hide from herself, the sin is there; and the moment it is committed it begins to cast its shadow over her life, and at last its influence makes her, in thought and intention, if not in fact, a murderess. We have sufficiently shown by these examples, that this theory of the inevitable waste and misery caused by chance and guilt holds a prominent place in George Eliot's scheme of the moral world. Our readers will be able to call to mind other instances in *Middlemarch*, in *Adam Bede*, in the *Mill on the Floss*. By some critics an objection is raised, that this philosophy is hopeless, and therefore to a certain extent immoral, or at least unmoral; and others are displeased with our author's stories because, at the end, every one does not marry and live happily ever after. The latter is particularly a feminine criticism. But both objections are futile. As to the second, *place aux dames*, if it is true that, in the world, the end of the third volume of a life is not often beautifully finished off, in accordance with the requirements of poetical justice, why should a novelist be forced to pander to a sickly sentimentality by outraging nature in the final disposition of his characters? A good novel is a mental tonic, which strengthens a man's faculties for the struggle of life. Why should the moral, any more than the physical, tonic be required to lack some bitter flavour? There are plenty of nice stories for those who love

them; and, used with discretion, their enjoyment is entirely beneficial. But the habitual reading of rosy-tinted romances seems to us as enervating to the mind as habitual "pegging" is to the body. After a course of such productions, to turn to one of George Eliot's novels has an effect similar to that experienced by one who should wander through the "gardens of Gûl," fanned by the zephyrs, "oppressed with perfume," and then breathe the free, fresh wind on a rugged hill-side. As to the moral lesson of these books, since there are people to whom the moral at the close is more than the fable itself, there is a high and noble one; not obtrusively inculcated, but not less clearly to be found. It is, as we read it, that one should reduce as far as possible the amount of misery caused by actual sin, by doing one's work well and bravely in the world, in spite of the woes caused to the innocent by chance or the guilt of others; and that this should be done

"Not for the sake of glory or of guerdon,
Not for the victor's grey wild-olive wreath,"

but simply because a man is placed here as a soldier in battle, whose duty must be manfully and strongly encountered, though in the thick of the fight none should take notice of his deeds, and though at its close his body should be cast, without a blessing or a prayer, into a nameless grave.

Now, although these are among the fundamental articles of George Eliot's faith, some few of the results of her observation of the world, which she desires to impress most emphatically on her readers, she makes no attempt to do so by an explicit declaration; she pursues, as we say, a distinctly objective, as opposed to a subjective, course. She leaves her characters to tell their own story; and her readers must gather for themselves the moral truths contained in it. She is above all things an artist; and this is the method of all true art. No great art is ever directly and dogmatically didactic. In proportion as a picture, a poem, or a novel, aims at teaching a lesson, or establishing a principle, by plainly and unmistakeably insisting on it, to such a degree does it fail to fulfil its artistic purpose. As elsewhere we have had occasion to say, "if a moral is sought to be enforced upon the beholder, the result is never a work of the best and highest class. The object of all true art is to withdraw men from the contemplation of the base and mean and ungodly, to the study and desire of all that is lovely and noble and of good report. To effect this, something must be left to the imaginative faculties of the spectator. Thus the art in one of Turner's landscapes is higher, and the moral effect far stronger, than in the obtrusively didactic *genre* pictures of the *Idle Apprentice* school;" or we may add, than in Mr. Frith's *Road to Ruin*, which in last year's Academy seems to have taken the

British Philistine by storm. And thus, too, as a novelist, George Eliot ranks higher than Charles Dickens, or any other writer of so-called "novels with a purpose." With the novelist, as with every other artist, the art stands first, not the moral lesson which is to be taught.

In yet another respect is our author seen to be distinctly an artist; in careful and conscientious workmanship, the part of genius which consists in "the infinite capacity for taking pains" Not a book is sent into the world before every sentence is polished to the highest possible degree of perfection. Thus, she is not a prolific writer. All that she gives us is her best work; and so it happens that all her novels may be counted on one's fingers. They must be valued according to their quality, not according to their quantity. Nothing is omitted which can throw light upon the story; still less is anything introduced for the sake of padding, or invented for the sole purpose of sensational effect. In these times of morbid craving for sensationalism, when, as the *Liberal Review* has said, "people seem never so contented as when they feel their blood curdling," there are few things in literature more noticeable than the calm, strong way in which George Eliot enters a silent, standing protest against that horribly sensational tone which has already corrupted our literature, our daily press, our religious teaching, our dramatic art, and even our law-courts. Considered philosophically, the broad distinction between tragedy, the noblest outcome of human genius and sympathy, and melodrama, the style which panders to one of the basest cravings of our nature, is that, in the former, every incident is introduced for the sake of its bearing upon the central spiritual idea, in the latter, interest is transferred from this idea to the excitement induced by the terrible nature of the incidents themselves. This distinction is never lost sight of by our author. And yet, so oblique is the vision of some who call themselves observers, that we have a vivid recollection of being once told that we merely read George Elliot's works, because we had the ordinary liking of young men for sensational literature; and that *Adam Bede*, a book which no one could read, with any amount of thought and insight, without rising from the perusal a better, stronger, and wiser man, was *iniquity veiled*. The force of criticism could no further go. The art of George Eliot is of the purest and best kind. It has the same effect upon our moral natures as a picture of Tintoret or Raphael, a sonata of Mendelssohn or Beethoven.

Other distinctive excellencies of this great writer's works have been so often and so ably pointed out, that we fear a further recital of them will be the telling of a twice-told tale. But upon one or two prominent points a few words cannot be left unsaid. In one respect, at least, George Eliot has applied the novelist's

art to a subject previously abandoned almost entirely to the poet, strictly so called; though with Walt Whitman counted among the poets, and John Ruskin and Thomas Carlyle among the prose writers,

"I hesitate to draw the line.

"Between the two, where God has not."

It cannot be denied that new ground was broken when the story was made subservient to the main purpose of analysis, not only of character, but of the springs of human action. Before this we had novels of society, novels historical, novels of incident, novels illustrating every conceivable phase of life, but not what, for want of a better name, we may term psychological novels. In this branch of her art, our author stands first among all modern writers, whether of prose or verse, not even excepting the mind which gave the world the *Ring and the Book*. Since the hand and brain which gave us *Hamlet* were stilled in death, no one has so minutely and so thoroughly analysed the working of those motives which underlie the actions of men. By her subtle, though not exhaustive, treatment, she has opened out a new field to the novelist, and shown how much of human interest lies in what might have been claimed as the special work of the psychologist. Not only this, but she has, in so doing, revealed to us facts and phenomena and combinations of principles in our nature which were before but imperfectly understood, or altogether unnoticed. And she has shown that, as long as a human heart throbs with emotion, there will always be something new to be examined, something hitherto unknown to be told, something hitherto held inexplicable, to be, by patient and loving investigation, fully unravelled. In connection with this, we would point in some detail to the mode of the development of George Eliot's characters. The second-rate artist takes a conventional type of character, places him in certain positions, and makes him say certain words, and do certain deeds at the author's own discretion. Another takes a person from real life and introduces him, with more or less probable surroundings, into a story. Then he says: "Give me credit for holding up the mirror to nature." The great artist works in a different way. George Eliot, for example, basing her work upon her own experience of men and manners, selects certain concordant elements, and invents her characters. In spite of repeated assertions to the contrary, we doubt if the original of any one of her men and women could be found in life. Many of us may know their anti-types; we doubt if any one has ever discovered their prototypes. Our author is a poet, in the large and first sense of the word, a maker. But when the lines of the story are once laid, the rest is left to work itself out, not as the writer thinks

best, not with a view to securing that crowning absurdity, poetical justice, but as the author knows, from the observed facts of human existence, the plot must necessarily unravel itself. Given the conditions, the prediction of a phenomenon is perfectly practicable in the moral no less than in the physical world. A revolution is as much the outcome of certain causes as an eclipse. And thus, once created and brought into contact, the characters in these novels develop themselves according to the fixed laws of life. The artist has no free-will in the matter; given the conditions, the event must follow. This is the only way in which the novelist can show us things as they really are, and help us to live better and nobler lives, not by the studious inculcation of moral platitudes, but by the presentation of the inevitable effects of our actions upon the destinies of ourselves and those around us. George Eliot, in her character of creator,

"Sits as God, holding no form of creed,
But contemplating all,"

and dispassionately deals out to each of her persons the meed of his work. The result is manifest in the marvellous studies of the character of, to mention a few among many, Tito, before-mentioned, Rosamond and Fred. Vincy, and Felix Holt. There is no instance in these stories, of a labelled automaton made to do duty for a living being; there is not a single example of those wonderful conversions from good to evil and the reverse, which form a favourite theme of the modern novelist and preacher.

To this cause may be traced another of George Eliot's special characteristics; the number of new people to whom she introduces us, and the manner in which she makes us feel that they are living and real personalities, not frigid abstractions or exaggerated caricatures. She possesses, to the very fullest extent, the dramatic power of investing her characters with a distinct existence, quite separate from the author's own personality, and equally apart from the being of any other fictitious personage. In reading her works, our leading thought is not so much admiration for the skill and cleverness of the writer, as a feeling of gratitude to her for making known to us so many new friends. Perhaps *Middlemarch*, which pleases us better than any other of her books, will serve to illustrate this. The number of people in whom we are compelled to take a distinct and friendly interest is greater than in any other novel we can call to mind, with the exception of *Our Mutual Friend*. But, with all love and reverence for Dickens, be it said, this latter book at times overwhelms and confuses the reader by its mass of incident and by the intricacy of the relations of its different characters; while in *Middlemarch*, which is what it professes to be, a study of English provincial life, by the author's complete grasp of all th

threads of the narrative, the reader is enabled to follow every step of the plot, and to see clearly the *raison d'être* of every one of the persons in action. Mr. Brooke, the would-be versatile man of many pursuits; Dorothea and Celia, the sisters, unlike in all things except that they are both true and gentle women; Cadwallader, the rector, and his wife, a refined Mrs. Poyser, as she has been justly called; Edward Casaubon, with a face like the "judicious Hooker," and a mind like his own worm-eaten parchments; Will Ladislaw, the bright, impulsive, artistic nature, with the sunny temperament of the South, and its butterfly-like enjoyment of passing pleasures; Bulstrode, the banker, a good specimen of the modern Philistine; the Vinoy family, Rosamond, the perfect type of careless, selfish, unwomanly womanhood; Fred, the indolent, frivolous undergraduate, redeemed from nothingness and fashioned into a good and useful man by the influence of his love for Mary Garth; Mary herself one of the most noble and loveable of the women of fiction; Lydgate, the young doctor, with all his aspirations after a great and profitable life, thwarted by his union with Rosamond; these and many more fill, without crowding, the "humorous stage" of *Middlemarch*. As we sit, and suffer these varied creations to pass at will through our mind, we seem not to be writing of the mechanical creatures of one woman's brain, but to be noting in a friendly way the excellences and defects, the strength and the weakness, of men and women, with real flesh, and blood, and soul, with whom we have been brought into contact at some stage of the journey of life. We know Lydgate and Ladislaw as well as we know the man with whom we dined last night. We know Dorothea and Rosamond far better than we know the girl with whom we waltzed thrice at the last ball. To us these men and women are as real as Falstaff and Hamlet, as Imogene and Juliet, whom we knew in our childhood, and whom we only love the more as we understand them the better, after the lapse of "years that bring the philosophic mind."

What shall we say of George Eliot's wit? of her humour? of her wisdom? They are all patent in any page of her books. Her wit is chiefly shown in the words of her characters, in the bright play of fancy and the quick readiness of retort which she has bestowed upon the happiest of her creations. Her humour is manifested more particularly in the conception of her persons, in the light and shade which rest upon their lives and actions. The wit is not boisterous, but subtle and sharp; the humour not harsh and misanthropic, like Swift's, but quiet and unobtrusive with a touch of sadness in it at all times, reminding us not unfrequently of Sterne at his best. The wisdom, the wealth of illustration, drawn from every science and every art, the abundance of thoughtful

suggestion upon all points of interest, showing the depth and power of a mind strong by nature and cultivated to the highest possible point, these must be gathered for each reader by himself. That love sought is good, but given unsought is better, may be true; but it is certainly otherwise with wisdom. No book of extracts can give the slightest or vaguest idea of the inexhaustible nature of the mine of wise thoughts contained in George Eliot's novels; each reader must assimilate therefrom what is best for his own soul, as each man fashions different images from the glories of a cloudy sunset or the flickerings of a dying fire.

To end as we began, Shakspeare, as it is said by Hazlit and others, was equalled by some among his contemporaries in separate excellences; by Marlowe in dramatic power and grandeur of conception; by Massinger in sweetness and delicacy of tone, in depth and tenderness of pathos; by Ford and Marston in tragic effect; by Johnson in development of plot. So, too, other novelists may individually surpass George Eliot in wit, in humour, in skilful management of action, in construction of the story. But Shakspeare combined in himself all the several virtues of his compeers, and added thereto his own profundity of insight and unimagined breadth of soul. George Eliot in delineation of character is unrivalled, in subtle and masterly analysis is first and best; and unites in herself the various characteristic excellences of which one or two at most have been bestowed on her less gifted fellow-workers.

B. N. C.

ART. VI.—THE CAMPAIGN OF PANIPAT.

THE neighbourhood of Pánipat, a town about 50 miles N.-W. from Delhi, has been the scene of many decisive engagements at various periods of Indian history. It was here that, according to traditions and poetic narrative, the Kauravas met the Pandavas in the dawn of Hindu national life. Coming down to more authentic times, it was here that, in A. D. 1526, Bábar, at the head of twelve thousand northern *sans-culottes* like himself, overthrew the magnificent but unwarlike array of Ibrahim Khán Lodi. Here, thirty years later, the struggle made by the pugnacious chandler, Hemu, in behalf of the Sur dynasty, was frustrated by the youthful Akbar and his minister Bairám. Not far off took place the insincere attempt of the Moghals of 1738 to check the incursion of the terrible Nádir Sháh. On each of these occasions the North beat the South. Now, when the empire of the Chaghatai dynasty had melted from sight like a snow-drift in spring time; when their city was desolate and their heir a homeless exile, there was to be fought a new battle on the same plains, in which the issue to be determined was not merely whether the empire was to pass from one dynasty to another, but whether the Hindus were to restore the sovereignty of the *Mahábhárata*, or whether the peninsula was to fall into the power of some stronger race who should, by-and-by, include it in the cosmos of civilised life.

For the importance of what is known distinctively as *The Battle of Pánipat* is this. Had the Hindu league prospered, the last vestiges of what was called the empire of the Great Moghal must have utterly disappeared. And, in that case, there would have been no occupation by Sindhia, no interference of the French, and consequently no Lake-campaigns or Wellesley-annexation. The British might have held Bengal, as they now hold Hongkong; but Hindustan would have been to them no more than what Cabul, or Nepál is, under existing conditions.

The Mahratta confederacy was in 1759 irresistible from the borders of Berár to the banks of the Ganges. On one side they were checked by the Nizam and Haidr, on the other by Shujáá-ud-daula, the young ruler of Oudh. Between these limits they were practically paramount. To the westward a third Mohamadan power, the newly-formed Dauráni empire, was no doubt a standing menace; but it is very possible that, with Ahmad Sháh, as with the other Moslem chiefs,

arrangements of a pacific nature might have been made. All turned upon the character and conduct of one man. That man was Sadasheo Rao, the cousin and minister of the Mahratta leader, the Peshwa, into whose hands had fallen the sway of their vast power. For their titular head, the descendant of Sivaji, the original founder, was a puppet, almost a prisoner, such as we, not many years ago, considered the Mikado of Japan.

The state of the country is thus described by a contemporary historian, quoted by Tod :—"The people of Hindustan at this period thought only of personal safety and gratification. Misery was disregarded by those who escaped it; and man, centred solely in self, felt not for his kind. This selfishness, destructive of public, as of private, virtue, became universal in Hindustan after the invasion of Nádir Sháh; nor have the people become more virtuous since, and consequently are neither happy nor more independent."

Ahmad Khán (known as "the Abdáli"), whom we are now to recognise as Ahmad Sháh, the Dauráni emperor, returned to Hindustan late in the summer, and marched to Dehli, where he heard of the murder of Alamgir II. The execrable Shahábuddin (or Gházi-ud-din the younger) fled at his approach, taking refuge with the Játs. Mahratta troops, who had occupied some places of strength in the Punjab, were defeated and driven in. The capital was again occupied and plundered, after which the Sháh retired to the territory of his ally Najib, and summoned to his standard the chiefs of the Rohillas. On the other hand the Mahrattas, inviting to their aid the leaders of the Rájputs and Játs, moved up from the South. This was in September-December 1759.

The main force of the Mahrattas that left the Deccan, consisted of 20,000 chosen horse, under the immediate command of the minister, Sadasheo, whom for convenience we may in future call by his title of "the Bhao." He also took with him a powerful disciplined corps of 10,000 men, infantry and artillery, under a Mohamadan soldier of fortune, named Ibrahim Khán. This general had learned French discipline as commandant de la garde to Bussy, and bore the title, or nickname, of "gárdi," a souvenir of his professional origin.

The Bhao's progress was joined by Mahratta forces under Holkar, Sindhia, the Gaikwar, Gobind Pant, and others. Many of the Rájput States contributed, and Suraj Mal brought a contingent of 20,000 hardy Játs. Hinduism was uniting for a grand effort; Islam was rallied into cohesion by the necessity of resistance. Each party was earnestly longing for

the alliance of the Sheas under Shujáá of Oudh, whose antecedents led men on both sides to look upon them as neutral.

The Bhao had much prestige. Hitherto always victorious, his personal reputation inspired great respect. His camp, enriched with the plunder of Hindustan, was on a scale of unwonted splendour. "The lofty and spacious tents," says Grant-Duff, "lined with silks and broadcloths, were surmounted by large gilded ornaments, conspicuous at a distance. ...Vast numbers of elephants, flags of all descriptions, the finest horses, magnificently caparisoned seemed to be collected from every quarter.....it was an imitation of the more becoming and tasteful array of the Moghals in the zenith of their glory." Nor was this the only innovation. Hitherto the Mahrattas had been light horsemen, each man carrying his food, forage, bedding, head and heel ropes, as part of his accoutrements; marching fifty miles after a defeat, and then halting in complete readiness to "fight another day." Now, for the first time, they were to be supported by a regular park of artillery, and a regular force of drilled infantry. But all these seeming advantages only precipitated and rendered more complete and terrible their ultimate overthrow.

Holkar and Suraj Mal, true to the instincts of their old predatory experience, urged upon the Bhao, that regular warfare was not the game that they knew. They counselled therefore that the families and tents, and all heavy equipments, should be left in some strong place of safety, such as the almost impregnable forts of Jhánsi and Gwalior, while their clouds of horse harassed the enemy and wasted the country before and round him. But the Bhao rejected these prudent counsels with contempt. He had seen the effect of discipline and guns in Southern war; and, not without a shrewd foresight of what was afterwards to be accomplished by a man then in his train, resolved to try the effect of scientific soldiership, as he understood it. The determination proved his ruin; not because the instrument he chose was not the best, but because it was not complete, and because he did not know how to handle it. When Máhdaji Sindhia, after a lapse of twenty years, mastered all Asiatic opposition by the employment of the same instrument, he had a European general, the Count de Boigne, who was one of the great captains of his age; and he allowed him to use his own strategy and tactics. Then, the regular battalions and batteries, becoming the nucleus of the army, were moved with resolution and aggressive impulse, while the cavalry only acted for purposes of escort, reconnoissance, and pursuit. In the fatal campaign

before us, we shall find the disciplined troops doing all that could fairly be expected of them under Asiatic leaders, but failing for want of numbers, and of generalship.

On arriving at Dehli, the Bhao surrounded the citadel in which was situated the palace of the emperors. It was tenanted by a weak Musalman force, which had been hastily thrown in under the command of a nephew of Sháh Wali Khán, the Dauráni vazir. After a brief bombardment, this garrison capitulated, and the Bhao took possession and plundered the last remaining effects of the emperors, including the silver ceiling of the *diwán khás*, which was thrown into the melting pot and furnished seventeen lakhs of rupees (£170,000.)

Ahmad, in the meantime, was cantoned at Anupshahi, on the frontier of the Rohilla country, where he was compelled to remain while his negotiations with Shujáá were pending. It was now the middle of 1760, and the rainy season was at hand, during which, in an unbridged country, military operations could not be carried on. All the more needful that the time of enforced leisure should be given to preparation. Najib, the head of the Rohillas, was very urgent with the Sháh that Shujáá should be persuaded to take part against the Mahrattas. He pointed out that, such as the Mughal empire might be, Shujáá was its vazir. As Ahmad Shah had hitherto been foiled by the late Nawáb Safdar Jang, it was for his majesty to judge how useful might be the friendship of a potentate whose predecessor's hostility had been so formidable. "But," added the prudent Rohilla, "it must be remembered that the recollection of the past will make the vazir timorous and suspicious. The negotiation will be as delicate as important. It should not be entrusted to ordinary agency, or to the impersonal channel of epistolary correspondence."

The Sháh approved of these reasonings, and it was resolved that Najib himself should visit the vazir, and lay before him the cause which he so well understood, and in which his own interest was so deep. The envoy proceeded towards Oudh, and found the vazir encamped upon the Ganges at Mehndi Ghát. He lost no time in opening the matter; and, with the good sense that always characterised him, Najib touched at once the potent spring of self. Shia or Sunni, all Moslems were alike the object of Mahratta enmity. He, Najib, knew full well what to expect, should the Hindu league prevail. But would the vazir fare better? "Though, after all, the will of God will be done, it behoves us not the less to help destiny to be beneficent by our own best endeavours. Think carefully, consult Her Highness, your mother. I am not fond of trouble, and should not have come all this distance to see Your Excellency were I not deeply interested."

Such, as we learn from an adherent of Shujáá's, was the substance of the advice given him by the Rohilla chieftain.

The nature of these negotiations is not left to conjecture. The narrative of what occurred is supplied by Kási Ráj Pandit, a Hindu writer in the service of the Nawáb Vazir, and an eye-witness of the whole campaign. He was present in both camps, having been employed in the negotiations which took place between the Mahrattas and Mohamadaus; and his account of the battle (of which a translation appeared in the *Asiatic Researches* for 1791, reprinted in London in 1799) is at once the most authentic that has come down to our times, and the best description of war ever recorded by a native of India.

Shujáá-ud-Daulah, after anxious deliberation, resolved to adopt the advice of his Rohilla visitor. And, having so resolved, he adhered honestly to his resolution. He sent his family to Lucknow, and accompanied Najib to Anupshahi, where he was warmly received by the Dauráni Sháh, and his minister Sháh Wali Khan.*

Shortly after, the united forces of the Moslems moved down to Sháhdara, the hunting-ground of the emperors, near Dehli, from which, indeed, it was only separated by the river Jumna. But, the monsoon having set in, the encounter of the hostile armies was for the present impossible. The interval was occupied in negotiation. The Bhao first attempted the virtue of Shujáá, whom he tempted with large offers to desert the Sunni cause. Shujáá amused him with messages in which our Pundit acted as go-between; but all was conducted with the knowledge of Najib, who was fully consulted by the Nawáb Vazir throughout. The Sháh's minister, also, was aware of the transaction, and apparently disposed to grant terms to the Hindus. Advantage was taken of the opportunity, and of the old alliance between Shujáá and the Játs, to shake the confidence of Suraj Mal, and persuade him to abandon the league, which he very willingly did when his advice was so haughtily rejected. It was the opinion of our Pundit, that a partition of the country might even now have been effected had either party been earnest in desiring peace. He did not evidently know what were the Bhao's real feelings, but probably judged him by the rest of his conduct, which was that of a bold, ambitious statesman. From what he saw in the other camp, he may well have concluded that Najib had some far-seeing scheme on foot, which kept him from sincerely forwarding the proposed treaty. Certainly that astute Rohilla was ultimately the greatest gainer from the anxieties and sufferings of the campaign. But the first act of hostility came from the Bhao, who moved up stream to turn the invader's flank.

* There is another account by an eye-witness, Mohamad Jafar Khán Shámlu, Dawoor VIII. 1447), but it is almost inconceivably inaccurate.

About eighty miles north of Dehli, on the meadow-lands lying between the Western Jumna Canal and the river, from whose right bank it is about two miles distant, stands the small town of Kunjpura. In the invasion of Nádir Sháh, it had been occupied by a force of Persian sharpshooters, who had inflicted much loss on the Moghal army from its cover. Induced, perhaps, by the remembrance of those days, Ahmad had made the mistake of placing in it a garrison of his own people, from which he was now separated by the broad stream of the Jumna, brimming with autumnal floods. Here the Bhao struck his first blow, taking the whole Afghan garrison prisoners after an obstinate defence, and giving up the place to plunder, while the main Afghan army sat idle on the other side.

At length arrived the *Dasahra*, the anniversary of the attack of Lanka by the demigod Rám, a proverbial and almost sacred day of omen for the commencement of Hindu military expeditions. Ahmad adopted the auspices of his enemy and reviewed his troops the day before the festival. The state of his forces is positively given by the Pundit, as consisting of 28,000 Afghans, powerful men, mounted on hardy Turkomán horses, forty pieces of cannon, besides light guns mounted on camels; with some 28,000 horse, 38,000 foot, and about forty guns, under the Hindustáni Musalmáns. The Mahrattas had more cavalry, fewer foot, and an artillery of 200 guns; in addition to which they were aided, if aid it could be called in regular warfare, by clouds of predatory horsemen, making up their whole force to over 200,000, mostly, as it turned out, food for the sabre and the gun.

On the 17th October 1760, the Afghan host and its allies broke up from Shahdara; and between the 23rd and 25th effected a crossing at Bághpat, a small town about 24 miles up the river. The position of the hostile armies was thus reversed; that of the Northern invaders being nearer Delhi,* with the whole of Hindustan at their backs, while the Southern defenders of their country were in the attitude of men marching down from the N.-W. with nothing behind them but the dry and war-wasted plains of Sirhind. In the afternoon of the 26th, Ahmad's advanced guard reached Sambalka, about half-way between Sonpat and Pánipat, where they encountered the vanguard of the Mahrattas. A sharp conflict ensued, in which the Afghans lost a thousand men, killed and wounded, but drove back the Mahrattas on their main body, which kept on retreating slowly for several days, contesting every inch of the ground until they reached Pánipat. Here the camp

* In Keene's *Mughal Empire* it is erroneously stated that the Afghans encamped at Karnal. The statements in the text, being on the authority of an eye-witness, may be depended upon.

was finally pitched in and about the town, and the position was at once covered by digging a trench sixty feet wide and twelve deep, with a rampart on which the guns were mounted. The Sháh took up ground four miles to the South, protecting his position by *abattis* of felled timber, according to his usual practice, but pitching in front a small unprotected tent from which to make his own observations.

The small reverse of the Mahrattas at Sambalka was soon followed by others, and hopes of a pacific solution became more and more faint. Gobind Pal, Bundela, foraging near Meerut with 10,000 light cavalry, was surprised and slain by Átái Khán at the head of a similar party of Afgháns. The terror caused by this affair paralysed the Bhao's commissariat, while it greatly facilitated the foraging of the Sháh. Shortly after, a party of two thousand Mahratta horsemen, each carrying a bag of specie from Dehli, fell upon the Afghán pickets, which they mistook for their own in the dark of night. On their answering in their own language to the sentry's challenge, they were surrounded and cut up by the enemy, and something like two hundred thousand pounds in silver was lost to the Bhao. Ibráhim and his disciplined mercenaries now became very clamorous for their arrears of pay; on which Holkar proposed that the cavalry should make an immediate attack without them. The Bhao ironically acquiesced, and turned the tables upon Holkar, who probably meant nothing less than to lead so hare-brained a movement.

During the next two months constant skirmishes and duels took place between parties and individual champions upon either side. In one of these Najib lost three thousand of his Rohillas, and was very near perishing himself; and the chiefs of the Indian Musalmáns became at last very urgent with the Sháh to put an end to their suspense by bringing on a decisive action. But the Sháh, with the patience of a great leader, as steadily repressed their ardour, knowing very well that (to use the words of a modern writer on a similar occasion) the enemy were all the while, "cooking in their own gravy." For this is one of the sure marks of a conqueror, that he makes of his own troubles a measure of his antagonist's misfortunes, so that they become a ground, not of losing heart, but of gaining courage.

Meanwhile the vigilance of his patrol, for which service he had five thousand of his best cavalry employed through the long winter nights, created almost a blockade of the Mahrattas. On one occasion twenty thousand of their camp-followers, who had gone to collect provisions, were massacred in a wood near the camps by this vigilant force.

The Bhao's spirit sank under these repeated blows and warnings, and he sent to the Nawáb Vazir, Shujáá-ud-Daulah, to offer to accept any conditions that might still be obtainable. All the other chiefs were willing, and the Sháh referred them to the Robillas. But Najib proved implacable. The Pundit went to the Rohilla leader, and urged on him every possible consideration that might persuade him to agree. But his clear good sense perceived the nature of the crisis. "I would do much," he said, "to gratify the Nawáb and show my respect for His Excellency. But oaths are not chains; they are only words, things that will never bind the enemy when once he has escaped from the dangers which compel him to undertake them. By one effort we can get this thorn out of our sides."

Proceeding to the Shah's tent he obtained instant admission, though it was now midnight. Here he repeated his arguments; adding that whatever His Majesty's decision might be was personally immaterial to himself. "For I," he concluded, "am but a soldier of fortune, and can make terms for myself with either party." The blunt counsel pleased the Shah. "You are right Najib," said Ahmad, "and the Nawáb is misled by the impulses of youth. I disbelieve in the Mahratta penitence; and I am not going to throw you over whom I have all along regarded as the manager of this affair. Though in my position I must hear every one, yet I promise never to act against your advice."

While these things were passing in the Moslem camp, the Mahrattas, having exhausted their last resource by the plunder of the town of Pánipat, sent all their chiefs on the same evening to meet in the great durbar-tent. It was now the 6th of January; and we may fancy the shivering, starving Southerners crouched on the ground and discussing their griefs by the wild torchlight. They represented that they had not tasted food for two days, and were ready to die fighting, but not to die of hunger. *Pán** was distributed, and all swore to go out an hour before daybreak, and drive away the invaders or perish in the attempt.

As a supreme effort, the Bhao, whose outward bearing at durbar had been gallant and dignified, now wrote a short note to our Pundit, who gives the exact text. "The cup is full to the brim, and cannot hold another drop. If anything can be done, do it. If not, let me know plainly and at once; for afterwards there will be no time for writing, or for speech." The Pundit was with Shujáá by the time this note arrived—the hour was

* The *pán*, or pepper, leaf, wrapped round an aromatic preparation of betel-nut and shell-lime, is a favourite condiment, and is bestowed by a great

man on the breaking-up of an assemblage. In the present case it had also a sacramental character.

3 A. M.—and he handed it to his master, who began to examine the messenger. While he was so doing, his spies ran in with the intelligence that the Mahrattas had left their lines. Shujáá at once hastened to the Sháh's tent.

Ahmad had lain down to rest, but his horse was held ready saddled at the entry. He rose from his couch and asked, "What news?" The Nawáb told him what he had heard. The Sháh immediately mounted and sent for the Pundit. While the latter was corroborating the tidings brought by his master, Ahmad, sitting on his horse, was smoking a Persian pipe and peering into the darkness. All at once the Mahratta cannon opened fire; on which the Sháh, handing his pipe to an orderly, said calmly to the Nawáb, "Your follower's news was very true I see." Then summoning his prime minister, Sháh Wali, and Sháh Pasand, the chief of his staff, he made his dispositions for a general engagement when the light of day came.

Yes; the news was true. Soon after the despatch of the Bhao's note, the Mahratta troops broke their fast with the last remaining grain in camp, and prepared for a mortal combat; coming forth from their lines with turbans dishevelled and turmeric-smeared faces, like devotees of death. They marched in an oblique line, with their left in front, preceded by their guns small and great. The Bhao, with the Peshwa's son and the household troops, was in the centre. The left wing consisted of the "gardis" under Ibrahim Khán; Holkar and Sindhia were on the extreme right.

On the other side the Afghans formed a somewhat similar line, their left being formed by Najib's Rohillas, and their right by two brigades of Persian troops. Their left centre was led by the two vazirs, Shujáá-ud-Daulah, and Sháh Wali. The right centre consisted of Rohillas under the well-known Háfiz Rahmut and other chiefs of the Indian Patháns. Day broke, but the Afghan artillery for the most part kept silence, while that of the enemy, losing range in its constant advance, threw away its ammunition over the heads of the enemy and dropped its shot a mile to their rear. Sháh Pasand Khán covered the left wing with a choice body of mailed Afghan horsemen; and in this order the army moved forward, leaving the Sháh at his usual post, which was now in rear of the line, from whence he could watch and direct the battle.

On the other side no great precautions seem to have been taken, except indeed by the gardis and their vigilant leader, who advanced in silence and without firing a shot, with two battalions of infantry bent back to their left flank, to cover their advance from the attack of the Persian cavalry forming the extreme right of the

enemy's line. The valiant veteran soon showed the worth of French discipline; and another division such as his would have probably gained the day. Well-mounted and armed, and carrying in his own hand the colours of his own personal command, he led his men against the Rohilkhund columns with fixed bayonets; and to so much effect, that nearly 8,000 were put *hors de combat*. For three hours the gardis remained in unchallenged possession of that part of the field. Shujáá-ud-Daulah, with his small but compact force, remained stationary, neither fighting nor flying; and the Mahrattas forebore to attack him. The corps between this and the Patháns was that of the Dauráni Vazir; and it suffered severely from the shock of an attack delivered upon them by the Bhao himself at the head of the household troops. The Pundit, feign sent through the dust to inform Shujáá what was going on, found Sháh Wali vainly trying to rally the courage of his followers, of whom many were in full retreat. "Whither would you run, friends," cried the Vazir, "your country is far from here."

Meanwhile the prudent Najib had masked his advance by a series of breastworks, under cover of which he had gradually approached the hostile line. "I have the highest stake to-day," he said, "and cannot afford to make any mistakes." The part of the enemy's force immediately opposed to him was commanded by the then head of the Sindhia house, who was Najib's personal enemy. Till noon Najib remained on the defensive, keeping off all close attacks upon his earthworks by continuous discharges of rockets. But so far the fortune of the day was evidently inclined towards the Mahrattas. The Mohamadans' left still held their own under the two vazirs and Najib; but the centre was cut in two, and the right was almost destroyed. Victory seemed to await the Mahrattas.

Of the circumstances which turned the tide and gave the crisis to the Moslems, but one account necessarily exists. Hitherto we have had the guidance of Grant-Duff for the Mahratta side of the affair, but now the whole movement was to be from the other side; and we cannot do better than trust the Pundit. Dow, the only other contemporary author of importance—if we except Gholam Hosain, who wrote at a very remote place—is most irremediably inaccurate and vague about all these transactions. The Pundit, then, informs us that, during those earlier hours of the conflict, the Sháh had watched the fortunes of the battle from his tent, guarded by the still unbroken forces on his left. But now, hearing that his right was reeling and his centre was defeated, he felt that the moment was come for a final effort. In front of him the Hindu cries of *Har! Har! Jai Mahadeo!* were main-

taining an equal and dreadful concert with those of *Allah! Allah! Din! Din!* from his own side. The battle wavered to and fro like that of Flodden as described by Scott. The Sháh saw the critical moment in the very act of passing. He therefore sent 500 of his own body-guard with orders to drive all able-bodied men out of camp, and send them to the front at any cost. Fifteen hundred more he sent to encounter those who were flying and slay without pity any who would not return to the fight. These, with four thousand of his reserve troops, went to support the broken ranks of the Rohilla Patháns on the right. The remainder of the reserve, ten thousand strong, were sent to the aid of Sháh Wali, still labouring unequally against the Bhao in the centre of the field. The Sháh's orders were clear. These mailed warriors were to charge with the Vazir in close order, and at full gallop. As often as they charged the enemy in front, the chief of the staff and Najib were directed to fall upon either flank.* These orders were immediately carried out.

The forward movement of the Moslems began at 1 P.M. The fight was close and obstinate, men fighting with swords, spears, axes, and even with daggers. Between 2 and 3 p. m. the Peshwa's son was wounded, and, having fallen from his horse, was placed upon an elephant. The last thing seen of the Bhao was his dismounting from the elephant, and getting on his Arab charger. Soon after the young chief was slain. The next moment Holkar and the Gaikwar left the field. In that instant resistance ceased, and the Mahrattas all at once became helpless victims of butchery. Thousands were cut down; other thousands were drowned in escaping, or were slaughtered by the country people whom they had so long pillaged. The Sháh and his principal commanders then retired to camp, leaving the pursuit to be

* It is a curious coincidence, and one which well illustrates the similar character of war in West and East, that the critical movement of the Sháh's victory at Pánipat should so closely resemble that by which the Duke of Marlborough had won the Battle of Blenheim, more than half-a-century before, *viz.*, breaking the hostile line of battle by a violent assault by a large body of reserve cavalry at the end of a long engagement.

The fact is, no doubt, to be accounted for by the character of Ahmad, who was a man combining qualities not often found in the

same person. Being a self-made man, and brought up in a good school, he had learned to be cautious and prudent without sacrifice of his native originality and of the initiative spirit, which, in common circumstances, often goes no further than eccentricity. It is extremely unlikely that he had ever heard of the very name of the English general whose tactics he unconsciously reproduced. An episode in history, like this campaign of Pánipat, possesses therefore an interest, as a study of human nature, even beyond what is due to its importance in the movement of events.

completed by subordinate officers. Forty thousand prisoners are said to have been slain. Among the prisoners was Ibrahim, the valiant and skilful leader of the gardis. Though severely wounded, he was taken care of in Shujáá's tents, where his wounds received surgical attention. Shujáá also endeavoured to extend protection to the head of the house of Sindhia. The afterwards celebrated Máhdaji—who was to become in his turn master of the whole country—fled from the field; and the late Colonel Skinner used to describe how this chief—in whose service he at one time was—would relate the mental agonies he endured on his light Deccanee mare from the lopping paces and roaring breath of a big Northern horse, on which he was pursued for many miles by an Afghan, greedy of blood and booty.

Jankiji, the then head of the family, was killed next day, a victim to the enmity of Najib, whose policy included relentless-ness. Ibrahim Gardi was taken from Shujáá by a mixture of force and fraud. He was put into the charge of the Afghan vazir, and died in that charge a week after. A headless body, supposed to be that of the Bhao, was found some twenty or thirty miles off. The body with that of the Peshwa's son, received the usual honours of Hindu cremation at the prayer of the Nawáb Shujáá.

After these things the allies moved to Dehli; but the Dauráni troops became mutinous and quarrelsome; and they parted on ill terms. Shujáá marched back to Mehndi Ghat, whence he had come six months before. The Sháh, having written to the fugitive Sháh Alam, to salute him as emperor, got what money he could out of the exhausted treasury and departed to his own country. Najib Khán remained at Dehli under the title of Najib-ud-Doulah, with a son of the absent emperor as ostensible regent.

Such was the famous Campaign of Pánipat, the first disaster, on a great scale, of the power of the Mahratta confederacy, and the besom which swept the land of Hindustan for the advent of the British.

The two most remarkable men in the above narrative are the Sháh himself and Najib Khán. The former was a native of Herat, his tribal surname being *Abdalli*, whence the European writers of the last century sometimes mention him by the name "Abdallah." He rose to distinction in the service of Nádir Sháh, and, according to a contemporary anecdote, preserved in the *Asiatic Researches*, was once under arrest in the same guard-room with Karim Khán, a brother-officer, who afterwards succeeded to Nádir's throne. Ahmad Abdalli was not free from the vices of his profession; and his cruel spoliations of the citizens and villagers of Hin-

dustan are a sad blot upon his character. But the narrative we have been studying accounts for his unvaried success. He was evidently possessed of that combination of patience, prudence, and resolution which is as irresistible as it is rare. He was the founder of Afghanistan as an independent power, though his own dynasty fell in the third generation, before the genius and popularity of a collateral, the late Dost Mohamed Khán.

Of Najib Khán—afterwards called Najib-ud-Daulah, it should be noted that he, too, was a Pathán* soldier of fortune, who had chosen an Indian career, and had married a daughter of Dundi Khán, the head of the Rohillas, who had given him a territorial charge in the N.-W. corner of Rohilkhund. It is now the District of Bijnore, and its chief town, Najibábád, still bears the founder's name. When Safdar Jang occupied Rohilkhund, he abandoned the cause of his friends and espoused that of the conqueror; when the latter broke down, he joined the young Gházi-ud-din. By that minister he was put in charge of fifty-two parganas † about Saharanpur, which long continued to form the fief of his family, and constituted an almost independent principality. Though possessing much of the unscrupulous habits of a *condottiere*, Najib had also the virtues of his class. He was active, painstaking, and faithful to engagements. He ultimately acted as regent of the empire for nine years, and left it in an improved and strengthened condition, and ready to be restored to its lawful monarch. He was reported on by the British Government of those days as "a great and good character." (Keene's *Fall of the Moghal Empire*, p. 91.)

* Pathán is the generic name applied in India to Afghans and their descendants. † Hundreds, or small fiscal unions of parishes.

ART. VII.—THE SAINT OF MEWAT.

THE country of Mewat, once very celebrated, has for centuries ceased to be of political importance. It is now hardly a geographical expression, and it is vain to look for it in recent maps of India. But it is to its inhabitants still a household word, as roughly defining a tract, well-known throughout North India.

Recent local enquiries, and the publication of works like Elliot's *Musulman Historians*, render a historical sketch of Mewat easier now than formerly; but as my object is rather to bring to notice a Mewat teacher than to speak of the country, I shall be very brief in my account of the latter.

Mewat lies south of Delhi and comprises about, speaking very roughly, 4,000 square-miles. The towns of Ulwar and Deeg are, respectively, almost in its S.-E. and S.-W. corners, and it is now divided between the British districts of Gurgaon and Muttra and the States of Ulwar and Bhurtpore. The portion in Ulwar territory is by far the most interesting, for in it are the famous hill-forts and strongholds, which enabled the chiefs of the country sometimes to set at nought the armies of the Empire, and to offer a refuge to the subjects of imperial displeasure.

The people who own and cultivate most of the land of Mewat are called Meos. They are not even by their own showing a pure race. Indeed admission into the tribe is easy to obtain. There is reason to believe that the Meos were originally Meenas, the Hindoo tribe which occupied the soil of Jeypore before the advent of the Rajputs. The Meos have a low social position, probably arising from their acceptance of Islamism when pressed on them at the point of the sword by the early Musulman invaders. They were turbulent and predatory, and when, as in 1857, opportunities offer, they readily return to their old habits, showing contempt for the sanctity even of shrines. It is said that, when remonstrated with by priests on their impiety in plundering a deity, they retort "You may be a Deo, but I am a Meo." They are still half-Hindoo, observing the principal Hindoo festivals, employing Brahmins at marriages, and piling up stones in honor of Hanúmán and Bairují. They drink freely when liquor is obtainable. They are generally very poor, and they are lazy agriculturists. From their women they exact severe labor.

Originally, Mewat was a State governed by a Rajput dynasty of the lunar race, of which mention is made by the poet Chand in the *Pirthí ráj Rása*. This dynasty was swept away by the Chohan Rajputs of Delhi, and it was probably immediately after the defeat of the latter by the Musulmans, that the Meos were compelled to become followers of the prophet. But, never-

theless, up to the time of the Mughals, Mewat was a frequent source of difficulty to the emperors. At one period their raids, up to the walls of Delhi, kept that city in alarm, and military posts to protect it were established by the Emperor Balban, who devoted much attention to Mewat. In Firoz Shah's reign, a Musulman Rajput named Bahadur Náhar, the principal noble of his time, and apparently connected with the ancient royal family of Mewat, fixed himself near Tijara, in the hill-range which now forms the north-east boundary of the Ulwar State. This range has such a level summit, that a road connecting its forts was carried for many miles along it. There Bahadur Náhar received an embassy from Timour, during that great conqueror's invasion of India, about A. D. 1398, and there his successors were sometimes able to defy the emperors, though their main strongholds were little more than 50 miles from the imperial city.

Bahádur Náhar and his descendants are called Mewattis by the Musulman historians, and Hasan Khan, the last of them who bore sway, was one of Babar's most formidable opponents, when, after taking Delhi, Babar fought the Rajputs and their allies at the Battle of Biana in A. D. 1527. Immediately after the victory Babar proceeded to Ulwar, then the chief place in Mewat, and his visit is described in his autobiography. He effectually and permanently destroyed the power of the family founded by Bahádur Náhar, the members of which, known as Khanzádas, became distinguished soldiers in the armies of the Empire.

Mewat, now for the first time completely conquered, was broken up into the two districts of Ulwar and Tijara, which were attached to the province of Agra and ruled by Musulman officials. They yielded about eight and a half lakhs of revenue.

Such were the people and country to which the teacher, Lál Dás, whom I wish to bring to notice belonged. He is not mentioned by H. H. Wilson in his *Hindoo Sects*, nor I believe by any other English writer. But he appears to me to have a special claim to some attention, inasmuch as, both in life and doctrine, he inculcated the duty of honest labor, and strenuously condemned mendicancy. I do not presume to compare him with those Christian monks of the middle ages, whose rule of manual industry exercised such a civilising influence in their time; but, at any rate, his teaching and practice were in this respect superior to those of Nánuk and of other founders of the existing popular sects of Hindoos, some of whom, though they disapproved of a wandering life, condemned it, so far as I can make out, only as a hindrance to mystic meditation. No doubt Sanscrit texts can be alleged enjoining industry, as indeed they may be in behalf of every other virtue. But begging was an essential part of the

Brahmanical system, and after middle-life it was incumbent on the higher castes to become mendicants. Lál Dás, on the other hand, denounces begging, as too shameful for any decent man to practice ; and he makes this an essential part of this teaching.

I shall venture then to assume that Lál Dás has established his title to a small space in the *Calcutta Review*, and will now proceed to give some account of him and his sect, derived from a Hindoo metrical biography of him, and a "gutka," or collection of his sayings. The biography is made up of tradition and legend, but, as Lál Dás is a modern character, in whom there has been a continuous interest, the book is doubtless founded on fact.

Lál Dás was born of Meo parents at Dholí Dhúb, a village four miles north of the town of Ulwar, and situated at the entrance of the small valley of Dehra. It is remarkable that, three miles off, at the village of Dehra itself, the founder of the Charan Dási sect was born, and the most popular shrine in Mewat, that of Chuhar Sidh, is in the hills above the valley, at the source of the stream which flows through it, and which derives its name from, or gives its name to, Chuhar Sidh. But Charan Dás, of whom H. H. Wilson gives an account in his *Religious Sects of the Hindus*—was in no way, except in birth, a Mewat teacher. He was not a Meo, he is little known to Meos. He did not reside in Mewat, and his chief shrine is at Delhi. Lál Dás has a more formidable rival in Chuhar Sidh, who is said to have been a Meo, and might claim superiority on the ground that his shrine is the most popular in the country. Its yearly fair attracts a vast concourse of Meos. Somewhat gloomy crowds they form, as men and women wend their way almost silently towards the ravine which leads to the shrine. But Chuhar Sidh would seem to be merely the personification of the stream which, in the rainy season, takes its origin under that name near the shrine, flows down the Dehra valley and away to the East, but not to leave Mewat. It is quite dry in the hot months but from the fort, which crowns the summit of the Ulwar hill, and which is the natural donjon keep of Mewat, may be seen, when rain begins to fall bountifully, the rushing water of the Chuhar Sidh, glittering through mist and cloud, the first token of a beneficial downpour. A few miles further on it begins to fill irrigation channels, leading it over the lands of many villages which it both irrigates and enriches, for it does not, like many streams, deposit sand. Songs of rejoicing arise when the current of the Chuhar Sidh is deep and strong. It never does appreciable harm, for, when the flood is extraordinary, it flows towards the northern hills into a lake just under a famous fortress where the rulers of Mewat once resided. Born in the Mewat hills and making its home finally in the heart of Mewat, a striking and

ever welcome sight from the two chief Mewat forts, bestowing abundance, never unkindly, it is no wonder that the Chuhar Sidh stream should be in some degree to the Meo's imagination what the Ganges is to that of the Hindoos, or that a wonder-worker should be assumed to preside over its source who would be worshipped as the guardian Genius of Mewat. This legendary person, Chuhar Sidh, is only famous as a vulgar miracle performer, of whose character and teaching, nothing is known. Lál Dás, too, is associated with the Chuhar Sidh stream. His life was spent in its neighbourhood, and when, as occurred some years ago, a Pool of Bethesda was formed by percolation in a hollow and believed by the people to be the water of the Chuhar Sidh, a Lál Dási Sadh, was regarded as its natural custodian. But Lál Dás belongs to a category very different from Chuhar Sidh's. Unlike the latter, he is known as a teacher, his life is still read and his sayings are learnt by heart. There is, I believe, no one really to contest his right to be regarded as the Saint of Mewat.

The birth of the Mewat Saint is said to have taken place about A. D. 1540. His parents, though Meos and Musulmans, nominally, followed, even more than seems to be common amongst Meos now, the observances of the Hindoos, and Lál Dás was therefore hindered by no prejudices from adopting an eclecticism derived from the religions of both.

His biography begins by saying that "Lál Dás entered the world in this 'Kaljug' because God is neglected, and men, in their folly, worship stones."

For many years Lál Dás dwelt in his native place, getting his living by gathering sticks on the neighbouring Ulwar hill and selling them in the bazaar of that town; miraculous power developed itself in him, and a holy Musulman enjoined him to teach both Hindoos and Musulmans. He began his work by going through a course of austerities in the hottest weather on the top of a hill near Bandoli, 16 miles North-east of Ulwar. It is specially mentioned that he, maintained himself by his own labour, and out of its proceeds gave to others. His fame spread, and numerous disciples surrounded him, many of them actuated by false motives; and their insincerity distressed Lál Dás. He prayed that he might be delivered from such followers, and God accordingly sent persecution, to try them, through the instrumentality of Mughal officials. These Musulman foreigners established, as has been pointed out, by Babar, were evidently very unpopular, and their oppressive conduct is repeatedly spoken of in the history of the Mewat teacher, though not in a tone of exaggeration. Their tyranny, however, only redounded to the honor of the Saint, who when imprisoned with his followers refused to pay a bribe for their release. Again it was reported to the Mughal Governor of Tijara that Lál Dás,

though of Musulman birth, did not pray as a Musulman, nor call on the prophet, and that he taught alike Hindoos and Musulmans. So the Governor sent for Lál Dás, who went accompanied by twelve faithful followers. The Tijara Governor, as a test, offered Lál Dás meat, saying, that it was food lawful for a Musulman, and that he who was a Musulman and ate as such, was in the path of God. Lál Dás' reply shows how the system he followed, blended the teaching of the Koran with the Hindoo respect for animal life. 'Love God,' he said, God is one and separate from all. There is one path for Hindoo and Turk by which they come and go. Whoever kills, cuts his own throat, for the slaughtered creature is avenged by God's casting the murderer into Hell. Let me be shown how to escape before the judgment seat where God himself will do justice. The good keep in mind the fear of that day.'"

In spite of his asceticism, Lál Dás did not practise celibacy. He was married, and a divine voice told him that a son would be given to him who would be "a polar star." Daughter after daughter was born and died, but Lál Dás' faith remained unshaken. At length his wife gave birth to a son, but he, too, died in a few days. It is stated that Lál Dás, in his bereavements, was untroubled, "for God-worshippers are always joyful." The popular disappointment at the non-fulfilment of the prophecy expresses itself in the current legends regarding the child, whose tomb at Bandoli is a place of pilgrimage.

The account of Lál Dás is of course well garnished with miracles. He stands in the air; he converts bad water into good; he brings a dead fawn to life; he delivers himself and followers from lock and ward; he casts an evil-spirit out of the beloved daughter of the Tijara Governor; and the spirit appears to declare its submission. He cures a man of a foul skin-disease; he feeds a large number of visitors without adequate supplies; he confers supernatural power on certain disciples; meat turns to rice in his hands, &c. But in spite of all these wonders there is evidence in the narrative that Lál Dás not only did not systematically affect to work miracles, but that he set no value on the power of performing them. Thus, the wife of a follower is mentioned as disparaging him *because he worked no miracles*, and to his daughter, who was said to have miraculous power he remarked: that fame and wonder-working even were vanity, for they, too, pass away like the wind; purity and gentleness alone were availing.

Lál Dás seems to have changed his place of residence several times in the course of his life. From Bandoli he went to live at Todi, now a village of Gurgaon, on the Ulwar border, and eventually he died at Nagla, a Bhurtpore village, also close to

Ulwar territory. Before his death, which is said to have taken place when he was 107, he desired to select a successor. He thought he had found him in a man, one of whose essential qualifications was that "*he maintained himself and fed others out of the proceeds of his labor.*" However, the honored individual was so possessed with a sense of his own unworthiness that he preferred death to office, and Lál Dás' mantle seems to have descended upon no one.

Lál Dás' Tomb is at Sherpur, on the Ulwar border, near Nagla. It is a rather peculiar, low, massive, domed-building, with walls five feet thick, and a front a hundred feet long. Here, there is a fair three times in a year, attended by ten or twelve thousand persons on each occasion. The Sherpur fair is alway followed by smaller fairs at Bandoli and Dholi Dhub, so that nine fairs are yearly held in honor of Lál Dás.

Lál Dás' doctrine was apparently based on the mysticism of Kabír, the great teacher whom Hindoo and Musulman alike claimed as his own, and whose followers founded many sects of which the greatest is the Sikh.

A most attractive sketch of Kabír, based upon Wilson's Hindoo Sects, is to be found in Mr. Hunter's Orissa, and I will not here dwell on him, although a popular selection of his sayings which was met with in Ulwar, and which, I believe, has never been translated, tempts quotation.

But, notwithstanding that Lál Dás taught no new system, there was, if one may judge from the traditional account of him and from the words attributed to him, a remarkable individuality in the character and teaching of the man. I have already shown how he inculcated industry, both by precept and example, and even in the selection of his successor endeavoured to provide for a continuance of such exhortations after his death. The importance attached to this point is further indicated by the fact that the Lál Dási breviary opens with a condemnation of begging thus:

Láljí bhagat bhíkh na mánge,
Mángat áwe sharm.
Ghar ghar bándat dokh hai,
Kyá Bádsháh kyá Hurm.

"Saith Laljí, let not the devotee beg, begging is shameful, wandering from house to house is wrong, even if they be those of kings and queens." (That is, begging is begging, even if you beg only from the great and wealthy).

The second section of the breviary, which is on the true saint (Sàdh), likewise begins in the same strain—

Láljí Sádhu aisa cháhíye,
Dhan kamákar khái.
Hirde Harkí chákri,
Parghar kabhu na jái.

"Saith Laljí, the Sadh should be one who earns the food he eats. Let God's service be the hearts, and go not about begging." (That is, these are the two great duties).

In another part the following occurs :

Láljí ghar karo to hal karo,
Suno hamárá sikh,
Dozak we hí jáenge,
Gharbáre mánge bhikh,
Kyá mángte ká mán hai,
Mánga tukra khái!
Kutte jún hándat phire,
Janam akáráth jái.

"Saith Laljí, if you keep a house, then keep a plough. Listen to my teaching: they will go to hell, will those householders who beg—what honor has a beggar? One who begs and eats morsels, who wanders, begging like a dog, his life passes profitlessly."

Another noticeable point, both in his character and teaching is the severe element. His followers claim for him great mildness, and, no doubt, this claim was in the main just; for mildness is an essential part of the system of the class of teachers to which Lál Dás belonged, and indeed many indications of a kindly spirit are given in the account of his life and the collection of his sayings. But there was a severe side to his character which rather shocks a "mild Hindoo." Thus, he causes the death of a Mughal, who had laid hands on another man's wife; when the individual he had chosen to succeed him refused the responsibility of governing the infant sect, he ordered him either to comply or to bury himself alive. The "Sadh" he says, should be bold and open in speech, though the result be broken friendship, and on those who persistently reject counsel, he has no mercy.

Bahte ko bah ján do,
Mat pakráo thaur.
Samjháya samjhe nahín,
De dhakka do aur.

"Let the drifting man drift away, give him nothing to grasp; when warned, he would not listen, now give him a push or two."

The above extracts will serve to illustrate the style of the Lál Dásí breviary. It belongs to a class of popular books which perhaps deserves more attention from Europeans than they have met with. It treats very briefly in successive chapters of nine subjects. Following each exhortation, are hymns (bhajan) in an irregular metre, which embody the teaching and are adapted for singing. They occupy much the greater portion of the book. Musulman terms are used, but allusions to Hindoo mythology are not unfrequent. The first heading is the devotee and the word

of the true teacher. It is a general exhortation, which is repeated more in detail in the subsequent chapters.

The second and third are on self-control, and the true saint, who is fearless in speaking, who returns good for evil (*augun upar gun kare*) who is lord over his passions, resolute not to turn back. The fourth section is on respect for the rights and property of others, with which begging is inconsistent. The fifth treats of calmness, the ornament of the true saint. The sixth, is on the true hero, who fights and wins in the spiritual battle-field, where the coward crouches and regrets.

Súra tabhí jániye,
Lare dhaní ke het
Purja purja ho pare,
To na chhore khet.

"Think him only a good soldier who fights for his Lord; who may be cut to pieces, but leaves not his ground." The seventh, is on the true teacher, whose vigour, courage, and devotion are dwelt on, and who acts on Lál Dás' words.

So dhan Lálán sánchro,
So áge ko hóf.
Kándhe pichhe ganthrí,
Ját na dekha kof.

"Lay up," says Lal, "that treasure, which hereafter may avail, with a bundle on his shoulder never was man seen to leave the world."

In the two last sections the evil of greed and the advantages of asceticism are enlarged on, and the ultimate object is the mystic union with the deity. But the absurd practices advocated and practised by many other sects of mystics, such as sitting with the breath repressed and the eyes fixed on the end of the nose, are not recommended. On the whole, Lál Dás seems to have imposed a manly element into the popular mysticism of his day, and to have cared more for the fulfilment of practical duties than for philosophic speculation.

In the present day the Lál Dásí Sadhs are family men, as Lál Dás himself was. They marry with Meos, but do not eat with them. The initiatory rites which a devotee has to undergo, ought to ensure sincerity. In token of his abandonment of the world and worldly pride, he has to blacken his countenance, to mount on a donkey with his face to its tail, and to hang a string of shoes about his neck. A cup of *sherbat* is then given him and he becomes a member of the fraternity. A new devotee has been known to allow his house to be plundered of all it contained; and, besides maintaining himself by his own labor, it is incumbent on a good Lál Dásí to give of his earnings to others. But these are the saints ("Sadhs") and are comparatively few. There are

large numbers of Meos who merely hold Lál Dás in reverence as a "Pír" (Musulman saint) and a great Meo. Many Baniyas, too, and members of low Hindoo castes, look up to Lál Dás. His followers are most numerous in the eastern part of Ulwar, in Bhurtpore, and in the south of Gurgaon. In the city of Ulwar, and at several other places there are Lál Dás "makáns," or places of worship where "Sadhs" reside. Repetition of Ram's name and singing hymns to rude music seem to be the only forms of worship, but meditation, "keeping God's name in the heart," is held essential.—The day before each full moon, and every Sunday, are kept as fasts. A meal on those days is made in the evening, when it is a duty to light a lamp and keep it burning during the night.

P. W. P.

ART VIII.—RURAL LIFE IN NORTHERN INDIA.

THE recent sufferings of the peasantry in Upper India, and the patience with which they have been undergone, ought to have conferred on this large class of British subjects an unusual degree of interest for all who care in the least about the country.

The numbers affected are shown in the margin, figures almost too vast to be readily appreciated, amounting as they do, to a combined aggregate of nearly sixty millions, or about as much as the whole of Russia in Europe, without the German inhabitants. And this enormous collection of people is no mere sheepish multitude of human weeds, pullulating and dying, like vermin on a heap of refuse ; but a temperate, orderly, brave set of workers, most of them hardy and industrious agriculturists, who produce cereals, cotton and sugarcane, in affluent abundance, yet, Tantalus-like, starve too often in the midst of plenty.

It seems to be a fact that this general misery is so quietly borne that Europeans are often ready to make light of it. Others, while allowing its existense, give conflicting reasons for it, and prescribe hasty and inconsistent remedies. Take, as one instance, Miss Nightingale's earnest contribution to the *Nineteenth Century* for last July. That essay was valuable as a note of warning from a justly revered phillanthropist on a subject in which statistics and pure economic science are, by themselves, of insufficient power. For it is a truth, a wholesome truth, to be constantly repeated in speech and writing, that the enlightened action of the national conscience is the only thing that will permanently stimulate and support the agents of the British nation in doing for the people what Britain has undertaken to do. It is not much ; it consists partly in doing nothing ; but both acts and omissions must be actuated by right principles, or no good will come of them.

But it would be slaying the slain to prove that good Miss Nightingale, though she may sound an alarm, can never be in a position to give useful first-hand information, or enlighten the conscience that she may, perhaps, arouse. And a perusal of her essay under reference will show this. Not only is there the vague clinging to the Cottonian nostrum of irrigation (about which there is such conflicting testimony) but she runs amuck at the village bankers in a way quite inconsistent with detailed practical knowledge. If there is one thing more agreed upon than another by all classes of persons who have practical knowledge of the subject, it is that the "*bania*," like the poor, must be always with us. The business of the villages could not, as it at present exists, be carried on by any other agency. So as to the much vituperated civil

courts. If you must have a banker, the best thing is to minimise him, or, at all events, his evils—and that cannot be better done, so far as economic experience shows, than by protecting his security and controlling his rates of interest. That control need not usually be direct; the mere protection of the security, combined with freedom of commercial competition, must affect usurious rates for good. Nor, again, must the Indian official be unduly decried. He may not be the angel that his advocates represent; he probably does his work as well as officials of corresponding grades elsewhere. All officials have a good deal of human nature in them. If the leader-writers of the *Calcutta Pessimist*, or of any other journal, were to be in high office for a length of time, it can hardly be hoped that they would not contract official habits and qualities, some of them at least tinged with the frailty of imperfect man. But what then? These are questions to be treated comparatively. Let Mr. Caird, or any other important and competent observer, be taken indiscriminately through territories swayed by native rulers and through British districts; he would in no long time learn enough to enable him to point out the lines of demarcation as he was passing them. Great as may be the poverty prevailing in British India, the Native state is distinguished by a sparse population, a slovenly agriculture, bad roads, and ruinous, ill kept towns. The anarchy which in the opinion of the *Pessimist* exists only in the imagination of chauvinist civilians, is present, to a mitigated degree, even now; its past reality is testified by native historians.

The last volume of Professor Dowson's *History of India told by its own Historians*, is full of such testimony. One extract must suffice here. It is from the *Muntakhab ul tawarikh*, the work of a Delhi Munshi written at Allahabad at the time when it was, or had but lately been, under the *Nawabs* of Oudh:—"At this time there is no Government but that of Mahrattas, Sikhs and Faringhis. God forbid! that the Faringhis should imitate the Mussalmans in carrying out a holy war against the infidels. God be praised! those wretches are now the sufferers. From the day that the rule of the English has been established, even the wing of a gnat has not been injured. Although it must be acknowledged that *employment in their service is as rare as a Phoenix*, yet there is extreme security under them."

It is to be hoped that Indian Administration is not worse now than it was then; we see how it struck a man who had seen the preceding anarchy. It would almost seem as if the strength of the new Government was connected with the paucity of native *employés*. The writer proceeds: "I have myself seen the depredations of the Afghans round Delhi and Muthra. God defend us from them!" He might have added that after the Afghans had departed, the

gleanings of their evil harvest were gathered by the *Moghul Prime Minister himself*. Another writer of about the same date (1805) speaks in still stronger terms of the blessings introduced by British rule. (VIII. 371).

These men remembered the past and were able to appreciate the change. What was then newly substituted has now become old and familiar, and familiarity has borne its usual brood. But there is the testimony—and stronger might be cited from other records, the native writers not being in the habit of noticing the sufferings of the people unless they are very great. It is idle to exaggerate: British rule has done much; and its very failures come from too high aims and a desire to force native society into paths for which its feet are not yet prepared. But this zeal and this impatience on the part of local rulers are to be checked by intelligent opinion in Europe; not “judging by a Western standard,” but learning what are the sorrows and cares of the people, and how far they are the fruit of foreign administration, even when—as is no doubt usually the case—it is inspired by good intentions. “Grinding oppression” and “unrelieved misery” are certainly not the fruits of British officialism, but it might easily be more intelligent and sympathetic.

That there is room for improvement in these respects is clear from the diversity of opinions that one meets with among Europeans who have served in the country for years, and yet cannot agree either as to the ills under which the people suffer, or as to the means of their relief. The most general opinion seems to be that the village-bankers and the courts of law are the chief evils.

This, however, is a heavy indictment against civilisation, and ought not to be admitted without most careful examination of the evidence. It is hardly worth while to refute the other equally prevalent opinion that distress is confined to the Deccan. So far from the assertion of these optimists being true, it is well known to those who study the social phenomena of the country that the dead level of want, and the weight of encumbrance to keep men there, make the general rule over Indian provinces, only varying more or less according to accidental conditions, and especially to the vicissitudes of the seasons. Those who assert the contrary may be safely classed among (1) the ignorant; (2) the indifferent; (3) the official *quand même*, the apologist of mal-administration in high places, whose feet, instead of contracting the dust and disorder of the clods, are “beautiful upon the mountains.” And even to the men of these classes comes a periodical awakening. Every few years a failure of periodical rain occurs; sometimes here, sometimes there; more partial in one year, more general in another. Then it is seen that the people have no reserve of

capital, of food, of seed. When their ballocks have died for want of fodder, and they have sold their rude ploughs and bedsteads, they crowd to the Government for relief, or die like flies on their own dunghills. This is now being enquired into. Better late than never. It is undeniable that evil exists in rural India. And it is unfortunately true that some of it is distinctly traceable to the introduction of improved ideas of administration. We have no means of learning the statistics of Mogul rule. Like the Pashas of to-day in Turkey, those rulers never thought of taking a census, or, if they did, must have thought of it with the same horror as did the Jews of David's time. But the sin of "numbering the people" has been committed at various periods since the introduction of British rule into Hindustan. Let us take at random a subdivision close to Agra, the old Moghul Capital. We are told by Mr. McConaghey that the first enumeration of *Par-*

	Year.	Rate.
A.D.	1858	... 577
	1865	... 553
	1872	... 605
	1873-4	... 617

gana Mahaban was taken in 1848, when the people ran 460 to the square mile, of whom nearly half were agriculturists. This, which would be a high rate in itself, has gone on, increasing as shown in the margin

up to the year in which the settlement was concluded. In less than thirty years, that is to say, population, in a quiet, non-commercial neighbourhood, had advanced about thirty per cent., the rate in the last two years being more than one-tenth of the whole increase. Simultaneously with this advance of population there had been a considerable increase in the quantity of land available for the cultivator's use. Thus the demesne land of the proprietors had decreased, while the area in the hands of recorded tenants having rights of occupancy had extended from seventeen thousand acres to nearly forty-five thousand. This extension, however, failed to keep pace with the increase of the number of persons wanting agricultural employment; insomuch that whereas, when the records were revised in 1849, each tenant with rights had an average holding of eight-and-a-half acres, the average area of each holding in 1873 had fallen to six-and-a-half. The price of land had risen from a little over nine-and-a-half rupees per acre to nearly sixteen; and sixty-three per cent. of the whole cultivated area had changed hands; but this need not necessarily affect the condition of the cultivating tenants, who form the bulk of the agriculturists. Practically it does so, and for this reason. The thirty men of business who invest capital in the acquisition of land, do so partly for position, no doubt. But they also desire to get a return for their money. Hence the advance of the community from status to contract is accelerated; in twenty years the rent rate has risen from Rs. 2 an acre to over Rs. 5. Moreover, the former proprietors are holding dwindled estates or have

tenants. And the tenants, and small proprietors, here as elsewhere, are the chief sufferers.

All this points to at least temporary distress on the part of the people at large ; due, in some measure, to the introduction of what we are in the habit of considering improved administration, in the shape of improved traffic, and high prices which do not reach the small farmer ; of law, that facilitates the enforcement of engagements ; and of order, which renders the occupancy of land more valuable as a security. At the same time certain improvident habits, inherited from fore-fathers who lived in the very different circumstances of the last century, continue to keep up the need for advances of money and the rate of interest upon them. On any other grounds it is absolutely inconceivable that borrowers should be found willing to pay twenty-four and thirty-six per cent. on the security of land. So that, although the sufferings of society may be partly caused by the birth-pains of a better life, they are not caused by civilisation alone, but by the British introduction of European ideas into a community impregnated already with habits engendered by centuries of barbarism and disorder. New wine is being poured into old bottles.

Let us look a little into the above figures, extracted from an official report. A family, on an average, has to live on a patch of six-and-a-half acres. Suppose the average yield of such a holding to be 1,200lbs. of wheat per acre, selling at about Rs. 30 an acre, which will be allowed by the most competent judges to be a high estimate. The gross yearly income of such a family would be $6\frac{1}{2} \times 30 = 195$ rupees. But out of this they would have to pay an average rental of $5\frac{1}{2}$ rupees an acre, or, say—Rs. 35 a year, leaving them Rs. 160, out of which (1) to maintain themselves and (2) to buy seed, and to replace wear and tear of tools and cattle. Now for the first item, a family of five cannot well be fed and clothed (living free of house rent) for less than ten rupees a month, or Rs. 120 a year. This leaves Rs. 40 for all other purposes, including besides those above stated, the provision for bad years. How is this to be done ? We may ask in vain for a long time. It is not done at all. Well, what does that mean ? Why simply, that, in good years, the copy-holders, and the small proprietors, favoured yeomen holding ancestral farms, have not the means of spending 2 rupees, say—3s. 6d. per month, or a little more than ten pence a week, on the food and clothing of each member of the family. What then can they do in bad years, or when other exceptional circumstances, such as a marriage or a funeral, add to their outlay ? Money they must have. That money they must raise on the only security they have to offer, their crops or their landed rights. So raised, it can scarcely ever be repaid. Yet the interest, at least, must be liquidated on pain of law costs and

imprisonment in execution. The village-banker must be conciliated and kept in good humour ; and the practical result is that the crops—otherwise, by legal theory, hypothecated to the State, or to the landlord—are really hypothecated to him who pays the rent and makes other opportune advances from time to time.

These considerations are not incompatible with a belief that, however a rude society may suffer when it first induces institutions not spontaneously produced by itself, however hard may be the pains caused by schooling to adults, the fault is not entirely in civilisation. Nay, more, a race like the British cannot undertake the government of an Eastern country solely for sordid interests of its own. The labourer is worthy of his hire ; *but he must labour*. England would be a laughing-stock and an opprobrium to gods and men if she did not try to introduce order and security and good habits and ways of looking at things among the people of India. But the indigenous practices cannot be uprooted at once ; having grown with the growth of society, they have become a part thereof ; and reform must take notice of them, and indeed use them as its substructure and foundation. In the meanwhile, how does this people live ?

The rural gentry, the class of "squires," holding more land than they can cultivate with the aid of their families and dependants and living in a rude plenty, are not numerous, nor need their peculiarities detain us long. The house in which such a family dwells is usually built in an old *Garhi*, or Fort, on a slight eminence. Dismantled after the troubles of 1857, the earthen ramparts are still strong enough to keep out thieves, and the gate is closed at night. The space within the enclosure is partly surrounded by cattle sheds, stables, and partly by masonry buildings, with small brick lattices, appropriated to the women. On one side of the main yard stands an ancient *nim-tree*, which, in the perennial sunshine of the long day, throws a mobile tracery of shade over the terrace and arched opening of the *Barádari*, or Hall of business, where the master sits among his favorites. Long limbed retainers sprawl on cots in the corners ; old women grind corn on the verandah floors ; pampered curs bask lazily where the flies swarm in the glare ; a slovenly and good humoured abundance reigns ; luxury is confined to a dreamy inhaling of tobacco smoke through a rude *hookah* ; in the evening the village Barber calls and shampoos the great man's feet. Not a book, gun, fishing-rod, or sporting-dog, is often to be seen ; here and there may be found an old Hindu M. S. copy of the *Ramayana* of Tulsi Das, a Rampore greyhound, a cast of hawks.

If such is the highest outcome of country life, it may easily be understood that the existence of the yeomen, the chandlers, the copy-holders, and the day-laborers is not more lively or refined. In fact it goes down, with infinite gradations, until it stops not far

short of the life of the troglodyte, or the quadruped. Leaving the *garhi*, the Fort where we have seen the Lord of the Manor listening to an obscene fairy-tale in his *Barádari*, while the two obsequious parasites kept the flies from browsing on his features, let us descend into the main square, or *chauk*. Nothing less like a European village can be well imagined. It is the Fort, again, but in a more neglected and poverty-stricken state ; more earthen walls, *nim-trees*, pariah-dogs, and flies ; the women again grinding corn, or drawing water, or else making cakes of cow dung for fuel ; the men generally loafing and lounging when not absent in their fields ; the houses little better than mud pies on a large scale, tenanted by pot-bellied children in a state of more or less complete nudity, screaming with pain and hunger, or stalking gloomily about like undeveloped ghosts.

There is no drainage. Heaps of refuse lie here and there ; the centre line of the road is lower than the sides and serves for a sewer as well as for a thoroughfare. Slightly raised above the road is an earthen mound, faced on one side by a portico of the same material with a terraced roof of beaten mud and a tattered lean-to of ancient thatch. This is the *chaupal* or *chauntra*, the humble guildhall of the village, common to the use of all the proprietary body, and used for the accommodation of mendicant friars and other public guests. Here also assemble the *panchaiats*, or councils of elders ; and here the *patwari*, or accountant, sits to collect rents and audit the accounts of the concern, some four times in the year.

These villages, or townships, are held on various tenures, as is well known. In some the occupant of the *garhi*, the old *Thákur*, or hereditary chief, holds all the rights of a tenant-in-chief under the crown, or they are jointly held by the members of the same family. Estates of this sort often pass into the hands of the bankers, who continue to hold them on the same tenure.

But, in such a village, township, or parish, as we are supposing, there are a variety of estates, loosely held together by a joint responsibility for the fiscal payment, but managed in various ways by various persons and classes. The *Thákur* of the *garhi* holds one subdivision, or *Thok* ; a second belongs to a community of Rajputs who cultivate small holdings apportioned among themselves by private and amicable arrangement ; another section consists of land common to the whole parish, let out to strangers whose money-payments, for cultivation, grazing, and other manorial uses, form a balance divisible among all the sharers at the end of the year ; lastly, a couple of shares have been broken off and appropriated by degrees under mortgages and judgement-sales in favour of the local banker. This person's modest place of business next meets the eye, nearly opposite the public *Chaupal*. It has nothing to attract notice in the way of pointed brick-work, painted

blinds, plate-glass, stucco, or cast-iron; it is indeed more in the nature of a cavern, in the front part of which the owner and his clerk squat upon the ground, with little stock-in-trade visible excepting a pair of scales and a day-book stitched in coarse cloth, dyed a dull crimson. The banker is a portly man, of middle age, with a large pair of silver-rimmed spectacles, and plump hands, of which the small taper fingers bend back as he lays down his pen and looks up. We then fancy we observe that the spectacles are a mere ornament, so keen is the glance of the beady, black onyx-eyes that peer at you over their shining frame-work. When the day becomes hot the banker goes to sleep, but it is with one eye, at least, open, to watch the stalwart Brahmin guard, who keeps ward over his *siesta*. At sunset the shop is closed, and *Bohra ji* goes to his home, an inhospitable structure of unplastered masonry, half hidden in a gloomy lane. High up in the walls are a few small unglazed apertures, scarce worthy the name of windows. The terraced roofs of unequal height, are drained by spouts calculated to discharge sewage into the yards of his neighbours. Everything about this fat and cosy Ishmaelite shows that his hand is against every man in anticipation of a day when every man's hand will be against him. But in the meanwhile he is necessary, and is accordingly borne with; his many misdeeds are overlooked, his extortions submitted to, with murmurs, but without active resistance. Deprived of his advances of cash the tenants could not pay their rent, nor the proprietors meet the Government demand. In order, therefore, to keep him in good humour and maintain "the dative case" in constant operation, all their business must go through his hands. Accordingly, when the crops are cut and carried, they lie in the *kaliáns*, or grain-floors, drying, subject to the banker's disposal. Advances of millet and maize, the less marketable kinds of produce, are made by him from time to time for the food of the people; but these are sternly debited in the accounts. The rate charged is not the rate current in the market, but an enhancement of from 2 lbs. to 5 lbs. according to the state of the season, rising highest in times of the greatest abundance. That is to say that, if in a good year grain is selling 40 lbs. per rupee the producer is charged for his advances of food at the rate of a rupee for 35 lbs. On the other hand the crops taken over from him are valued at so much less, and he is required to deliver 45 lbs. for each rupee credited to his account.

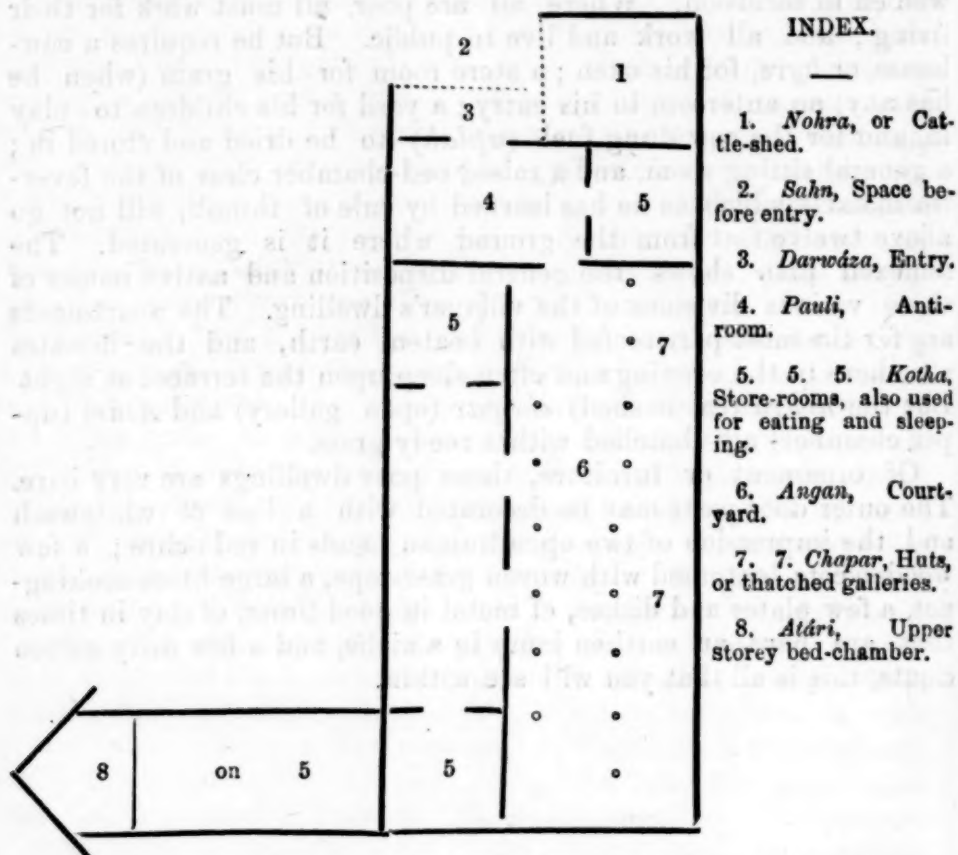
Such is the village-banker, and such are the principles of his business, in some cases a very lucrative calling. Instances are known of these men accumulating two and three *lakhs* of Rupees.

His house is a sort of midway between the coarse comfort of the *garhi* and the squalor of the ordinary cottage. We have seen the former; let us now take a glance at a favorable specimen of the latter.

The agricultural yeoman cannot usually afford to keep his women in seclusion. Where all are poor, all must work for their living; and all work and live in public. But he requires a cow-house, or *byre*, for his oxen; a store room for his grain (when he has any) an anteroom in his entry; a yard for his children to play in, and for the cow dung fuel (*uplah*) to be dried and stored in; a general sitting room, and a raised bed-chamber clear of the feverish malaria which, as he has learned by rule of thumb, will not go above twelve feet from the ground where it is generated. The annexed plan shows the general disposition and native names of these various divisions of the villager's dwelling. The apartments are for the most part roofed with beaten earth, and the inmates sit there in the evening and often sleep upon the terraces at night. But the *nohra* (cattle-shed) *chapar* (open gallery) and *Atári* (upper chamber) are thatched with a reedy grass.

Of ornament or furniture, these poor dwellings are very bare. The outer door-posts may be decorated with a line of whitewash and the impression of two open human hands in red ochre; a few wooden cots, bottomed with woven grass-rope, a large brass cooking-pot, a few plates and dishes, of metal in good times, of clay in times that are hard, an earthen lamp in a niche, and a few dirty cotton clouts, this is all that you will see within.

GROUND PLAN OF A TYPICAL HINDUSTANI COTTAGE.



Such is a rough but faithful picture of the Hindustani village. Variations must be expected; but they will be found to depend chiefly on size. Where the place is small, the banker's shop and *chaupal* are the only places of business, and the few secondary wants of the peasant will be supplied by pedlars. In a large community you may find a competitive banker, a resident chandler, draper, and brazier; above all, if the estate belong to a Jāt brotherhood and there have been no divisions among them, you will see neither *garhi*, nor rich banker's dwelling, but equality and a general air of stationary contentment, which is perhaps the highest ideal that the people have at present the means of forming.

Yet they are by no means savages. Many of them have mastered those "three Rs." which are the essential rudiments of human knowledge. There is a school accessible to nearly every village. Well paid watchmen patrol by night. Pleasant festivals are occasionally celebrated. The intercourse of the people among themselves is usually mild and polite; there is no drunkenness; and it may be doubted whether the standard of intelligence and be-

haviour is not higher than among the corresponding classes in European society.

The country, locally called Hindustan, or "the Land of the Hindus," extends over five degrees of latitude ; but, apart from the slight differences of climate thus caused, presents conditions that are generally uniform. Everywhere the year is divided into three great seasons, the hot weather, the rains, the cold (or cool) season. Anywhere not unusually raised above the sea-level, the duration of each of these periods is about equal: at Saharanpur or Lahore the cool season lasts longer, at Benaras the hot weather is the longest, the rains being an intermediate period, which is warmer, or cooler, according to the annual variations in the supply and distribution of the moisture brought up by the monsoon.

The effect upon agriculture of this natural division of the year is to cause two harvests, with a certain period of inaction interposed between them. The cool season resembles the winter of southern Europe, or rather perhaps of northern Africa ; slight frosts take place on clear nights ; in the day the sun is warm, the air generally dry and of a temperature of, say 70° Fahr. in the shade. The harvests chiefly raised at this time of year are wheat, barley, and gram, a sort of vetch, or chick-pea (*cicer arietinum*) which, from its nitrogenous properties, forms a favorite food both of man and beast. A tall crop of lentils, called "*arhar*" is also grown for the same purpose ; a quarter of a pound of "*dal*" (cooked and seasoned by the females) forming the favorite accompaniment of the pound of farinaceous cakes which constitute the staple nourishment of the people. These cakes are not, however, generally made of wheat or barley, but of the cheaper grains to be hereafter mentioned. This cold weather (*Rabi*) harvest is sown at the end of the rainy season, earlier in some places, later in others, but roughly speaking as follows :—

GRAM—in all October.

BARLEY—October—November.

WHEAT—in all November.

MELONS—in all December.

The harvesting takes place in March and April ; except in the case of melons, which do not ripen till the beginning of June. These crops are all marketable and generally pass untouched into the hands of the banker.

Then comes that frightful season rightly denominated "the hot weather." The winds, usually blowing from the westward, over the arid deserts of western Rájputana, are like the blast of a glass-house. Sand-storms and occasional showers may somewhat mitigate them ; but all excepting snow-fed rivers gradually, fail and the land becomes as hard as in the opposite extreme of a North-Europe frost. All agriculture is then suspended, unless where canal water

or other copious irrigation permits the growth of sugar cane. This is the most expensive, but also the most profitable, of all the crops of Upper India ; it is reaped in the winter months, and yields, under favorable conditions, as much as 150 rupees per acre. Cotton is sown a little later, and plucked in the beginning of winter; the yield of this is also very profitable, say—500 lbs. average per acre. Like sugar it requires much manure and water ; and these two (as also the winterwheat) are chiefly raised in the home-lands lying round the inhabited area, where the wells are numerous, where manure is easily carried, and where the precious produce is most easily watched and guarded.

In the latter part of June, when the clouds come blackening up from the west and south, laden with the welcome moisture evaporated from the distant ocean, heavy rain usually falls, first upon the sub-Himalayas, and then upon the plains at their feet. Then begins the labour of rural life. Want is for a time relieved, crime diminishes, the cattle graze at peace in the low forests of *dhák* (*Butea frondosa*), and the ploughman is everywhere seen turning over the easily saturated upper soil of the fields with a rude wooden plough, drawn by oxen, such as his fathers used a thousand years ago. Now is the time for sowing rice in the soft, damp, meadow lands, where soon the brimming streams will be diverted into the little moveable channels (the *mobiles rivos* of Latin poetry). The other crops, *kacharia*, *bajra* and *jowár*, are also now sown ; that is as soon as the land is ready. They require no artificial irrigation if the rain be regular and of average quantity : if not, artificial irrigation will not avail for the production of good crops, since rain alone can wash off the small vermin which otherwise load and devour the leaves and seeds. Of these articles of produce the first is a cucurbitaceous creeper with an edible fruit, the others tall plants of the millet or sorhgo class, all reaped soon after the rains are over, *jowár*, the last of all. The importance of these crops consists less in their money-value than in their constituting the food of man and beast. The *kacharia* is eaten raw ; and of the millets the seeds are ground into meal to make the people's "unleavened bread," while the leaves and tall stalks, from 5 to 9 feet in height, and containing saccharine juice, are the favorite fodder of the cattle when the grass is gone. Hence, when the monsoon rains fail, there must always be intense distress, which cannot be compensated by the most abundant cold-weather harvest : for the cultivators must be put on short rations and the cattle must altogether starve in proportion as these things are wanting. What is the cause of these sufferings among so frugal a race of men ? Why have they no savings to fall back on in such times ? Much has been said about the idleness, the bad husbandry, and the inveterately unscientific habits of the Indian

cultivators. Most of this is false, or much exaggerated. The peasantry of Hindustan, or Northern India, love laziness, like some of their betters ; but they are strong, hardy, frugal ; they marry early in life and have large families. Such people are willing and able to work hard ; and they cannot live unless they do so work. As for bad or unscientific husbandry, their ways are not the ways of Mechi ; but they manage uncommonly well. It is estimated that an acre of good land under wheat will yield over twelve hundreds lbs. average and an acre of barley even more.* The rent would not be more than £1, and the agriculturists ought to prosper. The rough plough that is used is enough for the sort of soil that is generally met with throughout the country, a vegetable detritus a few inches only in depth, lying upon a table of actual concrete, or of a substance harder than clay. You have only to watch an excavation in progress to satisfy yourself that nothing arable exists below the surface. The rotation of crops is understood ; and if manure is not used in due abundance, it is only because of the scarcity of coal and fire-wood which compels the people to the use of cowdung, dried and made into convenient lumps, for fuel, as already mentioned.

One word more may be added on the subject of religion, that engrossing subject of rural life in general. The Indian rustic is not more priest-ridden than his brethren elsewhere. The population is of two main classes, as distinct in their beliefs and practices as the Pagans and the Jews in the old Roman Empire. The majority—the Hindus—are a people of Lares and Penates, of fasti and omens. The Temple—a sort of chapel built by some prosperous banker—is a small shrine where a black idol sits grinning, under the ceiling of a curious, truncated steeple. There is little accommodation for worshippers ; but at stated hours the attendant (a minister whose vestment consists mainly of a piece of string) bathes the monster, or adorns it with marigolds. Sometimes a gong is beaten ; or a shell-trumpet, not less monotonously sounded, helps to keep away the evil spirits who might disturb the God's repose. But a large minority of the population—a sixth or so—consists of Musalmans to whom all this superstition is abominable. In populous places you will see a small open court-yard with a cistern of water, backed by a low wall, in the centre of which is a flat recess looking westward. Here, the faithful bathe and bow themselves, like Daniel in captivity when he looked towards Jerusalem. With the face turned towards his prophet's tomb the Moslem worshipper prostrates himself in this simple sanctuary. No Idol, no symbol is there ; if he would find God, he must search in his own beating heart. Like Jehovah of old, his Deity dwel-

* See final note.

leth not in temples made with hands; and where there is no mosque, the Moslem can worship to the same effect by bending only towards the evening sky.

It is evident, then, that the sufferings of the people are neither caused by idleness, nor bad husbandry, nor by an excess of devotion to superstition and its ministers. One thing, however, there is, in this connection, which would run away with their hoards if they had any, and that is the amount of money that they lavish on weddings. But the state of their finances is normally bad; and one solitary extravagance can make but little difference to people so hopelessly involved as they are.

Other dissipations are beyond their reach and practically unknown, unless an occasional holiday, soberly and rationally observed, merits the name.

The visit of a band of tumblers, half gypsies, half religious mendicants, the *Holi* of the Hindus, the *Moharam* of the Mohamadans, such are the poor pastimes of this race of hardly treated men. The following lines are a literal version of a song sung before H. R. H. the Prince of Wales in 1876, at a village between Agra and Fatihpur-Sikri. And the song is preserved here as a genuine specimen of the amusements of the villagers. It must be understood to be the representation of a young peasant-girl's feelings, who is to have a rich partner in the cotillon of the *Holi*, the great spring-festival, and who wishes to bespeak her partner's indulgence for a mean and undecorated appearance:

Song of the poor holiday-maker (*expressive of the bashful feelings of a poor girl asked to dance with a rich one as a partner*).

No fine scarlet scarf have I,
Nor kirtle of Arabian dye,
If such you ask, I cannot hope
In the games with you to cope;
Maiden fair!
My shame is yours to share.

II.

Silver collars O! forget,
And the ropes of amulet;
If such you ask, I cannot play
With you, this spring holiday;
Maiden fair!
My shame is yours to share.

III.

I have no bracelet strung with charms,
Nor silver bangles for my arms;

If such you ask, I cannot be
One in your festivity.
Maiden fair !
My shame is yours to share.

IV.

Jingling gauds for joyful feet
Worn by me you will not meet;
If such you ask, it is not mine—
Hand-in-hand with you to shine.
Maiden fair !
But you my shame will share.

Nor is spring the only season of rest and joy and music. The following charming passage from an extinct Anglo-Indian periodical speaks of the pleasures that follow fruition, as the *Holi* heralded hope.

"When the harvest is gathered in, the village, "season" begins. The villagers call on one another, marriages are arranged, and * screaming brides are brought home across the fields to happy bridegrooms. Then the merry *tom-tom* rattles o' nights! while the shrill *alghuza* and wild notes of the women express a joy which is still tempered with sadness. A strain of triumphant gladness rises to the stars, breaks suddenly, the night wind moans across it, and it shivers to earth again in discordant fragments. The hired dancers drown the sorrow with their loud tambourines, twirl around and fling their arms about in a new ecstasy, which gradually subsides into prolonged monotonous motion and ends like the music—in weariness and heaviness of heart. The screech-owl floats noiselessly across the moon; the gathering disperses, threadbare blankets are wrapped round shivering forms, the villager's best friend descends, the universal mother, sleep—and takes her children to her bosom. Dream on, sad way-farers! the journey before you is a rough one, but the holy river and everlasting rest bounds all."

On the other hand, if the hope of the *Holi* has not been fulfilled in the fruition of the harvest; if the monsoon has not brought up the seasonable moisture from the Indian Ocean; if the food of men and the fodder of cattle have failed; then there are no songs or simple festivities any more. But the strong go to "Malwa"—an almost imaginary land of cockaine rooted in old tradition—and the weak lie down and die at home; the bold take to gang-robbery, and the docile flock to the Government relief-works in search of the

* Note. When a Hindu bride is reckoned a point of delicacy with her being brought to her new home, it is to shout and scream on the journey.

proverbial *adh ser ata* (a pound of flour) with which to sustain nature. The starved cattle lie helpless in the dusty ditches, their large meek eyes watching the birds of prey that wheel over them, ever near and nearer. The pots and pans, the very bedsteads and the thatches of out-houses are sold. Desolation reigns without a rival. Who is sufficient for these things?

Who is to minister to these wants? who has the skill to heal these pains? Are the foreign rulers, to whom the destinies of these poor patient tribes have been entrusted, to hear for ever the gibe of the facile Fleming—*Les Anglais sont justes mais ils ne sont pas bons*—like him who bade his Master take that which was His?

“The millions suffer still and groan
And what can helpers heal?
With old-world cures men half believe
For woes they wholly feel.
And yet they have such need of joy!
And joy whose grounds are true,
And joy that should all hearts employ
As when *the past* was new.”

A *new hope*—so the poet says—is needed; and it will be neither fulfilled, nor even kindled by the old methods. But let the mechanical methods of the administrator, his good-will and industry, be once touched and imformed by sympathetic wisdom. Till then we are but storm-beaten sailors, lying upon the dark wet deck, and longing for the sun to rise, and warm and guide our hearts.

In conclusion, a few actual events recorded in the criminal courts may be added to illustrate the life of these people by showing them in action. The first story shows dull persistency in evil, dull credulity on the other side. Let us call it:—

WHOLESALE MURDER BY A RETAIL DEALER.

A young man, named Ajita went to live in a small country town, and set up a store there. The resident chandler, Ghási Rám, who had hitherto enjoyed a monopoly of the local custom, was much disturbed by this intrusion, and quarreled with Ajita and his family, whom he threatened with deadly vengeance if they did not retire from the area of his dealings and leave him free to sell his goods without competition. On finding these threats disregarded, he cast about for means of carrying them into effect; and it was not long before chance and his own cunning combined to provide them. It happened that Ajita had a brother, a half-witted youth who lived in the house, or hung about in the neighbouring streets, basking and idling as is the wont of his class. Ghási Rám resolved to make this poor wretch the medium of mischief, hoping that he would at the same time divert suspicion from himself.

He accordingly began to attach the simpleton to himself by frequent gifts of little articles of confectionary, and by the aid of these soon succeeded in making a fast friend of the helpless creature. One day, when his plans were ripe, he handed the lad half a pound of a sweetmeat locally known as *ludāu*. The latter, duly prompted, took it home and gave it to the women of his family. It was shared among the women and children at supper, but it does not appear that Ajita joined in eating it ; so that the object of the crime was defeated. It proved to contain such a quantity of poison that no less than eleven people died after partaking of it. On the Police hearing of this frightful casualty, they proceeded to the spot, and, collecting the neighbours, held the usual inquiry. A boatman, named Máhipat, then came forward and told them that he had seen Ghási Rám leave his house the first thing in the morning of this night of horror. Shortly after which he (Mahipat) was summoned to remove from Ajita's the body of a girl of twelve, who had been the first victim. This was confirmed by Ajita, who had escaped the effects of the fatal feast, and who described how his enemy had called that morning to ask how they all were ; and, on hearing that the girl was dead, had advised that the body should be at once thrown into the neighbouring river. The Police then sent for Ghási. He was not at home, having judged it prudent to retire until the storm blew over. But he had not gone far, and was soon traced and brought to justice. The affair does not take many words to relate ; but is typical of the mingled stupidity and cunning, the apathetic vindictiveness and the equally apathetic indifference that are so often found among the people of hot countries.

A still more typical case is the following : and it is one that is repeated at almost every sessions in the Provinces ; it shall be called, in the words of its best describer,* :

FOUL PLAY IN THE JUNGLES.

"The crime is the murder of native boys for their personal ornaments. Almost every Magistrate in North-West India would be able to show annually, in the register of crime in his district two or three such cases. And so similar are the circumstances under which the crime is committed, that it is possible to give a kind of specimen case, from which no others would very materially differ.

It should be premised that sons are greatly honored in Hindu families. This is thus accounted for by a native writer ; his own English is given as follows :—Among the Hindus there is a great desire for male children, for the following reasons :—In the first

* PAUL BENISON.—*The Chameleon* I. p 37.

place they expect them to perpetuate their names; secondly, they hope to be supported by them in old age; and lastly, they are pleased with the thought that there will be an increase of their nearer relations, or of those who will be under their immediate paternal government. For these reasons, *that* man is considered very highly favored who has only boys in his family. These objects are not accomplished by female children, they have consequently no desire for daughters, and girls are not valued like boys. To this may be added that a Hindu attaches great importance to the performance of the *shradh* ceremonies, which a son carries out on the anniversary of his father's death.

"In consequence of this high position which boys hold in a family, they are, of course, greatly caressed and petted. The Indian lads are generally very good-looking. Premature marriage and the use of narcotics soon deface the freshness and beauty of their youth; but in childhood they are animated and intelligent; their features are good; their limbs supple; their gestures full of grace and ease. The use of farinaceous food, to the exclusion of all other, appears to have at first a tendency to create corpulence, and it is excessively droll sometimes to see a little man, of perhaps two or three years, strutting about with a girth of civic expansion—an alderman, as might be said, in *duodecimo*. But this wears off, and the lad at five years gains the slender active figure we associate with such an age. One of the ways in which fathers seek to testify the pride they entertain for their sons is in the ornamentation of their persons. Rich parents, who can afford to employ an attendant to constantly watch the children, would provide a gold necklace, gold bracelets, an armlet with a jewel in it, and so on. But children, who run about by themselves, are of course, not bedecked in this fashion. The ordinary pet boy of a small farmer would perhaps wear some ten or twelve shillings worth of silver ornaments. These would consist of a necklace and a pair of bracelets; generally, simple bars of silver rounded and worked at the two ends into some rude shape; a snake's head, for instance. The silversmith puts them on; and they are not intended to be taken off; but a little violence suffices to bend the ends asunder so as to admit of their removal."

The writer proceeds to illustrate by a case which occurred within his own knowledge.

"A young man named Jeeta, working in a field, saw a child go by whom he knew, decked out in ornaments. He seduced him into a lonely place, robbed him of the silver, and pushed him down a well. But the child's fall was broken on a ledge: the well was not deep, and contained only a foot or so, of water. Then came a little voice from below—'Jeeta! I am not hurt.' The guilty wretch could have listened perhaps, without emotion to a

suffocating death-cry; but this slender, forgiving note touched even his black heart. He stripped himself naked, tied his loin-cloth and turban together to make a rope, leaned on the brink as far as he could and helped the lad out. But curiously enough, though he had sufficient repentance to save his little victim, he had not strength of mind sufficient to return the silver ornaments, but hid them and lied about them, and was of course found out and arrested. He ended by confessing, and the child's statement—admirably clear, though not sworn evidence, corroborated his own admissions. He was committed to the Sessions Court and sentenced to sixteen years' imprisonment."

Another curious feature of the rural life of these parts is to be found in the furious fights in which the villagers freely engage. The following is a specimen :—

CARNAGE IN PRIVATE LIFE.

There was a village, called *Ghāzi Garhi*, lying between two others, Bhainsa and Rājmal, with both of which its people had long been on bad terms. On the morning of the 12th April 1877, —the slack season when the spring harvest is reaped and the ground not yet ready for sowing the autumn crops—Satan found mischief for the idle hands of these communities. A Rajput shareholder in Bhainsa, who happened to be free from their local feuds, stated that on that day he was walking across the fields from Rājmal, in the direction of his home, early in the morning, when he observed some ten or a dozen men, armed with swords, collected in a grove, or orchard, by the wayside, under the direction of a cripple, named Himmat Singh, the chief landlord of Rājmal, who was on horseback with a mounted follower. Further on, by the boundary of his own township, he met some of the people of Bhainsa, his village, also armed, and was informed by them that they were going to help Himmat in an attack upon *Ghāzi Garhi*. He went on his way, having business of his own to attend to. In the meantime a third group of persons had assembled at Rājmal the village that this man had just left; and they, too, marched towards *Ghāzi Garhi*, where they formed on the border of the parish, and began to use provocatory language towards some of the people whom they found there. This rencontre was seen by the village watch of Rājmal, who went off to the station to announce that they apprehended a breach of the peace. Two poor men, strangers, subsequently stated—apparently, without bias, that, looking on from the shelter of a well, they witnessed the actual encounter which ensued soon after. But, as often happens, the details are not all clear.

The sub-inspector went to the place about four o'clock in the afternoon; but in the meantime the mischief had been done. The officers on arriving at Rājmal, which came in their road, found three

dead men lying in a grain-floor three or four fields from the village. Going on to Gházi Garhi they there found much blood lying on the ground, and marks of dragging something heavy along the dusty surface. Two men were lying wounded in one house and two in another. From one of them they learned that Himmat Sinh had ridden up to his floor that morning, while he sat watching his corn. He was attended by a follower to whom he gave orders to "make sure of this one." He received two sword cuts and his hand was severed at the wrist. This, however, failed to supply the full particulars of the encounter; but the strangers who had watched the fight from a place of concealment, added to the story so far as to show that the Rájmal men had commenced the attack, that the Garhi people had run to defend their grain, though only carrying staves against swords, and that Himmat Sinh had then ridden off to Bhainsa and returned with men carrying loaded fire-arms, on whose appearance the Garhi men fled, leaving their dead upon the field and carrying off the wounded, two of whom subsequently died. And that was all that was ever made clear. This cold conspiracy and massacre were without any immediate provocation; but the affair showed energy on both sides, however, deplorably exhibited.

Next take a case of poisoning; or

DRUGGING FROM FEMALE SPITE.

One evening, a constable stationed at a village, about three miles from the British cavalry station of Muttra was sent for to the house of a shopkeeper named Rámchand. When he got there, he found the woman of the house and her two little boys suffering under what was supposed to be cholera. He accordingly put them into a cart and took them into Muttra, where he carried them into the public Infirmary. But his suspicions had been somehow excited, and he went on to the city Police office and got the sub-inspector to return with him to the village.

It then appeared that, besides the immediate members of the family, there was a kinswoman, named Isu, who had apartments in the enclosure: while another woman, named Mánu, whose own house was elsewhere, had access to the premises as a kind of domestic priestess, and had been a guest of Isu's for the last few days. Both houses were searched, and in Manu's room was found a quantity of raw *dhatúra* (stramonium). Her examination was at once recorded, and she confessed. Isu also made a compromising statement, and the facts that follow were decided beyond doubt.

Isu and Sahodra were the wives of two brothers, of the *bania*, or merchant class, living—as already shown—in the same enclosure. On a recent occasion, Sahodra had celebrated the wedding feast of one of her sons, and had omitted to include her sister-in-law among the invited guests. Manu, the priestess, who had been rendering

spiritual service to both families, was offended on the same occasion by Sahodra making the badness of the times an excuse for not offering her a fee. The two malcontents were not long in comparing their injuries together, and in encouraging each other to vengeance. Of what exact sort the revenge was to be cannot be certainly known; for the measures that they took were not necessarily fatal, and may not have been intended to go beyond causing annoyance and hurt.

One morning, then, Manu, having gathered some *dhatura* in a neighbouring garden, took the stone on which Isu's curry-powder was usually ground, and sitting down with Isu on the floor, began to prepare a quantity of drugged food. When it was ready, the two carried it to Sahodra, as a peace offering: she ate of it and shortly after had an attack of vomiting, and lay down to rest.

Presently, the boys came home from their day-school to get their mid-day meal, and, in spite of their finding their mother ill, helped themselves to the porridge with the thoughtless appetite of youth. As they also became affected with the same symptoms, word was taken to the father in his shop, with the result already mentioned. The mother died in hospital, the lads recovered after a long illness.

These marriage expenses have often been deplored by friends of the peasantry. Only the other day, when the Famine Commissioners were going through their inspection-work near Agra they found a poor emaciated man shivering against a south wall, wrapped in a tattered blanket, who told them that he had once held a considerable share in the estate. "But what," asked a Commissioner has brought you to this state? "The man shivered sadly, but promptly answered, "*Shadi*" (literally "Joy," but meaning in his mouth "Wedding feasts.") Indeed, the peasant women are often a trouble of the first magnitude. Giggling hussies, shrill drabs, foul hags, from cradle to funeral-pile the women of these parts are of little use except as feeble beasts of burden and constant causers of quarrel, bones of contention, corrupters of youth, or provokers of mischief. Goaded by the tongue of her mother-in-law, perhaps starved into the bargain, many a young wife has sought refuge in the bottom of a well, often with her infant in her arms. They cannot be kept secluded, like their wealthier sisters, yet they want as much looking after. The honour of families is deeply valued and easily compromised; while any stain upon it is poignantly felt. Not long ago, a carpenter with a young widowed daughter cut her throat with his adze because she went out after dark contrary to his orders; he then locked the door upon the corpse, and went off to the Police to give himself in charge.

Space will not allow the exhibition of any more of these pictures of the existence of Indian Hodge. His ways are neither altogether

reasonable nor free from moral blame : yet they are those of a man, undeveloped indeed, but brave, easily ruled, contented with very little, and of cleanly, industrious life. He probably requires another generation to pass away in acquiring "the three Rs." and meantime to be neither over-governed nor left entirely to himself.

Should it be objected that our samples show pathology rather than physiology, the only excuse possible is that the trials of criminal courts are the only channels through which a conquering race can see the subject population as they live and move and have their being. And if one who, like the present writer, has chiefly made acquaintance with the peasantry of Upper India through this somewhat morbid experience, has still continued to think, upon the whole, well of them, it is a fair presumption that on a more favorable view, they would be found to possess considerable claims upon our respectful interest.

H. G. KEENE.

Note.—The Government N.-W. P. does not appear to have published any statistics of production. The following figures for the part of the Panjab which, being south of the Sutlej River, belongs to Hindustan are taken from an official report :—East of the Jumna the fertility is greater.

DISTRICT AVERAGE PRODUCE OF LAND PER ACRE IN LBS. AV.

	Rice.	Wheat.	Superior Grains.	Cotton.	Raw Sugar.
Delhi,	1,120	880	480	77	.....
Karnál	1,214	1,500	560	64	1,680
Hissar	890	770	357	112	.....
Ambala	1,120	1,280	680	102	320

The following extracts in regard to wheat will be found interesting.

"The data submitted by district officers give an outturn varying from 408 lbs. to 1,440 lbs. per acre. Mr. Capper, Commissioner of Fyzabad Division, says... 'Of late years the average in Mark Lane estimates has been 1,680 lbs. to 1,340 lbs. In the *Ain-Akbari* it is estimated at 1,143 lbs... I am certain that the Gonda returns (1,312 lbs.) can only be obtained under exceptional circumstances.' " It appears that Mr. W. Smith, Settlement-officer of Aligarh, fixed his estimate at 1,414 lbs: and the writer of the report from which these extracts are made testifies that he has "frequently seen as much as 1,640 lbs. (or over 26 bushels) per acre growing on good rich land." (*Report on the Wheat-trade*, by the Director of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce N.-W. P. and Oudh 1878).

When it is remembered that the cultivation of wheat, by itself and unmixed with other crops, is chiefly confined to manured and irrigated land, it will be seen that the average of 1,200 lbs. taken in the text, is not for such lands, too high. Even if it were, it would not weaken the case, because it would only show that the resources of the agriculturists in these parts were less than they are. Mr. Wright estimates the quantity of seed put in as less than two bushels an acre ; below even the minimum used in England. Of prices he says :—

"An average rate of 40 lbs. per rupee would pay the cultivator, the collecting agents, and the exporter, well." Any much higher price, however, he found to be prohibitive of exportation.

He estimates the total stocks produced and imported at nearly two million of tons, of which about one-eighth was exported to other parts of India or to Europe: the latter branch of trade being on the increase: one-ninth of the whole importation of wheat into England came from India in 1877; and a permanent wheat-trade between the countries is now established. But the wheat produced in Hindustán is less in favour than what is exported from the Central Provinces, a division of the country not noticed in this article.

H. G. K.

Agricultural Year—N.-W. P.

	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.
Crops sown.		Sugar.	Sugar.			Gourds Cucum- bers... Rice .. Jowár . Bájra... Cotton. Arhar . Urd .. Múng .			Gram ...	Gram ... Wheat . Barley ..	Melons . Wheat . Barley ...	Melons.
Crops reaped.			Wheat. Barley. Gram . Arhar . (Pulse.)	Wheat. Arhar . (Pulse.)	Melons.	Melons.			Cucum- bers ... Bájra ...	Cucum- bers ... Rice ... Jowár... Cotton . Urd ... Múng...	Jowár ... Cotton . Pulse.	Jowár ... Cotton . Pulse.
Mean tem- perature (Fahren- heit.)	About. 59°4	About 65°0	About 76°0	About 86°0	About 92°0	About 93°5	About 86°5	About 85°7	About 84°6	About 78°3	About 68°8	About 61°2

The above Calendar may be relied on as a fair approximation to the agricultural conditions of central portions of the country under consideration.

MYSORE.

Mysore and Coorg. By Lewis Rice, Director of Public Instruction, Mysore and Coorg. Bangalore: Mysore Government Press.

THE little State of Mysore has of late been a good deal before the public, and the doings of its Government have been not a little criticised. The terrible famine which ravaged the country two years ago, and which, like a hungry wolf, seems determined to retain its hold as long as possible—a famine which, it is believed, has caused the death of more than a million of the inhabitants of the province—has been the chief cause of the increase of attention to this part of the country. The frightful losses it has caused are visible on all sides, and it would be an interesting subject for discussion, whether the country will be able to right itself before the fair plains of Bulgaria recover from the ruin brought upon them by the hostile forces that were lately scattered over them in all directions. The ravages of famine, as far as population is concerned, are far greater than those of war, Mysore being taken as an example, for it can show a longer death-roll than Russia and Turkey taken together. It is very unlikely that the interest thus aroused will be allowed to flag, when the famine shall have become a thing of the past, for the rendition of the province, which is to take place two years hence, will not allow those at a distance to forget its existence. Mysore is remarkable, if only on account of the anomalies that are connected with it. It is a native State which for more than forty years has been governed by the British, and after this long period, it will have, in a short time, to be given back to its hereditary prince, to be ruled by him, almost without supervision by the paramount power. Such an event has not yet taken place in the annals of India, and not often in the history of the world, and the keenest interest, we may be sure, will be taken in what appears to be a leap in the dark, but what all hope may land those concerned in the right place. It seems probable that the relations of native States with the paramount power will be a good deal influenced by the way in which the Maharajah and those who act with him are able to carry on the government of the country. If they succeed, it may be argued that the same experiment may be tried with other States similarly situated to that of Mysore; if they fail, the idea of giving more liberty of action to the indigenous Governments of the land will be less likely to find advocates.

But Mysore is an interesting country, and deserves to be known independently of what has happened, or is likely soon to happen.

Its scenery is not to be despised, and it has a history, which at several periods is as interesting as that of any other country in the world ; while men have ruled over it, who, though not born in the purple, have displayed an ability that few hereditary sovereigns could have surpassed.

Mr. Rice's book, *Mysore and Coorg*, is a mine of information about the country ; but the size of the work puts it out of the power of the ordinary reader to grapple with it, and it is, in all probability, intended more for reference than perusal. Evidently written *con amore*, it shows great care and research, great knowledge of the language and literature of the country and a thorough appreciation of the subject taken in hand.

The situation of Mysore, standing out as it does from the surrounding country, is unique. Leaving Madras by rail for Bangalore, for about fifty miles the line passes through as flat and uninteresting a region as any in India. The fields are barely cultivated ; the villages small and poor. After this, rocks appear in all directions, more especially on the left-hand side of the line, and there is something to break the monotony of the scene. Though anything but beautiful to the eye, these rocks are to be preferred to the bare plains through which the traveller has just passed. The ground begins to rise a little before Jollarpett, the junction of the Madras and South-Western line, is reached, and soon after leaving this place the change in the atmosphere becomes perceptible, and goes on increasing till the tableland is reached. The line enters the Mysore territory about forty miles from Jollarpett, and then makes a tremendous curve before reaching Bangalore, the terminus, and the chief military station in the South of India.

With regard to its political geography, Mysore is completely shut in by the different collectorates of the Madras Presidency, except for a short distance on the west, where it touches Bombay, though it in a great measure differs from all of them. The province is a tableland, the boundaries of which are the Eastern and Western Ghats and the Nilgiri Hills. It comprises 27,077 square miles, and before the famine contained 5,055,412 people, but now we may without fear take away a million from this number. Mr. Jordon, the Chief Commissioner, thinks that only 700,000 died, while Mr. Elliott is of opinion that 1,250,000 fell victims, so that we shall be safe in setting down the number at what we have just stated. It is very remarkable that although Mysore, not long ago, formed one of the most powerful Mohammedan states in India, the last census showed that it contained only 208,991 Mussulmans to 4,807,425 Hindus. It is very apparent that this section of the community has considerably diminished of

late years. There are three large divisions of the province and these are again divided into eight districts. The divisions have each a Commissioner at its head, and the districts a Deputy Commissioner. The districts are again divided into taluks of which there are seventy-three, and each has an amildar to attend to it, corresponding to a tesildar in British territory. The European element in the commission is being gradually weeded out. At the present time there are only twenty-four gazetted officers in the province, and before long most of these will be sent away. Matters are fast being put in train for the assumption of authority by the Maharajah. There are already two native Deputy Commissioners, and before long several others will be appointed, and two years hence there will scarcely be a single European officer in the province.

The revenue of Mysore, according to the last Administration Report—was Rs. 82,50,795, showing a falling off to the amount of Rs. 26,78,239, and, no doubt, the next Report will show a still further decrease. Of course, the land revenue produces the most money, and to the horror of total abstainers, the abkari duty comes next, being set down at Rs. 12,32,773. In other words, the people of Mysore pay for the privilege of drinking about one-seventh of the sum that they pay for the land which they cultivate. This fact shows that the people, during the financial year that the Report represents, though they might have found some difficulty in providing themselves with food, comforted themselves for their deprivation by drinking deeply. Stamps brought in Rs. 5,64,575—a very large sum for a small country like Mysore, showing what a litigious set the people are. The next Administration Report, 1877-78, will include the worst part of the famine period. In addition to the loss of revenue the local Government has incurred a debt of fifty lakhs, which it had to borrow during the scarcity to keep the people from dying of starvation, and which the Chief Commissioner is determined to pay off as soon as possible. Out of the revenue the State has to keep up a small military force of horse and foot, which in case of need could be placed at the service of the Imperial Government. This military establishment has been considerably reduced of late years. As a fighting force, it would not be of much use, and is the less required because there is always a large number of troops stationed at Bangalore, and a regiment near Mysore. Its cost, small as it is, amounts to about eight lakhs of rupees.

The province possesses a regular organised system of education, though the strength of the Department lies in the lower class schools, of which there are six hundred and forty-seven in the province, and they are on the increase. There are five schools of the higher class

and three college and collegiate schools in the country, so that taking all these together the educational wants of the people are very well attended to. There is besides a school of engineering and physical science, where young men are trained for the Public Works and Forest Departments of the State. The total expenditure on education amounted, according to the last report, to about three lakhs and a quarter of rupees.

No country in the world, probably, has a more irregular boundary than Mysore, and this is the effect partly of physical conformation, and partly of political changes. A corresponding irregularity characterises its surface. It is called a tableland, but it only resembles a table when the dishes are placed upon it, the elevations called *droogs* representing the latter. Not only are there isolated hills, but there are chains of mountains, those in the west rising to a considerable height. It has been said that there is not a square mile in the whole country that is perfectly level, and, to a person who has been living for years in the plains of the Madras Presidency, the undulations are very pleasing, even the rocks being an agreeable change from the flatness of the Southern Presidency. The elevation varies in different parts of the province; Bangalore, which dominates the whole, standing at 3,031 feet above the level of the sea, while the southern part does not average more than 2,000, and in the north there is no elevation above 1,800 feet. There is the same sloping tendency on the west, till the high hills which separate the province from Canara, are met with.

What may, *par excellence*, be called the mountainous district is, however, confined to the west of the province. When speaking of Mysore, two words are constantly in use. These are *malnad* and *maidan*, the former meaning the hill country, the latter the plain; and the people who live in these two divisions are in many respects quite different from each other. With the exception of Coorg, there is not in Southern India more beautiful scenery than is to be found in the *malnad* part of Mysore. Here are situated the coffee-plantations of which so much has been heard of late years. Hill and forest diversify the scene; the hill-sides are covered with magnificent trees where they are not covered with the coffee-plant; the soil is fertile; the streams are clear and sparkling. In some places may be seen high mountains, clothed nearly to the summit with verdure, while the air is healthy, and fruit and vegetables are abundant. That the coffee planter has his difficulties cannot be denied, but these are compensated by the pleasures to be derived from such a free life as he passes, as the following passage from "Experiences of a Planter in the Jungles of Mysore" will show:—

"From what has hitherto been said, I am afraid the reader will not think the life of an Indian settler a very lively one. But it is a black cloud, which has a light lining, and the sports which

lend a charm to the life of a planter were enjoyed with a zest which I find it impossible to repeat in civilized countries. I do not say that it is advantageous to cultivate a state of violent contrasts, but when accident has led one into a life that presents such vivid changes from monotony to excitement, the desire to return to it is extremely strong. Washington Irving's Captain Bonneville seems to have been a quiet, peaceable sort of man, and yet he returned to civilized life with reluctance, and had always a longing eye for the wilderness. The adventurous life that he led was of course very different from ours, but the difference was more one of degree than of kind. His contrasts were the most vivid attainable—monotonous camp-life and hazardous adventures; ours consisted of monotonous plantation life, varied with the chase of the tiger, bear and bison. But I believe that with old hands the force of habit is stronger than the love of those adventures which at first are the great attraction to a wild life. Unconsciously, does the human animal strive after uniformity. Some from habit wish to be uniformly excited, others seek after serenity, and others like to have a little of both. But whether one's groove be wild or tame, travelling or stationary, it is not the less a groove which one quits with reluctance and longs to resume. However all this may be, it is certain that our only pastime brought with it an amount of pleasure which seemed to compensate for all the drawbacks I have enumerated. Nor were the pleasures of sport the only advantages to be derived from our hunting expeditions, for not only does success in the field increase one's popularity, but it gives opportunities of obtaining an insight into the manners and disposition of the natives which could not otherwise be attained. And the way in which I went to work brought me into closer contact with them than had I pursued the usual course of going out with hired beaters and *shikaries*. In my sporting expeditions every one fought for his own hand, the party consisting of the farmers and some of the todyman caste. Some brought their long matchlocks, others acted as beaters, but none sought any reward but their share of the meat, or of the reward (£3-10s.) in the case of a tiger being killed. Whoever shot a deer, or a boar, was entitled to a hind leg; the remainder was cut into pieces about two inches square, and carefully divided amongst the rest of the party. Generally speaking, I went out alone with the natives, but at rare intervals two or three of the four planters in the district would meet at some favourite hunting-ground in the mountains, and pass the night in a rudely-constructed hut. This enabled us, of course, to catch the game at dusk and at the earliest dawn." To a person, who is not afraid of solitude, the life on a coffee-plantation has peculiar charms; while it is one of the most healthful for both body and mind, that

a man can lead. There, to use the words of the poet, a man may exist—

The world forgetting, by the world forgot.

But he must have work enough to occupy his mind, or else he must have reserves within himself, for if he has not he will find time hang somewhat heavily on his hands. Each village in this part of the country is a world in itself, a regular republic, governed by its own chief, who in his way is a perfect autocrat.

The distinction between the *malnad* and the *maidan* country is, as a rule, very marked, and the transition from the one to the other is very rapid. The forests give place to cultivated fields and something like the life in other parts of India makes its appearance. With regard to the cultivation of the open country, Mr. Rice says :—

“The means of water-supply and the prevailing cultivation give the character to the various parts of the open country, the level plains of alluvial black soil, as in the north, growing cotton or millet; the districts irrigated by channels drawn from rivers, as in the south and west, displaying the bright hues of sugar-cane and rice-fields; the lands under tanks, filled with gardens of cocoa and areca palms; the higher-lying undulating tracts of red soil, as in the last, yielding *ragi* and the common associated crops; the stony and wide-spreading pasture grounds, as in the central parts, covered with coarse grass and relieved by shady groves of trees. The aspect changes with the seasons, and what in the dry and cold months, when the fields are lying fallow, appears a dreary and monotonous prospect, speedily assumes, under the first operations of the plough, the grateful hues of tillage; which, under the influence of seasonable rains, give place in succession to the bright verdure of the tender blade, the universal green of the growing crops, and the browner tints of the ripening grain. The scene meanwhile, is full of life, with husbandmen, their families and cattle, engaged in the labours of the field. These are prolonged in stacking and threshing until the cold season again sets in, and the country once more assumes a parched and dusty aspect.”

It may, however, be interesting to those who do not live in this part of India to know something about the planting interest in Mysore, and in the first place, it must be said, that this industry has been almost entirely ignored by the Local Government. In the Administration reports that are annually sent out, there is no mention made of the subject. It is true that individual Chief Commissioners have interested themselves in the subject and visited the plantations from time to time, but this has been done more in their private capacity. A change has now happily taken place, and the planters are looked upon as a useful part of the body politic.

The coffee estates are almost all of them situated in the west of Mysore, in the Kadur and Hassan Districts; and it is now proposed that the part of the country thus occupied should be formed into a separate district, having the town of Chickmagalur as its Capital. This will be a good arrangement, and one that has long been called for, and it will show the world that the Government of Mysore has at last come to the conclusion that the planters are worth encouraging.

There are at present about one hundred and fifteen thousand acres of land under coffee cultivation, and of this area about thirty-two thousand acres are held by Europeans, and divided into about three hundred estates, while the rest is divided into twenty thousand estates, and held by natives. The average holding therefore of a European is a hundred acres, while that of a native is only about three acres. The holdings of the latter are, for the most part, gardens, and they are generally very badly cultivated, or to speak more correctly, they are compounds, surrounding their houses, and are left to take care of themselves.

There is a difference of opinion as to the amount of coffee that can be produced from an acre of land, but probably the average in this province is from three to four cwts., and the value of a hundred weight at the present time is thirty-six rupees. It will be seen from this fact what an important industry coffee planting has become, and that it is well worth the attention of Government, and we may be sure that in future more regard will be paid to it. The planters have been assured that their interests will be secure under the rule of the Maharajah and that they have nothing to fear on that head. It has been proposed, and will shortly be put into execution, that instead of the *halut*, or excise duty, on coffee, there should be an acreage payment. This step has been taken after a good deal of thought and consultation with the planters, and the new impost is to be at the rate of Re. 1-8 per acre. The *halut* is a very unsatisfactory tax, for, as it is levied upon the Jemadar, it can be easily evaded, and besides it requires a large establishment to work it. As an instance of the way it has worked we may mention that in 1868-69 more than a lakh of rupees were paid into the treasury on this account, while in 1876-77 only Rs. 52,000 were paid in, although during the years that intervened, a large quantity of fresh land had been taken up. The settlement of this question will be a great boon to the planters, and, no doubt, matters will go on more smoothly than before.

The rivers of Mysore, as might be expected, are not navigable, and the expedients for crossing them are of a very ancient type. The Cauvery supplies the means of irrigation for a large extent of country, and some of the anicuts in this province are probably

the most ancient in the world, while with each is connected some famous legend, which, of course, the natives of the neighbourhood believe implicitly.

The climate of Mysore is variable, as might be expected from the varying elevation of the plateau. At Bangalore it is, upon the whole, pleasant, though not what it was in former times. Different causes have been assigned for the change, but it is no doubt, largely owing to the denudation of the surrounding country of trees. This station has long been celebrated for flowers and vegetables, and in good years it deserves all the praise that has been bestowed upon it; but during the last two years there has been a sad falling off in this respect. The vegetables are inferior; the flowers are not so bright, and are altogether below the average of former years. People coming to the place now can scarcely imagine what was to be seen formerly. In the old houses, fireplaces are still to be found, and twenty years ago they were regularly used in the cold season; but now they are only ornamental, or rather monuments of bygone times.

But not only has the town of Bangalore undergone a change, the same thing has happened to the whole province; the cold season is different from what it was; indeed, it is in reality a cold season no longer.

Turning to the history of the Province, we find only one really commanding figure in the whole of it—the daring, the clever, Haidar Ali. We leave his son out of the question, for whatever abilities he possessed were overpowered by his dark and almost maniac passions, which lost him the heritage left by his father. Before the time of Haidar, there had been at long intervals some brilliant episodes in the history of the country, but, as a rule, during that period it may be called an historical jungle where a record of the fights between the different chiefs would be as little interesting as of those of the Anglo-Saxons during the Heptarchy. There are heroic incidents connected with its annals; but, upon the whole, the actions of the men who took a leading part in the affairs of the little State are characterised by a remarkable monotony. There is, however, one class of men to whom we must call attention, and these are the Polygars, than whom a braver or prouder race is not to be found in Southern India. Here is what Mr. Rice says regarding these people:

“During the 15th and 16th centuries, the Vizayanagar kings had bestowed on, or confirmed to, vassal chiefs bearing various titles, sundry tracts in Mysore, on the condition of payment of tribute and the rendering of military service. Those in the northern parts were directly controlled from the Capital. The southern chiefs were placed under a Viceroy, termed the Sri Ranga

Ráyal, whose seat of government was at Seringapatam. After the dissolution of the empire, which followed on the battle of Talikota, although a nominal allegiance continued to be paid to the representative of the State at Pengonda and to the Viceroy at Seringapatam, such of the chiefs as had the power gradually broke loose of control and declared their independence. An account of each of these Pálegar families will be found in connection with the localities which formed their respective estates. It will be sufficient therefore, here, to simply mention the most important. Among these were—in the north, the Náyaks of Bednur, Basavapatna and Chitaldroog; on the west, the Náyaks of Balam; in the centre, the Náyaks of Hagalvadi, and the Gandas of Yelahanka and Ballapeer; on the east, the Ganda of Sugatúr; on the south, the Wodeyars of Mysore, Kalale, Ummatur Yelandur, and others."

The Polygars are to be found to this day, but they have fallen from their high estate, and may be described as poor and very proud.

There is a very important class of the community in Mysore called Iyongar Brahmins, who are to be found in every part of the province. They hold some of the highest posts under Government, and in ability and perseverance they rank second to no other natives of India.

The most commanding figure, as we have before said, in the history of Mysore is Haidar Ali, whose genius carved out an empire for itself, taking the plateau of Mysore as the nucleus. Few men in history have risen from so small a beginning to so great a height as Haidar, and his career is all the more remarkable when we bear in mind that, during his ascent, he met with many falls. But his skill and cunning carried him on till he reached the highest step of the ladder, and if he had only remained satisfied, and consolidated what he had taken, his successors might be ruling Mysore at the present time. The time in which he lived was propitious to such a man. It was that of the dissolution of the Mogul Empire, the time so eloquently described by Macaulay in his Essay on Clive; and if Haidar had not met with a spirit as determined and indomitable as his own, the greater part of India might have come under his sway, and he might have re-established the Mohamedan Empire in India. But he was able to comprehend, though not very clearly, what the power of England could do, and the terrible disadvantage with which he combated such a power. To his unenlightened mind there was something terrible, and almost supernatural, in the way in which the English were able to bring up fresh forces so soon after they were defeated. He expressed himself as being afraid, not of what he saw, but of what he did not see; the troops that he saw came from

a place that he knew nothing about, and of whose resources he was equally ignorant. Few generals ever showed greater readiness of resource than did Haider himself. A remarkable instance of his cunning in an emergency is related by Wilkes in his *History of Mysore* :—

“The movements to which we have adverted, brought Kundé Row to Kutte Malwaddy, twenty-six miles S.-W. from Seringapatam, about the 20th of February ; and Hyder, closely pursued, was about ten miles in his front, when he prepared in the name and with the seal of Nunjeraj letters addressed to the principal leaders of Kundé Row’s army. These letters adverted to a supposed engagement, which they had made, to seize Kundé Row and deliver him to Nunjeraj. They promised, on his part, to perform the conditions of the stipulated reward ; and concluded with the observation, that nothing now remained but that they should immediately earn it. The bearer of these letters departed, duly instructed, and falling purposely into the hands of the outposts was carried to Kundé Row, who, entertaining not the least suspicion of the artifice, conceived that he was betrayed by his own army, and, seized with a sudden panic, instantly mounted his horse, and escaped at full speed to Seringapatam, without any previous communication with the suspected Chief. The flight of the commander-in-chief being quickly known, a general agitation ensued, the more dangerous as the motive was utterly unknown ; and every person began to provide for his safety by flight without any one being able to communicate to the other the cause of his alarm. Hyder’s light troops brought him early intelligence of the state of the enemy ; and, at this instant, his army, by a preconcerted movement, appeared in the rear of Kundé Row’s, while he moved his own corps to attack the front, and by falling upon it with his whole force, in this state of dismay and confusion ; he obtained a complete and decisive victory, capturing the whole of the enemy’s infantry, guns, stores, and baggage. The horse alone had, by an early flight, provided for their safety, and the infantry were incorporated without much reluctance into the army of the victor.”

Had he been a trained soldier, his name might have been handed down to posterity as one of the greatest military leaders the world had ever seen, and he would have been classed with the Marlboroughs, the Napoleons and Wellingtons of modern times. As an instance of the power of organisation he possessed, when he wished to carry out some scheme of destruction, we will here give the splendid passage that Burke uttered about him :—

“When at length Hyder Ali found that he had to do with men who either would sign no convention, or whom no treaty and no signature could bind, and who were the determined enemies of

human intercourse itself, he decreed to make the country possessed by these incorrigible and predestinated criminals a memorable example to mankind. He resolved, in the gloomy recesses of a mind capacious of such things, to leave the whole Carnatic an everlasting monument of vengeance, and to put perpetual desolation as a barrier between him and those against whom the faith which holds the moral elements of the world together has no protection. He became at length so confident of his force, so collected in his might, that he made no secret whatever of his dreadful resolution. Having terminated his disputes with every enemy, and every rival, who buried their mutual animosities in their common detestation against the creditors of the Nabob of Arcot, he drew from every quarter whatever a savage ferocity could add to his new rudiments in the arts of destruction; and compounding all the materials of fury, havoc, and desolation, into one black cloud, he hung for a while on the declivities of the mountains. Whilst the authors of all these evils were idly and stupidly gazing on the menacing meteor which blackened all their horizon, it suddenly burst and poured down the whole of its contents upon the plains of the Carnatic. Then ensued a scene of woe, the like of which no eye had seen, no heart conceived, and which no tongue can adequately tell; all the horrors of war before known or heard of were mercy to that new havoc. A storm of universal fire blasted every field, consumed every house, destroyed every temple. The miserable inhabitants flying from the flaming villages, in part were slaughtered; others, without regard to sex, to age, to the respect of rank, or sacredness of function; fathers torn from children, husbands from wives, enveloped in a whirlwind of cavalry, and amidst the goading spears of drivers and the trampling of pursuing horses, were swept into captivity, in an unknown and hostile land. Those who were able to evade this tempest fled to the walled cities; but, escaping from fire, sword, and exile, they fell into the jaws of famine."

As a civil ruler, much cannot be said in his favour. He looked upon the people who were under his sway as mere material wherewith to carry on his wars, and he never hesitated to use their substance to that end.

The death of this clever barbarian was the signal for the fall of the empire that he had built up with so much blood; for the son who took his place lacked the ability of his father, while his passions were stronger, his impetuosity greater, and his hatred of the English more intense. Tippu's reign was a continued struggle, relieved now and then by a breathing time for preparation for another spring at the people whom he always viewed as his enemies. Although Haidar Ali oppresses the people under his

rule, there was a reason for all that he did, and he did not make use of the worst kind of persecution—persecution for the sake of religion. He was satisfied if the people fought for him, and remained quiet when they were not required for war; but Tippu was determined that all in his dominions should be followers of the Prophet of Mecca, and the force he used to make converts cost him dearer than anything else, except his hatred of the English. His death, in the loathsome gateway at Seringapatam, was a fitting termination to his career.

From the death of Tippu the modern history of Mysore began. The Hindu line was restored in the person of a child of six years of age, who only died in the year 1868. But there was a strong hand at the helm in the person of Purniah, who continued to hold office under the new regime, and who retained the reins of power till he was reluctantly obliged to give them up by the new Rajah. While his influence lasted, he kept the country in order, and filled the treasury with money; but he did not do much to improve the condition of the people. He has been called the Bismarck of Mysore, and the title has not been inappropriately applied. He was not more inclined to let the people of the province have their own way, than is the able man who now virtually rules Germany, and, like him, he made himself respected, but never loved.

It was discovered, as the young prince grew up, that he was formed in a different mould from the two adventurers who had preceded him, and that he belonged to the class of Indian rulers described by Macaulay as spending their time “in eating *bhang* and fondling dancing girls”. Acting on the advice of the characters he had collected around him, when he was sixteen, he determined to take the work of governing into his own hands, and the East India Company consenting, he began to rule on his own account in 1811. The consequence was that many years did not elapse before the treasury began to grow empty, the people dissatisfied, and the parasites rich. Remonstrances were sent from Calcutta; mutterings were heard among the people, but the Maharajah still heedlessly pursued his course of pleasure. The Governor of Madras, Sir Thomas Munro, visited Mysore in 1825, and tried to bring the prince to a sense of his duty, but all to no purpose; he was bent on his own ruin, and ruined eventually he was. The following is a specimen of the way affairs were managed before the British took the power out of his hands:—

“All remonstrances failed to check the Rajah’s downward course. High offices of State were sold to the highest bidder, while the people were oppressed by the system of *sharti*, which had its origin under Poorniah’s regency. *Sharti* was a compact made by the Amildar that he would realise for the Government a certain

amount of revenue; that if his collections should fall short of that amount, he would make good the deficiency, and that if they exceeded it, the surplus should be paid to the Government. The amount which the Amildar thus engaged to realise was generally an increase on what had been obtained the year preceding. In the agreement, the Amildar usually bound himself not to oppress the ryot, or impose any new taxes, or compel the ryots to purchase the Government share of garden. But this promise was merely formal, for any violation of the contractors in any of these points, when represented to the Government, was taken no notice of; the consequence was that the ryots became impoverished, the revenues were embarrassed, and the Amildars themselves frequently suffered losses. The distress arising from this state of things, and from the neglect of duties incumbent upon Government, fell heavily upon the ryots, who groaned under the oppression of every tyrannical *sharti* Foudar and Amildar."

At last, the people could stand it no longer, and they rebelled. The immediate cause was the oppressions of a creature of the Rajah, a Mahratta brahmin, who took the place of Purniah after his deposition, and who, after filling up all the places he could with his own relatives, sold the remainder; and each holder looked upon it as his bounden duty to take as much as he could from the people. When the Maharajah found out that he had been deceived by this man and his party, he sent a relative of his own to examine into matters, and the minister and his friends, in order to prevent their evil practices from being brought to light, set up a pretender to the part of Mysore called Nagar, where the oppression had been heaviest. As is usual, when great oppression has taken place, the lower orders took the part of the pretender, and it is impossible to say what the result might have been, had not the British been called in to the aid of the Mysore Government, and restored quiet. But it was plain that the Rajah was not fit to hold the reins of power, and he was deposed in 1831. From this time, till his death in 1868, he lived in retirement in Mysore on the allowance given him, and on the loans which he managed to contract.

In the year 1865, he adopted the present young Maharajah, Chama Rajendra Wadeyar. The adoption was afterwards recognised by the British Government, and in two years his Highness will ascend the throne of Mysore. Since the year 1831 the country has been governed by commission at the head of which, from that year to 1861, was Sir Mark Cubbon, who died on his way to England in the latter year. He was succeeded by Mr. L. Bowering, whose place, on his retirement, was taken by Sir Richard Meade, K. C. S. I. On the appointment of Sir Richard to a similar post in the Baroda State, Mr. C. B. Saunders, C. B., who

retired, about nine months ago, became the head of the Government.

The education of the young Maharajah has not, it is believed hitherto received that careful attention that should have been bestowed on it, but under the charge of the present guardian, Mr. J. D. Gordon, C. S. I., and under the tuition of his talented instructor, Mr. Porter, he will, we trust, make amends for lost time. Less than two years remains for him to complete his studies, and though a Hindu youth in a Government school might accomplish a good deal in this time, we cannot expect a prince to work as hard as ordinary students. He is a fine, intelligent youth, with a pleasing open countenance, and, with proper guidance, may turn out a good man, and a competent ruler. The great defect in his education has been that he has had too much his own way, and it will probably be very difficult to pull him up at his age. Youths who started with him have already passed one or more examinations of the University of Madras, and he might have done the same if he had been born in a lower sphere in life. He did not, however, see the necessity for any great amount of exertion, and his teachers were not able to inspire him with the love of learning for its own sake. He has intelligence enough, if only it were developed, and it is the duty of those about him to endeavour not only to do this, but to impress on his mind the great responsibility of the duties he will soon have to undertake.

Not only upon him depends the welfare of the people of Mysore, but the experiment of handing over the State to him will be carefully watched by the country, and upon its success or failure the future relations of the Government with the native States will in a great measure depend.

A momentous question will be selection of the men who will surround and advise the prince. There are some good native officials in Mysore, men of sterling worth; but it is a question whether there is one raised so far above his fellows as to be able to take the lead, one who would be acknowledged by all as the man to be the Prime Minister and adviser of his sovereign. There are, as far as can be seen, no Madava Raos, Salar Jungs or Dinkur Raos, in Mysore, and such men will have to be trained. There is also another danger threatening the transfer of the State to a native ruler. There will be great jealousy, even if it proceeds no further, between the Mysoreans and the men brought in from other parts of India. The latter are called "foreigners," and, however able and hard working they may be, they are looked upon with no favourable eye by the children of the soil. For the good of the country it is to be hoped that this prejudice will die out. The Maharajah has one important point in his favour. He has the affections of his people, and this the present Government

has never been able to gain. The rush to see him, whenever he leaves the town in which he generally resides, is something tremendous, and if he uses the love of his people as a lever, he ought to accomplish great things. Should he go astray like his predecessor, and alienate the affections of his people; should the paramount power be again obliged to step in and rule the country, the injury that would be done would be incalculable. But we hope for better things from the young prince, and from all that we have heard we have good grounds for this trust. The result will, however, depend very much upon the guidance given him by those about him, and the choice of these men is the most important problem that those in power have now to solve.

F. GOODALL.

ART IX. SOCIAL LIFE OF THE ARYAS.

Muir's *Original Sanscrit Texts*, Vol. V. 8vo. London : 1870.

MAX MULLER has justly called the Aryas the most spiritual of nations. Not only was their progress in the different departments of literature and philosophy conspicuous, but they were far from neglectful of more immediately practical pursuits. They developed the agricultural resources of the country, bringing an intimate knowledge of the science of agriculture to bear upon the task ; they created, and practised with marked success, numerous branches of industry ; carried on a busy internal and external trade ; increased the means of intercommunication ; constructed canals and numerous public works, as well as waggons, boats and ships for the purposes of traffic. A people who rose so high are entitled to an enquiry into their social life.

We will consider first their *Government*.—The Aryas originally had no caste. They were not nomadic ; but lived in hamlets and practised agriculture ; they gave much thought to cattle, sheep, and pasture ; to the operation of ploughing ; to the construction of water-courses, and to the worship of Agni, Varuna, and the gods, who they conceived could help them. There was another class who were purely contemplative, and enjoyed the ecstasy of elevating their souls to one God. For the separation of the agricultural, the manufacturing, and the commercial classes, which were gradually created, the exercise of a central power or government was necessary. Society had developed itself, and caste was the result of the different professions into which it was divided. Military science had advanced considerably, and the voice of society was that the government should be monarchical, and that kings should be chosen from the military class. Persons belonging to the military class were required to learn *Dhanur Veda*, club-fighting, sword and shield exercises, fighting on elephants. They had also to make themselves acquainted with ethics, *itihas*, *purans*, *vedangas* (*Adi Parva*). In the *Dasa Kumar Charitra* the following subjects are given as those to which a king should apply himself: Various tongues, skill in arms, management of horses and elephants, traditions, ruling polity, rhetoric, logic, music, metaphysics, *vedas*, astrology, medicine, magic, games of skill or chance (Wilson's Works, Vol. III). Krishna and Balaram learnt the *Vedas*, *Upanishads*, *Dhanur Veda*, *Manu*, and other *smritis*, *darsanas*, logic, military science and the moral duties of kings (*Srīmat Vagvat*). The kings were also required to learn the theory of agriculture and commerce from

the people, which forced them to come in contact with the commercial and agricultural classes. The kings were enjoined to be devout, to govern their passions, that they might act as fathers to the people. Manu (Book III) ordained that the king who, through weakness of intellect, rashly oppresses his people's will, together with his family, be deprived of his kingdom and life. In Manu, the Vishnu Purans and Mudra Rakhasa (Wilson's Work Vol. I.) the names of several kings are given as having been deposed, which shows that the people appreciated liberty and that the kings could not exercise their power if they did not do their duty to them. The government, though monarchical, was not despotic. It consulted the people of all classes on important questions and the dethronement of a king, as well as his installation, was in the hands of the people. When Yajati intended to make over his kingdom to his youngest son, the people assembled and remonstrated. They at last agreed to the proposal, when he gave a satisfactory explanation (*Mahabharat*).

Dasarath, wishing to retire, summoned his people, and stating that object of the meeting, requested them to devise a "prudent plan."

"Priest and townsmen, priest and chief,
All met in consultation brief,
And, soon agreed with one accord,
Gave answer to their sovereign lord :
' King of the land, we know thee old,
Thousands of years have o'er thee rolled,
Rama, thy son, we pray anoint
And at thy side his place appoint."

(Griffiths' *Ramayan*.)

Dasarath then addressed Rama as follows :

"This day the people's general voice
Elects thee king of love and choice,
And I, consenting to the prayer,
Will make thee darling, regent, heir."

On the day of coronation :

"There gathered first the chiefs of trade,
Nor peer nor captain long delayed,
Assembling all in order due
The consecrating rite to view."

In the *Adi Parva* it is stated that, when the Pandavas returned to Hastinapur after marrying Draupadi, the citizens assembled and discussed the question who should be crowned. They deliberately determined, and said : "We shall instal the eldest Pandava (Yudisthira), he being well versed in military science and of exemplary character." After the death of Parikhit, the citizens invited all the inhabitants to instal his infant son. In

Southern India the practice was similar. Surgiva says :

“ My deep distress and downcast mien
By citizen and lord were seen,
They made me king against my will.”

(Griffiths' *Ramayan*.)

The people thus exercised a power in the election and deposition of kings, who were therefore not independent of them.

“ Law,” says Sankara, “ is the king of kings, far more powerful than they” The king was guided by a council regarding the regulation and administration of the country, which, as well as the maintenance of the hereditary nobility, served as a great check on the throne.

On the occasion of the inauguration of Yudisthira, Vaisyas and Sudras were invited, and food, lodging and entertainments were provided for all classes without distinction. It is thus evident that caste feeling was dormant when Yudisthira and Bhishma lived. As to the Council Professor Wilson says: “The account does not comprise all the officers stated, and lists given in the *Pancha Tantra* from the *Mahabharat* specify thirty-three persons or classes of persons attached in a public or private capacity to royalty.” From Wilkins' translation of an inscription found at Monghyr it appears that Deb Paul had twenty-eight officers of new designations, evidently showing a change from Manu's time.

From the Vedic time the village system prevailed. There were lords of cities and rulers of villages. There was correspondence from the village to the city and from the city to the minister in charge of revenue and police administration, and the different districts of a kingdom were thus kept intact as regards internal administration. At the time of Alexander's invasion the Greek writers mention different classes of officers in charge of different departments, *viz.*, the clearing out of rivers, measuring of lands, supervision of reservoirs, supplying water to the canals, collection of taxes, superintendence workmen, care of the roads, enquiry into births and deaths, &c. There was even a class to take care of foreigners. Mention is also made of persons who consulted with the king on public affairs, or with magistrates in independent States. According to the *Indika* of Arrian there were councillors of State, who had the prerogative of choosing governors, chiefs of provinces, deputy governors, superintendents of the treasury, generals of the army, admirals of the navy, controllers and commissioners who superintended agriculture. The king's time was regulated after he performed religious ceremonies. He entered the palace where he stood for a while to gratify his subjects with kind looks and words. Ramchandra is prominently mentioned in the *Ramayan* as having endeared himself to the people by kind and affectionate enquiries. The king entered into higher subjects also. Thus in the *Sreemat Bhagbat*

we find that Rajah Prithu admonished his subjects to worship God, as it would be an act of great kindness to him. After the conversation with the people, the king returned into a private part of the palace for the transaction of business. He was then engaged in military exercises. After breakfast he held a review of his forces. At sunset he performed his religious duties. He then resumed business and disposed of the reports submitted by reporters and emissaries. At dinner there was music as a source of recreation. At midnight he discussed with a minister such subjects as what constitutes virtue, lawful pleasure, the proper means of acquiring wealth, the best kind of education, the marriage of daughters. From the *Dasa Kumar* it appears that the day and night were each divided into eight portions, corresponding accordingly to one hour and a half; and they are thus disposed of: Day, first portion; the king, being dressed, is to audit his accounts; second, he is to pronounce judgment in suits appealed to him; third, he is to breakfast; fourth, he is to receive and make presents; fifth, to discuss political questions with his ministers and councillors; sixth, he is, as stated in the drama, his own master; seventh, he is to review the troops; eighth, he holds a military council. Night, first portion; the king is to receive the reports of his spies and envoys; second, he sups or dines; third, he retires to rest after the perusal of some sacred work; the fourth and the fifth portions, or three hours, are allowed for sleep; in the sixth, he must rise and purify himself; in the seventh, he holds a private consultation with his ministers, and furnishes the officers of government with instructions; and the eighth is appropriated to the *purohita* or priest, the Brahman, and religious ceremonies, after which the business of the day is resumed, (Wilson's note on *Hero and Nymph*).

According to Manu, there should be seven or eight ministers for consultation, singly and collectively, on peace, war, the forces, the revenue, the protection of the people, the distribution of acquired wealth, the charge of the gold and gem mines, and other works for amassing wealth. There were also the royal ambassador, and commander-in-chief, the king himself regulating the treasury. In the *Santi Purva*, Bhishma recommends the formation of a legislative council, to be composed of eight Brahmins, well versed in the *Vedas*, eight Khatryas, armed and powerful, twenty-one of the most opulent Vaisyas, three Sudras, humble and pure, and one Sooth versed in the *puranas*. In a political point of view the different castes were thus recognised and treated alike.

Narada's questions to Yudisthira embrace the duties of the king. They refer to agriculture, trade, repairs of the forts, construction of buildings, income and expenditure, administration of the city and country. As to the forts, they should be well supplied with

grain and arms. Tanks and reservoirs should be constructed near the royal road, and agricultural operations carried on according to the fall of rain. The taxes on goods imported must not be excessive; the importers, and merchants should be respected every where. The blind, invalid and helpless should be taken care of. In the *Santi Purva* (Raj Dhurma) there are directions as to the opening of gold and salt mines, the establishment of markets for paddy, and the constructions forts.

The protection of the people in security of person and property, and the administration of justice, were the highest duties of the king.

Rama said.

"And I am ready, pity, pleasure, love, nay even Sita, to resign, content, if it be needful for the general good."

Again :

"Truth, justice, and nobility of rank are centered in the king; he is a mother, father, and benefactor of his subjects." (*Ramayana* Vol. II.)

Republics.—The country was governed according to the village system, and each village was a picture of self-government. The Greek writers noticed republics in India, which some supposed were independent villages. Strabo mentions a council of 5,000 which was composed of the heads of corporations. The senate of the city of Nysa consisted of 300 members. The Okcharee (below Mooltan) sent 150 deputates to Alexander, who demanded from Mallie (in Mooltan) 1,000 of their principal citizens. The Sikhs are the descendants of the Okydracae. Forster says their constitution has, at first sight, the appearance of being aristocratical, but on nearer inspection it is found to deserve the name of a democracy. Thomas, in his paper on the Sah kings of Saurashtra says: "There is evidence sufficient to the fact of the existence of republics in early times, though but few distinct details are extant as to exact form of constitution." He gives proofs of popular government in India in another paper in the journal of the R. A. Society, Vol. I. N.S. An account of the republic of Vaisahi will be found in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XX and in the travels of Foe Koue Ki.

The *Indika* of Arrian mentions the establishment of a republic at three different times.

Administration of Justice—The court of the sovereign was the chief court. It was held where the king lived. The king was assisted by three, five, or seven assessors, a Brahmin, a chief judge, and the Purohita. They were required to be conversant with jurisprudence, to possess a love of truth and impartiality. The assessors were liable to fine if, from affection, love of gain, or fear they did not do their duty. The Purohit's duty was to admonish and check the king if he did injustice. The

officers attached to the king's court were:—(1) the accountant, (2) the scribe, (3) the keeper of claims and enforcer of judgment, (4) the messenger or summoner of parties and witnesses, (5) the moderator, whose duty was to deliver lectures on morality for the edification of the suitors, judges and officers of the Court.

The next court was that of the chief judge, assisted by assessors not exceeding seven. This court was stationary. The chief judge could act for the king. There were also courts having local jurisdiction, from whose decisions appeals could be preferred to the high courts. There were three grades of arbitrators:—

1 Puga, or assembly of townsmen of different tribes and professions but living in the same place.

II Sreni—kinsmen, or relatives of connected consanguinity.

The decision of the Cula was subject to revision by the Sreni and that of the Sreni by the Puga, from whose decision an appeal could be preferred to the chief judge and the king. The *Smriti Chandrika* enumerates eleven kinds of arbitration:—

1 Assembly of the foresters.

2 Merchants.

3 Military men.

4 Chosen by the parties.

5 Composed of villagers and strangers, or civil and military persons.

6 Composed of the four classes indiscriminately.

7 Composed of washermen, barbers, &c.

8 Composed of persons learned in the four Shasters.

9 Assembly of religious men.

10 Composed of persons of the same family.

11 Relations of plaintiff and defendant.

The functions of the Panchayat had reference to the trial of civil and criminal cases. The Panchayats were not permanent courts. The town and village courts, the court of the chief judge and king's court were permanent. The king's court was the model for the inferior courts.

As to the procedure, we will quote the opinion of competent authorities. Sir J. Strange says "that Hindu pleading was noticed with commendation by Sir William Jones, and that, with some trifling exceptions, the Hindu doctrine of evidence is for the most part distinguished, nearly as much as our own, by the excellent sense that determines the competency and designates the choice of witnesses, with the manner of examining, and the credit to be given them, as well as by the solemn earnestness with which the obligation of truth is urged and inculcated; insomuch that less cannot be said of this part of their law than that it will be read by every English lawyer with a mixture of admiration and delight and may be studied by him to advantage."

Macnaughten (Hindu Law) says—"Perspicuity and precision are continually enjoined in the pleadings, and litigation appears to have been attended with no expense." Mr. Mill has admitted the truth of this remark in the following paragraph :—

The qualities desirable in the forms of judicial procedure are (1) efficiency, (2) freedom from delay, (3) freedom from trouble and expense. In these several respects the system of the Hindoos displayed a degree of excellence not only far beyond itself in other branches of law, but far beyond what is exemplified in more enlightened countries. The efficiency of the Hindu system of judicial procedure is chiefly impaired by those rules of evidence, the badness of which has been already pointed out :—

1. For preventing delay, it furnishes every requisite in its method of immediate, direct and simple investigation.

2. In the same method is included all that is requisite for obtaining judicial services with the smallest portion of trouble and expense.

Colebrook says, "that the obligation of impartial justice incumbent on the sovereign and the judges is earnestly inculcated in language forcible and expressive. Careful investigation, a candid avowal of opinion, and strenuous remonstrance against unjust decisions, are strongly enjoined, and judges found guilty of corruption, partiality and collusion, were subject to fine, banishment or confiscation of property." The works used in the courts were very likely the institutes of Menu and other Sanhitas, with explanatory commentaries, in order to remove doubts and ambiguities to which the mere use of the text-books might give rise, and though the Hindus, says Mr. Ellis, have not preserved "reports" after the English fashion of the decisions of their courts of justice, but when the "definitions" of the English common law are sought for, no less a regard is paid to those which are found in Lyttleton's tenures, or perhaps in Lord Coke's commentaries, than to those which appear in the "reports of cases," and the very commentaries of the Hindus are considered by them to be integral parts of the body of their law more decidedly than any commentary is in England."

Abbè Dubois, a keen observer, says :—"Without any of the judicial forms invented by chicanery in Europe ; with no advocates, solicitors or blood-suckers, now become necessary adjuncts of a court of justice in Europe, the Hindus determine the greater part of their suits of law by the arbitration of friends or of the heads of the caste ; or in the cases of the highest importance by reference to the chiefs of the whole castes of the district assembled to discuss the matter in controversy."

The *Mitakhara* contains all the information as to the code of procedure.

It appears that the Brahmins; if guilty of an offence, did not escape with impunity. Wilson (*Mill's India, Vol. I*) gives an instance of a Brahmin having been condemned to death on presumptive proof of murder. In the story of Sankha and Likhita in the *Santi Purva* there is an instance of a Brahmin having lost his hand for committing theft. Dr. Wilson says that the immunity of a Brahmin guilty of crime does not seem to have been attended to.

The Hindu law consists of three divisions, *viz.*, I, *Achar*, or ceremonial, or ethical laws. II, *Vybhahara*, or jurisprudence. III, *Prayaschitta*, or religious laws relative to expiation.

The number of *Sanhitas* varies from eighteen to thirty-six. The glosses, commentaries and digests, which succeeded the *Sanhitas*, have caused a diversity of opinion on some legal subjects, to which is attributed the existence of five schools of law in Bengal, Benares, Mithala, Deccan, and the Marhatta country. Macnaughten gives the authorities followed by each of the above schools, and in Ellis' paper on the law books of the Hindus, in the *Transactions of the Madras Literary Society*, is to be found an account of the respective doctrines of the schools in question.

Sir F. Macnaughten Chief Justice of Bengal speaks highly of the Hindu law of contracts. See *Consideration on Hindu law* p. 404. The Hindu law of Bailment has been highly praised. "All the requisite shades of care and diligence and the corresponding shades of negligence and default are carefully observed in the Hindu law of Bailment and neither in the jurisprudence nor in the legal treatises of civilized states of Europe are they to be more logically expressed or more accurately defined." Schlegel observes that "the Indian jurisprudence is undoubtedly a standing proof and monument of the comparatively high and very ancient moral and intellectual refinement of that people, and a more minute and profound investigation of that jurisprudence would, no doubt, give rise to many interesting points of comparison and to many striking analogies."

Military.—Although the Aryas were naturally a contemplative nation, their constant broils with their neighbours led to the formation of a military class. War-chariots, golden and iron coats of mail, cuirasses, golden tiaras, golden breast-plates, the bow and arrow, javelin, infantry and cavalry, the war drum's thunder loud, warriors riding in their cars, banners, spears, swords, arrows, are mentioned in the *Rig Veda*. Here is a description of the warrior. "Lances (gleam), Maruts, upon your shoulders, anklets on your feet, golden cuirasses on your breast, and pure (waters) shine in your chariots; lightning blazing with fire glows in your hands and golden tiaras are towering on your heads. War drum fill with your sound loud heaven and earth, and let all things fixed

or moveable be aware of it. Intelligent maruts, you are armed with swords, with lances, with bows, and quivers, you are well-mounted and have chariots. *Rig Veda*. The *Ramayan* (Canto XXIX, Vol. I) contains a list of the celestial arms. See also Wilson's Works (Vol. XI, p. 297).

The weapons subsequently mentioned are bows and arrows, stones clubs, darts, discuses, javelins, tridents, spears, swords, axes maces, prosa (a sort of discus). The troops were armed with swords, maces, battle-axes, and spears, and defended from the weapons of the enemy by shields, helmets, steel jackets, or iron armour and coats of mail. The army was composed of elephants, chariots, cavalry, and infantry. Great warriors rode on big elephants or drove in large cars. Troops of soldiers, known by colors and marks, were on all sides. The fighting on the plain was carried on by armed cars and horses; on water by unarmed boats and elephants; on land grown with trees by bows, and on cleared ground by swords, &c. The king addressed the troops with short and animated speeches before commencing fighting.

There were other weapons besides those given above, but their classification is fivefold.

I Missiles—thrown with an instrument or engine.

II Missiles darted by a bow.

III Weapons which may be thrown or not.

IV Weapons which are not thrown.

V Natural weapons.

We read of *agni-astra* (fire arms) rockets, *bijra*, &c. It is, however, a question whether the Aryas were acquainted with the use of firearms. Blagdon, in his brief history of India, says that "for many centuries previous to the invasion of Alexander they (the Hindus) had become acquainted with gunpowder and fire-arms; and at the time of this invasion, the Macedonian armies on the banks of the Hydaspes were disconcerted and assailed by the artillery of wood and iron with which the Hindus defended the walls and by the rockets which they threw among them."

The institutes of Manu, the heroic poems, and the Agni Purana give an idea of military tactics, the disposition of the army, its movements, the army of forces called *vrihya* and all other details.*

Professor Wilson says: "Their writings make frequent reference to arms of fire and rockets." Elliot, in his History of India, Vol VI, says: "It is clear from the medical works that they were acquainted with the constituents of gunpowder. Tactics were not omitted in Hindu military science."

The division of the army into centre, flanks, wings and reserve is laid down, and rules for the order of march, the mode of over-

* See Wilson's Works, Vol. IV.

coming obstacles, the choice of a position and different kinds of array are given, and illustrated by quotations from the Agni-Purana.

Mr. Henry Torrens, in the *Scope and Uses of Military Literature and History, Part I*, Calcutta, 1846, has a chapter on the early history of the Brahminical conquerors of India, in which he quotes from Manu (II.) instructions for the division of the army and arrangements for military operations. The *Drona Purva* contains a sketch of the camp life of Yudisthira. In the morning, as he awoke, bards and minstrels began to recite sweet enlogistic songs, and musicians played their different musical instruments. Stirred up by the loud peals of music, the Maharajah rose from his bed and entered the bathroom, where white-robed young pages waited with golden jars full of water. His body was rubbed and washed with scented water. He then anointed his body with delightful *chandana*, decked his neck with garlands, and, being dressed, stood to the east with folded hands; and, following the example of the pious, he finished his devotion. In a meek spirit he afterwards proceeded to the compartments where fire was burning. Having worshipped *Agni* thrice, he went to another compartment, where he met learned Brahmins, &c., whom he honored with ghee, honey, fruits, *durva* grass, and, making presents of gold, ornamented horses, clothes, &c., walked round them as a mark of respect. He subsequently inspected garlands, jars full of water, burning offering, unbroken pots full of water, precious articles, decorated ? auspicious females, and ghee, honey, water and good beds as auspicious signs. He then came out to the outer compartments, where he sat on a throne made of gold and precious stones, decked in white robes while the servants fanned him with *chamaras*. The bards again chanted their songs, and there were heard the neigh of the horses, the sound of the bells, hanging on the necks of the elephants, and the buzz of the army in bustle. The brothers of the Maharajah and other heroes arrived, and they then all proceeded to the field.

Valor was highly prized. To die on the battle-field was a sure passport to heaven; cowardice was ignominious and was hated by men and women. Inhumanity to the enemy was reprehensible, and protection to those who sought for it was never denied. Fighting between equals was recommended, and if, in point of weapons, position and in all other respects, the combatants were not on an equal footing, no unfair advantages could be taken, nor could a blow be aimed at the effeminate, timid, fatigued, surrendering, sleepy, having no coat of mail, naked, disarmed, spectators, or a combatant fighting with another, or one who had broken his weapons, or was sorrowful, wounded or needy (*Manu VI*.)

In the *Santi Purva* there is a legend showing that the sword

was used from early times. Bhima says that the people of Gandhar Scinde and Soubir fight with *mullar* and *pras*, those of Prachin on the backs of elephants, Yavanas, Camboges and people of Muttra with hands, and those of the Deccan with swords.

In the days of Manu good warriors were men of Kurukhetra, Matsha, Virata Panchala, Kanyaubja and Sursena in Mathura. The *Santi Purva* says that even if a king has an immense army he should on no account proceed to war without doing his best to settle matters in difference amicably. Arjun, in the *Drona Purva* speaks of the following kinds of fighting, *viz.* Ratha Judha (in cars), Asha Judha (on horseback), Mulla Judha (wrestling), Aushi Judha (with swords), Bahoo Judha (with hands), Gada Judha (with clubs), Mustijudha (with blows.)

When the Kurus and Pandabs fought, military science was in an advanced state. The heroes were called *Rathina Atirathin*, or *Maharathin*. In the cars which appeared at the battle of Kurukhetra there were only the hero and the driver, while in those which Porus brought to fight with Alexander there were two warriors and one driver. The car was decorated with a banner of the combatants containing armorial bearing by which he was known.

The disposition of forces was according to particular forms called *byuhu*. Bhishma's instruction to Yudisthira in the *Santi Purva* is that the charioteers should be in the midst of elephants, and after the cavalry, in the midst of whom the infantry clad in armour should be placed.

Buildings.—It appears, that the buildings of the Aryas were originally made of unburnt bricks, but the accounts of the construction of buildings, palaces, cities, &c., given in the *Rig-Veda* and other works, show their advanced ideas on architecture. Expressions such as buttress, hall of sacrifice, strongholds, sacred mansion, hall built with thousand columns, hundred built cities, three roofed or three-storied mansion, a mansion of a thousand columns, a sheltering and prosperous dwelling combining three elements and defending in three ways (wood, brick and stone). firm steel gates of cities, thousand-doored dwellings, firm as a city made of iron, bright separable doors, &c., are met with in the *Rig-Veda*. There is a noteworthy hymn. Manu speaks of the terrace pavement of stones. Ramayana says of the Ayudha, a palace containing :

"A roof and turret high,
Square was its shape, its halls were wide.
With many a seat and couch supplied."

The *Toy Cart* alludes to "pulling out burnt bricks and burning through wooden walls." We obtain an idea of some houses from the following passage in that play. "The interior of the houses at

Pompeii, conveys some idea of an Indian house, which, like them is a set of chambers of one or two stories, surrounding a central unroofed square. A house of a superior description is merely denoted by the superior extent of this square and by its comprising a set or series of them." Crawford in his sketches of the Hindus says: "There are pieces of sculpture here in very perfect preservation which, with many others that are scattered over Hindustan, prove the great superiority of the ancient Hindus in this art to their later descendants." Fergusson, in his *Indian Architecture*, says: "They (the people of India) possessed palaces, halls of assembly, perhaps even temples of great magnificence and splendour, long anterior to Asoka's accession. Stone in those days seems to have been employed only for the foundation of buildings, or in engineering works, such as city walls and gates, or bridges, or embankments." Cunningham (*Archæological Survey, Vol. III*) says that stone buildings were in use. The throne of Jarasindhu was made of stone. Colonel Call, chief-engineer at Madras, remarks as follows: "It may be safely pronounced that no part of the world has more marks of antiquity for arts, sciences, and civilization than the peninsula of India from the Ganges to Cape Comorin. I think the carvings on some of the pagodas and choular, as well as the grandeur of the work, exceeds anything erected now-a-days, not only for the delicacy of the choice but for the expense of construction, considering in many instances to what distances the component parts were carried and to what height raised."

Furniture.—Couches, seats, furniture and crystal palaces are mentioned in the *Vishna Purana Book IV*. The *Rig-Veda* mentions benches which are subsequently spoken of in the judges' courts (Wilson's *Hindu Theatre, Vol. 1*). The *Brihat Sankhita* names the best trees from the timber of which couches and seats should be made. Stools were in use. Manu mentions tables. Megasthenes states that a table like a tripod is placed before every Indian when he takes his supper. On this table was a golden bowl containing eatables. The practice of taking food on plates or on plantain leaves, cross-legged, is thus a modern custom.

Food and Drink.—Good water was valued. "Ambrosia in the water; in the water are medicinal herbs; therefore divine priests be prompt in their praise (*Rig-Veda*). Again: "All medicaments are in the waters, the waters contain all healing herbs" (*Rig-Veda*). The food mentioned, is boiled milk, boiled barley, vegetable, cakes of fired meal. Beef eating was unusual, religiously and socially. Every householder offered "honeyed meal, and with it flesh of ox or calf or goat." The name of a guest or friend was *goghana* or cow-killer, as on his arrival a cow was killed for his entertainment. Dishes were numerous, as the *Rig-Veda* mentions "hundreds and thousand of viands." The *Ramayan* contains a graphic description

of the feast given by Bharutdaj to Ram.

“Each sort of wine to woo the taste,
And meats of every kind he plac'd.
Boiled, stewed and roasted, varied cheer,
Peahen and jungle-fowl and deer.
There was the flesh of kid and boar,
And dainty sauce in endless store.”

Meat was taken fresh and dried. It was boiled, stewed and roasted. The sheep, cow, goat, buffalo, pig, rhinoceros, hare, porcupine, tortoise, and birds of different kinds were slaughtered and consumed. We learn from *Mahábhárat* that there was a class of persons who went to the jungle and killed animals and birds for those who employed them for home consumption or for sale in the markets.

Meditative and pious persons had a horror of destroying animal life, and they created a change. Manu therefore ordained: “Flesh meat cannot be procured without injury to animals, and the slaughter of animals obstructs the way to beatitude: from flesh meat, therefore, let man abstain.”

Drinking wine prevailed from the earliest times: “You filled from the hoof of your vigorous steed, as from a cask, a hundred jars of wine” (*Rig-Veda*). Leather bottle in the house of a vendor of spirits (*Rig-Veda*). Intoxicating wines are mentioned in the *Rig-Veda*. Manu mentions different kinds of wine and spirituous liquor (Book IX pp. 94-96). In India, different kinds of wine and liquor were manufactured; and, not contented with them, the people consumed foreign wine imported from Egypt. During the Vedic times, every Arya appears to have drunk wine, which was indispensable.

Conveyances—used during the Vedic times were of different kinds. There were tri-columnar, triangular, three-wheeled, well-constructed cars; thousand-sound-diversified chariots; one-wheeled, three-benched, high-standing chariots, decorated with many kinds of golden ornaments, furnished with golden yokes; litters drawn by horses, asses and deer. Village cars, mentioned in the *Nataks*, were subsequently introduced. Palkies and shibicas, doolis used by the females, who drove in cars during the Vedic times, are often mentioned in the *Puranas*. There were also carts for carrying goods and animals.

Humanity to Animals.—Love for animals was a prominent characteristic of the Aryan race. The *Rig-Veda* says: “Grant happiness to our bipeds and quadrupeds. May we with our kine and horses be exempted from decrepitude.” The Sama Veda inculcates: “We should respect animals, for their imperfection is the work of superior wisdom that governs the world, and that wisdom ought to be respected in its minutest works. You shall

not therefore without necessity, or for pleasure, kill animals which are, like yourself, of divine creation. You shall not torment them, you shall not afflict them, you shall not overwork them. You shall not abandon them in their old age, remembering the services rendered you. You may only kill animals for food; carefully shunning those that are forbidden as unclean."

Manu legislated for the prevention of cruelty to animals. A cow, while drinking, is not to be interrupted. Beasts of burden oppressed by hunger or disease, or having imperfect horns, eyes or hoofs, or ragged tails are not to be used (IV, 67-68). He says, those who seek the good of all sentient beings "enjoy bliss without end" (V. 46). A driver killing an animal by negligence was punishable. Cattle received the tender care of every householder. Krishna himself during his boyhood tended cattle, and he was so fond of them that he said "cows are our divinities." The *Vishnu Purana* and *Sreemut Bhagvut* afford proofs of the great care bestowed on cattle. In the *Mahabharut*, we find that the kings had a class of milkmen who were devoted to the interests of the cattle. The celebration of the Ghose Yatra in Northern, and Pingul in Southern India, are proofs of the estimation in which cattle were held. What the Aryas taught and did to show their love for the brute creation, was intensified by the Budhists. One of Asoka's edicts was honor to father and mother, charity to kindred and neighbour, and humanity to animals. The Buddhists totally abstained from the destruction of animal life and looked upon all sentient life in the same light. Hindu society, which was afterwards divided into several sects, did not advance to this extent, although the teaching of the ancient ages (the excellent virtue is not to hurt any one) was received and appreciated by every class.

In the annals of humanity to animals, stands prominently the name of Ahalya Bai, a Marhatta lady. She spent large sums of money in promoting their well-being, and comfort. She was not only devoted to the happiness of her subjects, but she delighted in imparting happiness to the brute creation.

Females.—An attentive perusal of Hindu literature will satisfy every unprejudiced enquirer that Hindu women were educated, treated with great respect and married when marriageable. There are several hymns in the Vedas showing that conjugal felicity characterised the Arya nation.

"May the pious couple conjointly appreciate the beauty of the sacrifice" (*Rig-Veda*).

"Preserve in concord the relation of man and wife; make perfect the well-connected duty of wife and husband." (*Yajur-Veda*.)

"As a loving wife shows herself to her husband, so does Usha smiling" (*Rig-Veda*).

"Our hymns touch thee, O strong God, as loving wives a loving husband" (*Rig-Veda*).

Of the several classes of females, one class taught the Vedas and studied sacred science. They travelled in quest of divine knowledge, and publicly discussed matters connected with the knowledge of God and the soul with learned divines and sages. This class of women never married. Another class of women prosecuted sacred and secular studies, but were married. They qualified themselves as spiritual wives, that they might join their husbands in worship and meditation, and in the performance of all acts calculated to purify and ennoble the mind. They also learnt the duties of the household, how to promote sanitation, regulate the finances, superintend the cooking, the practice of hospitality, &c. Other classes of females received other kinds of education. In Wilson's *Dasa Kumara*, a mother says: "We train them thoroughly in foreign literature; we instruct them to read and write and express themselves with eloquence and wit; we rear them to understand flowers, perfumes, and confectionery, and accomplish them in drawing, painting, dancing, singing, in playing musical instruments and dramatic representations. We have them instructed in grammar, in logic and astrology, and teach them to earn a livelihood, to excel in sportive graces, to be skilled in the games of chance or strife, to appear in gay and elegant raiment at public festivals, &c. When this is accomplished we grant them to one whom they may love" (Wilson's Works, Vol. IV). We read of the *chitra sala* or gallery of portraits; we read of females acting in the theatres; of their singing and dancing. Wilson says *lasya* (a style of dancing) was taught by Parvati to the princess Usha, who instructed the Gopis of Dwarka, the residence of her husband, in the art; by them it was communicated to the women of Sarashtra, and from them it passed to the females of various regions." We find that Kshattrya women learnt music and dancing, as Arjuna gave instruction to the family of Birat on these subjects. As to the culture of Hindu females, we have dwelt at some length in another paper and the more we enquire into the subject, the more we are impressed with the conviction that the higher classes of females were brought up *spiritually*, and were married to be the companions of their husbands in the practice of virtue and holiness. Dr. Wilson finds Hindu women "described as amiable, high principled, modest, gentle, accomplished and intelligent; as exercising a very important influence upon men and treated by them with tenderness and respect." He also says: "They were allowed to go freely into public on public occasions, they were present at dramatic processions, they were permitted to visit the temples of the gods, and to perform their ablutions with little or no privacy in sacred streams." Dr. Wilson draws an inference that greater restraint was imposed on

unmarried than on married females, and that they could not talk or correspond even with a lover. This, however, is not borne out by evidence. The *Chundhogya Upanishad* bears testimony to the practice of flirtation and courtship during the Vedic period. At Ayodhya, young men and women used to repair to gardens to promenade there in the afternoon. In the descriptions of the city after Rama's banishment Valmiki thus laments :

“ In kingless realms, behold
 Young maidens, decked with gems and gold,
 Flock to the gardens blithe and gay
 To spend their evening hours in play.
 No lover on the flying car
 Rides with his love to the woods afar.”

(Griffiths' *Ramayan*.)

The *Toy Cart* mentions the garden belonging to the temple of Bamadeva, where the young of both sexes repaired, and which was the scene of many love adventures. We read of several eminent females who selected their husbands. Devayani offered her hand to Yajati, Suvadra made advances to marry Arjana, Rukhini wrote to Krishna to take her away by force. Originally the bride was the consenting party. “The marriage rite shall prosper when the eye, the tongue and heart unite the wedded pair,” and no law or rule of social decency acknowledges a sovereign's will to regulate a daughter's bridal compact. One of the texts recited by the bridegroom was “Who gave her? To whom did he give her? Love was the giver, Love was the taker. Love, mayest, thou be there with love may I enjoy her.” The bride's father meditating on *gay-atrī*, a knot made with the skirts of the bride and bridegroom's mantles says: “Ye must be inseparably united in matters of duty, wealth and love.”

Subsequently other forms of marriage were introduced. The *Gandharva* and *Swambara* gave freedom to the females in the selection of husbands.

The marrying of one wife was most meritorious as it answered the purpose of the Creator, the procreation of species and the exchange of pure love, leading to spiritual progress. Though married, the husband could not approach the wife except at stated periods, thus showing that the marriage was more the marriage of the souls than the marriage of the flesh. Polygamy, though practised, was looked upon as carnal and not praiseworthy.

Hindu females moved in society. They attended meetings, *sabhas*, jubilees, theatres, funeral processions, hunting and shooting excursions. They lived in camps while the battle was raging high, and they sometimes appeared in the battlefield. They rode on horses and elephants, and drove in cars. They sat on the throne when

the male issue was extinct. Prem Devi sat on the throne of Delhi before the Mahomedan invasion. Hian Thoang (7th century) speaks of the Stri Rajaya (kingdom of the women), in the mountains, about the sources of the Jumna and Ganges. This is mentioned in the *Mahabharut*. In Renaudot's Ancient Accounts of India (9th century) there is mention of the Maladive islands being governed by a queen. Several Rances sat on the throne of Ceylon (Forbes' *Ceylon*). Nepaul was governed by "a woman of extraordinary character and talents" (Kirkpatrick's *Nepaul*). In Rajputana there were "able and valiant female regents."—

The Hindu women, more specially of the Kshattriya class, thought highly of valor and hated cowardice. Kunti said to her sons: "Remember that you are born Kshattriyas, not born to till the ground, nor trade, nor beg for bread, but to use the sword, and it is a thousand times better to be slain than to live in disgrace. Prove to the world that Kunti is the mother of a noble race."

The Ramayan expresses the same sentiment:

"What, leave your arms? Each mother dame
Will scorn her consort for the shame."

Col. Tod, in his *Annals of Rajasthan*, relates anecdotes of several Rajputana ladies showing greater love for valor and immortality and heaven than for husbands and sons. The Egyptian women appear to have enjoyed freedom like Hindu women. They could attend public and private meetings and occupy the regal seat. The Grecian women were kept down and confined to servile occupations. They were therefore of "uninstructed minds and unimproved manners." In Rome the seclusion of the females was not so great, but the bride was bought by the husband, which Manu denounces. They were never allowed freedom.

Dress.—The Aryas wore shoes and sandals:

"And stores of sandals and shoes,

"Thousands of pairs for all to choose."—Griffith's *Ramayan*.

Females were white-robed, wore brilliant ornaments on the breast, necklaces, purple ornaments and bangles. They used perfumes. The *Rig-Veda* speaks of decoration. In Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. 111, p 26, will be found a representation of a Hindu female's attire. The Hindu females had a *ghagra* or petticoat, a *kunchule*, or corset, a dress, covering the breast, and a *dupata*, or scarf. The Rajputnees and up-country women are so dressed. The *Rig-Veda* mentions "well-dressed females," "well-made garments;" and the *Sreemut Bhagbut* speaks of ornaments for the ear, neck, hand; of head-dresses, &c. The Hindu females used shoes, which several sculptures show. The *Indica* states that the Indians wore upper and under garments and shoes made of white leather. These must have been the Buddhists.

* Development of the Female mind in India.

Amusements—Gymnastic exercises, fighting of cocks and rams, shooting, sporting, dice and theatrical performances constituted the amusements. A king challenged to dice could not recede. A Kshatrya lost caste if he did not accept the gauntlet. Nala, Yudisthira and many others of royal extraction, lost all they had by gaming. In the *Rig-Veda* dice are mentioned "with wine, anger, thoughtlessness, as causes of sins." There were gaming houses. Manu condemns gamblers and gaming-houses (IX, 221-22.)

Pic-nics—The Kshatryas with their wives and other ladies occasionally had pic-nics. In the *Adi-Purva* there is a description of a pic-nic which Krishna and Arjuna and several ladies had on the banks of the Jumna. The ladies appear to have enjoyed this pic-nic very much. Some promenaded in the garden, some swam in the river, some sang, some danced, some engaged in frolic and fun, and some indulged in wine. The *Harwansa* also contains an account of a pic-nic at which Krishna and his wives, Balaram and his wife, Arjuna and his wife, Samadhra, Krishnas sons and their wives, and old Narada were present. The chief amusement was that the gentlemen and ladies plunged into the river and splashed each other with water in a state of ecstasy from which old Narada even did not escape, Krishna having instigated his wives to have this fun with him. After this aquatic frolic the pic-nic-makers sat down to a dinner composed of different dishes and wines. There was also a vegetable dinner for those who did not take animal food.

Education.—The subject of education was thought of from the earliest times. "A son who is able in affairs, skilful in domestic affairs, assiduous in worship, eminent in society, is an honor to his father" (*Rig-Veda*).

It was considered of the utmost importance that the sacerdotal, military and commercial classes should be trained in sacred sciences and rites calculated to elevate the soul and bring it nearer God. Each class, besides general education, had special instruction. We have already alluded to the special instruction of the military class. As to the Vaisya, they were enjoined to learn several things, including the correct modes of measuring and weighing and the various dialects of men (Manu, IX, 330-32). With regard to the Sudras, they "followed the mechanical occupations, as joinery, or masonry, or such practical arts as painting or writing" (Manu, X, 100).

Intellectual Culture.—Playfair (Vol. III) on the Astronomy of the Brahmins says: "Some ages ago there had arisen a Newton among the Brahmins to discover that universal principle which connects not only the most distant regions of space but the most distant periods of duration, and a language to trace through the immensity of both its most able and complicated operations." The

construction of these tables implies a great knowledge of geometry, arithmetic, and even of the theoretical part of astronomy. William Jones says: "I can venture to affirm without venturing to pluck a leaf from the never-fading laurels of our immortal Newton, that the whole of his theology and part of his philosophy may be found in the *Vedas* and even in the works of the Sufee."

Hospitality.—We have already alluded to the hospitality shown by Yudisthira to persons of different castes, when they assembled on the occasion of the Rajsaye Yagya. Manu inculcates: "To the highest guests in the best form, to the lowest in the worst, to the equal, equally, let him offer seats, resting places, giving them proportionate attendance when they depart, and honor as long as as they stay."

Domestic servants.—were kindly treated. Manu: "His assemblage of servants as his own shadow; let him therefore, when offended by any one of these, bear the offence without indignation." (IV. 185) In the *Mahabharat*, we find Yudisthira addressing his maid servant as lady.

Religious Culture.—When the Aryas were settled in the Punjab, there was no caste, no priest, no temple, no place of public worship. Every householder promoted in his own family religious culture. The place was free from bustle; the scenery was imposing; the hills and mountains imparted awe and sublimity. The mind thus entranced, rested in the depth of its serenity. It was insulated and transcended the horizon of finitude. This gradually intensified the conception of the infinite. The worshipper was seated by his family. The magnetism of meditation converted all minds into one. Buksen discovers in a hymn "a spiritual element, an inner purport of pure meditation," and he says: "The spirit which is lifted to the all good and all wise, and the infinite one who revealed to him (the worshipper) by nature, yet speaks to his inmost soul." The *Rig-Veda* states, that such worship was 'conducive to the piety and happiness of a married couple.' Every householder prayed thrice a day with fire burning before him, and the result of such worship was the intensification of the conviction regarding the immortality of the soul and its progression in the next world. The Aryas found and taught that there was one God, almighty and omnipresent; that he was the soul of every soul, and that communion with God or the attainment of the blissful state could be through the soul and that the progression of every soul emancipated or disembodied was in pure love and wisdom. This closely resembles the philosophy of Plato, as inculcated in the *Phædo*. This ignores external revelation and establishes the revelation of the soul. Colonel Vans Kennedy says: "It cannot but excite surprise that man at that remote period should have been capable of entering into such abstruse specula-

tions and forming conceptions to the sublimity of which no philosopher of Europe has ever attained." Sir William Jones adds his testimony, that it is "a system wholly built on the purest devotion."

Domestic life.—The bountiful conquer for themselves, first a pleasant abode, a well-dressed wife, and a draught of wine (*Rig-Veda*). The idea of home was larger. He who bestows easily obtains happiness on our steeds, our rams, our ewes, our men our women, our cows (*Rig-Veda*). The feeling for rest was not only for the home but for the neighbour. Let the mother sleep, let the father sleep, let the dog sleep, let the son-in-law sleep, let all the kindred sleep, let the people who are stationed around sleep (*Rig-Veda*).

The Atharva Veda says : " I impart you concord, with unity of hearts and freedom from hatred ; delight one another or a cow at the birth of a calf. May the son be obedient to his father and of one mind with his mother ; may the wife, at peace with her husband, speak to him honied words. Let not brother hate brother or sister ; concordant and united in will, speak to one another with united words."

PEARY CHAND MITTRA.

THE QUARTER.

KABUL affairs have so dwarfed all others during the past three months, that the history of the period is practically comprised in that of the Mission to Sher Ali and the military operations that have succeeded it.

As the campaign itself will form the subject of a separate article in the next number of the *Review*, we shall content ourselves in this place with the briefest possible record of the progress made. The circumstances which have led up to the war we propose, with the aid of the Blue Book lately presented to Parliament, to submit to more detailed investigation.

Regarded from the point of view of political criticism, the matter to be dealt with presents two distinct fields of enquiry. First, in respect of immediate practical importance, though not in the order of historical precedence, we have the question whether the circumstances with which the Government of Lord Lytton found itself face to face on the 20th of last November were, or were not, such as to justify the declaration of war against the Amir of Kabul. Or, since we may fairly assume that, when it was determined to send the late Mission to the Amir, it had been decided to declare war unless the demands of the Government of India were complied with, we may put the question in another form, *viz.*, whether the state of things with which the Government then found itself confronted was, or was not, such as to justify the determination to despatch a Mission with the object of preferring those demands and with the intention of treating the rejection of them as a *casus belli*. Second in respect of present importance, though first in that of historical precedence, we have the question how this state of things arose.

Both proper and necessary subjects of critical enquiry, these two questions are, logically, and apart from all consideration of their personal bearings, independent of one another. In order to the determination of the first of them, it matters nothing how much or how little the present Government may have had to do with the alienation of the Amir; or with any other of the elements of which the actual state of things at the time of the despatch of the Mission was composed; and equally little for that purpose does it matter what share in the genesis of the state of things in question belongs to any previous administration.

The proper measures to be adopted for the safety of his ship by the Captain whose barometer indicates the approach of a cyclone, are the same whether by adopting a different course at some previous time he might have altogether escaped its influence, or not; and

whether or not, he is to blame for the actual position of his ship at the critical juncture.

That the absolute independence of these two questions has been so largely ignored in the discussions to which late events have given rise among politicians, both in and out of Parliament, only shows to how great an extent the real points at issue are apt to be obscured where personal or party considerations come into play.

In considering the question whether the posture of affairs in relation to Afghanistan last autumn was such as to justify the action of the Government of India, we shall start with a proposition which, being concerned with physical and, humanly-speaking, permanent conditions, is free from indeterminate elements, or, at least, furnishes no scope for those practically insoluble differences of opinion which depend, on sentimental or moral bias. It is this,—that the physical configuration of Afghanistan is such that a strong Power, once fairly established there, would be practically inexpugnable. Even here, it may be said, we are using indefinite terms. We may be challenged to state what we should call a strong Power for the purpose indicated ; and, having replied to that question, we may be confronted with the contingency of an indefinitely stronger Power on the side of the offensive. We take it, however, that the problem is one in which, in the absence of some such vast inequality in respect of appliances or methods of war as in the present state of science is not to be looked for between civilised nations, numerical strength on either side, beyond a certain point, would, from the nature of the case, cease to affect the result, or would affect it in so rapidly diminishing a ratio that for practical purposes it may be left out of consideration. We take it, in short, that there is a certain minimum number of men, who, being endowed with military qualities such as the troops of any one of the great European Powers possess, and furnished with such warlike appliances as science places at the disposal of those Powers, and being, once fairly established in Afghanistan, would be able to hold their own against any army that could be thrown against them ; and we take it that this number is such—whether sixty, or eighty, or a hundred thousand men,—as any of the great Powers in question could easily dispose of.

If this proposition, however, should not be granted, a less disputable one is sufficient for the purpose of our argument, *viz.*, that the physical configuration of Afghanistan offers such facilities for defence, that if it were held by disciplined soldiers, of such quality as any of the great European Powers possesses, and furnished with such warlike appliances as science places at the disposal of all those Powers, the loss suffered by the offensive in expelling them would be altogether disproportionate to the number of the defenders.

The next proposition we shall state is one that appears to us to

be equally incapable of dispute.

It is that, taken in connection with its physical configuration, the geographical position of Afghanistan in relation to India is such that its occupation by a Power at once strong and hostile would be attended by consequences of a kind which the rulers of India are bound for the sake of self preservation to avert. Without risking a single man in actual offensive warfare, such a Power might by the sheer force of its presence, compel the rulers of India to elect between retiring behind the Indus and maintaining in their trans-Indus provinces, fully equipped and disposed for war, armies at least three times as numerous in the aggregate, as those at its own disposal for the purpose of invasion.

The circumstances on which the truth of this proposition depends have been ably set forth by a writer in the *Englishman* of the first inst., and we must say, his arguments appear to us to be incontrovertible.

"Whether for offence or defence, a state having a mountain frontier against strong or warlike neighbours, is only mistress of the situation when it holds the passes of the chain in their entirety. If the mountain barrier be of no great length, or if it be *narrow*, then other considerations may be allowed full weight. A river never divides races. But a water-parting, is more often than not race-parting, and a speech-parting as well. When this is the case, and the mountain range is neither long nor deep, then it is perhaps best, in the event of war, for the army of the state acting on the defensive, to take up such a position as shall compel an enemy debouching from the hills to form front to a flank. In such a case, he must accept a battle and win it, for if he lose, his ruin must of necessity be complete. The advantages of a mountain barrier are that it enables the defence to retard an advance by occupying the passes, and confines an enemy to a few and difficult lines of supply. But as we have said, this refers only to the case of a range of moderate depth and inferior length. Even then so valuable are the uses of mountains as a screen to military movements, that the balance of advantage is with the assailant.

Now the Suleiman chain on the north-western frontier of India offers a special study, not only to military men, but to statesmen. It is, first, of great length, it is also of great depth, and, lastly, it does not divide races or languages. In length from north to south, it approaches 400 miles. It varies considerably in width, and forms towards India an immense bastion front behind which an enemy might mature his plans in perfect security, and then advance from either flank of the bastion by the natural sorties of the passes leading from Kandahar or Kábul. The mere effort to observe this front would compel India to assemble at least two armies,

and to construct a double strategical railway in rear of the Indus from Multan to Attock. This would be a work of enormous magnitude and expense. The British line of observation, as we pointed out in former articles, would be more than 500 miles long, whilst the enemy would hold the choice of concentration along a line of 315 miles."

The strain which recourse to the latter alternative would place upon the resources of the country would, in itself, soon prove intolerable; the loss of prestige involved in the adoption of the former alternative, even supposing the new frontier so easily defensible as to render it otherwise an acceptable one, would be fatal to the stability of our Indian empire.

If these two propositions are true; if to allow a strong and hostile Power to remain in occupation of Afghanistan, would be to incur an insupportable liability as the only alternative to destruction; and if a strong and hostile Power, once fairly established in Afghanistan, would be practically inexpugnable, or expugnable only at a ruinous sacrifice of men and money, then it follows that the establishment in Afghanistan of a strong Power which either is, or threatens to become, hostile, is a catastrophe which the British Government in India is bound by the instinct of self preservation to prevent.

The proper course for the Government of India to pursue in case of such a Power threatening to occupy Afghanistan, depends upon the condition and attitude of the latter country. The only case in which it could regard such a contingency with any approach to equanimity would be that of a friendly Afghanistan, determined to resist the invaders and strong enough to hold its own against them. Even in this case, however, absolute inaction would be incompatible with prudence; for the chances of war might upset all calculations. If in such circumstances the rulers of Afghanistan were to seek a defensive alliance, it could not be refused; and even if they were sufficiently confident of their own strength to abstain from such a request, the least that would be incumbent on the Government of India would be to maintain its forces in such a state of preparedness as to be in a position to render effective help at a moment's notice.

In any other case, it is obvious that the Government of India must itself undertake the task of defending Afghanistan, with or without the co-operation, or even against the consent of its rulers, as the case may be. That it may be in a position to do this on the approach of danger, either its arrangements with the rulers of the country must be such as to ensure its being able to occupy the necessary positions at the right moment, or it must take the necessary steps to occupy the country itself sufficiently long in advance to enable it to overcome all opposition on the part of the people of

the country, and fairly establish itself in the necessary positions before the invader can reach them. Which of these two courses it should adopt, and the period at which it should commence active operations must depend on the attitude of the rulers of Afghanistan. If that attitude were friendly, it would naturally proceed by treaty and time its movements according to their views, as far as might be consistent with the achievement of the common object in view. If, on the other hand, the attitude of the rulers of the country were hostile, it would naturally move on the first convenient opportunity after the danger had become sufficiently apparent to warrant a course justifiable only by the exigencies of self defence.

If, again, the attitude of the rulers of Afghanistan were doubtful, its action would be guided largely by the amount of time at its disposal. If the danger of invasion were not instant, it would be bound to use its best endeavours to establish a friendly understanding, before resorting to counter-aggression.

Regarding the inability of the Afghans to defend their country against a Russian invasion without British aid, there can be no longer any question. They themselves had admitted that inability, in the overtures they had again and again made to the British Government for a defensive alliance before the interruption of diplomatic intercourse ; and, had any room for doubt on the subject remained, it must have been removed by the experience of the past two months.

On the question whether the action adopted by the Government of India in September last was justified by the circumstances, or not, only two issues, then, arise. The one of these issues concerns the reality and magnitude of the danger to be guarded against ; the other concerns the attitude of the rulers of Afghanistan.

Was the danger such as to make it incumbent on the Government of India to take steps to ensure its being able to occupy at the right moment those positions in Afghanistan, which it would be necessary to defend in order to repel a powerful invader ?

The question is one partly of the intentions and partly of the ability of Russia.

As regards the former point, it might reasonably be contended that actual and overt hostile intentions were not necessary to establish a ground for precautionary measures. The mere circumstance of the proximity of Russia to our Asiatic possessions, combined with the nature of her position and avowed policy in Europe, pregnant as that position and policy are with perpetual risk of embroilment with England, would alone, it might be fairly argued, constitute valid ground for such measures.

It might, indeed, some time since, have been urged in reply to the argument, stated in this general form, that whatever standing risk of hostilities between England and Russia there might be, and how-

ever strongly, in case of such hostilities breaking out, Russia would be tempted to try and create a diversion in Asia, she would abstain from the attempt on account of its difficulty.

The case of the Government of India does not, however, rest upon this general argument. The question whether, in case of hostilities between the two countries, Russia would seek to create a diversion in Asia by attacking Kabul, has been removed from the realm of speculation by the overt actions and avowed intentions of Russia herself during the past year.

The history of the relations between England and Russia in respect of the Central Asian question since the conquest of Khiva by the latter Power may be divided into three phases. First, we have the phase of negotiation between the two Powers, for the purpose of establishing a mutual understanding as regards the limits of their respective territorial jurisdictions and political influence. In the course of these negotiations an attempt was at first made to establish a neutral zone beyond which neither Power should advance, an arrangement which, so far as it can be said to have ever existed, was ultimately abandoned for an understanding in which the following are the final passages:

On the 11th of May 1875, Prince Gortchakoff, through Count Schouvaloff, communicated to Lord Derby a despatch in which he repeats the assurance that the Emperor—

“Has no intention of extending the frontiers of Russia, such as they exist at present in Central Asia, either on the side of Bokhara, or on the side of Krasnovodsk and of the Attrek:—

“‘We have no inducement to do so. On the contrary, the Emperor deems any extension of our frontiers in those parts as being opposed to our own interests. We shall cause those frontiers to be respected, and shall protect our commerce; we shall punish any act of violence and pillage in such manner as to prevent their recurrence; we shall endeavour to extirpate brigandage, and to establish the security of our possessions. The configuration of these countries and the manners of their inhabitants do not admit of our stating beforehand the precise measures which may be necessary for the practical attainment of this object. It is enjoined on us by our rights, our duties, and our interests. We are bound to fulfil it, and we shall do so. Nothing, however, should be done beyond what is indispensable for this purpose. The orders of the Emperor are formal in this respect. They have been notified by His Imperial Majesty to the military authorities, who are charged with their execution.’”

In a memorandum attached to this despatch Prince Gortchakoff summed up as follows what he considered to be the understanding arrived at:—

“It was especially recognized that in the present state of affairs, it being impossible to consider the Russian and English frontiers in Central Asia as incapable of alteration, an international arrangement on that point would be ineffectual. But, side by side with this latitude, reserved to both Governments in a spirit of practical wisdom, the following points have been established by common consent:—

"1. That an antagonism between them in these countries would be contrary to their mutual interests and to the mission of civilization to which they have been called, each in the sphere of its own natural influence; that it would be highly advantageous to afford to each other mutual support, in order to maintain a state of peace between the Khans of Central Asia, and not to permit the intrigues of those Khans to bring the interests of two great Empires into collision.

"2. That for this purpose it was desirable to preserve an intermediate zone between them, which should secure them from immediate contact.

"3. That Afghanistan should constitute this intermediate zone, if its independence were secured on either side from all encroachment.

"4. That the limits of that State should be recognized in accordance with the line agreed upon after a long negotiation.

"5. That the two Governments, in their respective spheres of influence—England with the Amir of Afghanistan and Russia with the Khans of Bokhara and Khokand—should employ themselves reciprocally in preventing all aggression on the part of any one of these Chiefs against the independence and security of the other.

"Such were the definite bases of the understanding established between the two Governments."

This memorandum was followed by an assertion of complete liberty of action over the territory situated between the Russian frontiers and those of Afghanistan.

On the 25th October, Lord Derby replied in detail to this memorandum, in a despatch in which, adverting to the assumption:—

"That in arriving at an understanding with respect to Afghanistan, the common policy of the two Governments has been completely fulfilled, and that it is a part of such understanding that entire liberty of action is left to Russia in all the territories lying between her own frontier and that of Afghanistan,

he wrote:—

"The point of departure of the two Governments in exchanging their views was the mutual desire to arrive at some common understanding as to the best means of preventing the contact of their respective possessions in Central Asia. Various combinations were proposed and discussed with this object, the creation of a neutral zone, the delimitation of frontiers, the recognition of the Oxus as a line which neither Power should permit their forces to cross, the maintenance of Afghanistan and Bokhara as independent States, the former under British and the later under Russian influence. This last combination, as represented in the memorandum under consideration, appears to be the only form of an arrangement with regard to which any definite understanding has been found practicable, and Her Majesty's Government have always fully appreciated the conciliatory spirit in which this question has been approached by the Russian Government. But it is obvious that the settlement made with respect to Afghanistan can only partially effect the object which the two Governments desired to attain—namely, that of averting possible causes of future collision between them. Her Majesty's Government fully accept the assurances of the Imperial Cabinet as to extension of the southern frontiers of Russian territory; but they equally admit the force of the arguments which have been advanced to explain the repeated annexations which, in spite of these assurances, have taken place. However sincere, therefore, the desire of the Russian Government to avoid future extension of territorial responsibilities, Her Majesty's Government cannot regard the present line of Russian frontier as fixed and immovable. The recurrence of similar

causes may lead to similar results, and Her Majesty's Government could not regard with indifference, and as a matter with which they had no concern, further occupation and absorption by Russia of the regions which still separate Afghanistan from the Russian territory.

"Whatever may be the ultimate destiny of Russia in the course of its civilizing mission in Central Asia, it is impossible not to see that in view of the present conditions of the Turcoman tribes, of the relations in which they stand to the Ruler of Afghanistan on the one hand, and those between that Ruler and the Government of India on the other, each successive advance of the Russian frontier towards Afghanistan may involve complications which it is equally the interest of both England and Russia to avoid, and may raise up the most serious obstacles to the continued pursuance of the policy which has hitherto guided both Powers alike to maintain intact the integrity of Afghan territory.

"This is an object to which Her Majesty's Government attach the highest importance, and they must reserve to themselves the most complete liberty of action under all future contingencies as to the measures which may, in their opinion, be necessary to secure it. They cannot but feel that such an event, for instance, as the occupation of Merv, which would bring the line of Russian territory into direct contact with Afghan territory, would arouse the susceptibilities of the Amir to the highest degree, and possibly involve him in a common course of defensive action with the Turcoman tribes upon his borders. Under such circumstances it is unnecessary to observe how difficult it might be for the Imperial Government to maintain a policy of strict abstention in accordance with its present assurances, or how impossible it might be for Her Majesty's Government to exert any effectual control over the actions of the Amir, without undertaking responsibilities which they would most reluctantly assume, and which would virtually involve the very result which both Governments desire to avert, *viz.*, contact of the two Powers in Central Asia.

"Whatever may be the desire of both Governments to act in concert in bringing the agencies of civilisation to bear upon the wild and predatory races of the regions which separate their dominions, the time has not arrived when such a co-operation could be made intelligible to the rulers and people of the Khanates.

"The presence of two centres of European power and influence in their midst would wear in their eyes an aspect of mutual menace and rivalry, and encourage hopes and speculations unfavourable to the growth of the relations between England and Russia, which are an important condition of success in the task in which both are engaged, each in their separate sphere, of maintaining order and promoting civilization in their Asiatic possessions.

"Nor can it be denied that the atmosphere of suspicion, intrigue, and discord which would surround the military authorities of both Powers might at any time provoke an attitude of reciprocal distrust which might frustrate the wishes and defeat the deliberate policy of their respective Governments, and react perniciously on the public opinion of Russia on the one hand, and of England and India on the other.

"It is for these reasons that Her Majesty's Government have always deprecated the further extension of Russian territory towards the Afghan borders, and that they have now received with the most sincere satisfaction the assurances conveyed in Prince Gortchakoff's despatch as to the enlightened conviction of His Imperial Majesty that such extension, either on the side of Bokhara, of Krasnovodsk, or of the Attrek, is contrary to Russian interests, and that formal orders have been given that all future action in those regions is to be strictly confined to the defence of existing limits and the protection of property and commerce from pillage and brigandage."

In a reply to this despatch Prince Gortchakoff writes :—

"Have the goodness to inform his Excellency (he says by order of our august Master), that we entirely agree in the conclusion that, while maintaining on either side, the arrangement come to as regards the limits of Afghanistan, which is to remain outside the sphere of Russian action, the two Cabinets should regard as terminated the discussions relative to the intermediate zone, which have been recognized as unpractical ; that while retaining entire freedom of action, they should be guided by a mutual desire to pay due regard to their respective interests and necessities, by avoiding, as far as possible, any immediate contact with each other, and any collisions between the Asiatic States placed within the circle of their influence. We are convinced that by keeping to this principle and cultivating feelings of equity and reciprocal goodwill, the two Cabinets will succeed in consolidating the friendly relations so happily established between them for the advantage of the general peace in Europe and Asia.

While these mutual assurances and declarations leave abundant room for doubt and dispute, not so much regarding the views entertained by either side, as regarding the extent to which either side accepted the views of the other, there are two points on which they are sufficiently clear, the one, that Russia engaged to treat Afghanistan as not only beyond her territorial boundaries, but as entirely, without the sphere of her political influence ; the other, that England distinctly protested against any movements on the part of Russia calculated to render her limitrophe with Afghanistan, or to embroil her with the Amir, among which the occupation of Merv was put forward as a typical example, and reserved to herself full liberty of action in respect to any further absorption of territories to the south of the then existing Russian boundaries.

The next phase in the progress of the Central Asian question is that in which General Kaufmann is seen engaged in a series of diplomatic communications with the Amir, of a sufficiently doubtful character to elicit deprecatory enquiries on the part of England as to their object and purport ; and in which the Russian Government meets such enquiries by repeated assurances that they are mere letters of courtesy and that it has no intention of entering into diplomatic relations with the Amir of Afghanistan.

The British Government, however, appears to have been far from satisfied with these assurances ; and, on February 7th 1877, Lord Derby writes to Lord Loftus :—

"Without referring to earlier communications, it is impossible to regard as a mere letter of courtesy General Kaufmann's letter of February last, which contained a detailed account of the Russian conquest of Khokand, with justificatory remarks of a suggestive character, while, as regards the allegation that the bearers of the different letters have not been Russian agents, but messengers employed by the Amir of Bokhara, it is enough to observe that they have been viewed at Kabul in the former light, and treated accordingly. The fact that the character both of the letters and of their bearers is open to such misconstruction is a sufficient reason for the issue by the Russian Government to General Kaufmann of orders to altogether discontinue his communications to the Amir."

To the same period belongs the Russian expedition at Kizil Arvad, regarding which the following assurance was conveyed to Lord Loftus by M. de Giers :—

"The sole object of our expedition to Kizil Arvad is to punish the Turcoman hordes who have for some time past infested the route from Krasnovodsk to Khiva, and threaten our caravans. These tribes belong to a branch of Turcomans quite distinct from that of the Tékés of Merv, a point 1,000 verstdistant from Krasnovodsk. The movement on Kizil Arvad is nothing more than a simple military expedition, such as our troops in the Caucasus undertake every year, to keep order on our frontiers. The most formal orders have been given to the commandant of the column not to exceed his instructions in this sense. Any anxiety respecting Merv falls to the ground in presence of these frank explanations."

We now come to the third and final phase in the development of these events, when, the relations between Russia and England in Europe having approached the point of rupture, the former Power despatches a duly accredited envoy and suite to the Amir of Kabul, supported by four Russian columns, reported to aggregate 20,000 men, and converging on Merv and the Akkal country.

Called upon for an explanation of these acts, the Russian Government at first dissembles, as of old. Lord Loftus gives the following account of an interview which he had with M. de Giers on the subject on July 2nd, 1878.

"I inquired of his Excellency whether any Russian representative was instructed, either by the Imperial Government at St. Petersburg or by the Governor-General of Turkistan, to proceed to Kabul. M. de Giers replied that no such mission had been or was intended to be sent to Kabul either by the Imperial Government or by General Kaufmann. I observed to his Excellency that for some time past a Russian agent had resided at Kabul, and that intrigues had been apparently carrying on with a view to create dissensions between the Amir of Afghanistan and the Indian Government. I stated that this course was not in conformity with the arrangement entered into between the Governments of England and Russia, and that if it continued it must inevitably produce results predudicial to the good relations between the two Governments. M. de Giers replied that there had been a moment when war appeared to be almost imminent, and that under those circumstances, no doubt the military commanders conceived it to be their duty to take such measures as might be necessary and serviceable to their country. He denied, however, as far as he was aware, that there had been any intrigues with the Amir of Kabul of the nature to which I had alluded. He admitted that he had sent M. Bakouline, the Russian Consul at Asterabad, to Meshed to watch the movements of Captains Butler and Napier, who were reported to be inciting the Turcoman tribes to hostilities against Russia. This was the only diplomatic measure he had taken. I stated to M. de Giers that Captain Butler was a mere traveller on his own account, and no agent of Her Majesty's Government, and that urgent orders had been sent to him by the Commander-in-Chief in India to return forthwith to his military duties.

"M. de Giers, who appeared to be well informed both in regard to Captain Butler and Captain Napier, stated that he was aware that Captain Butler had been recalled, but that nevertheless, he had refused to obey the orders he had received, and was persisting in his intention to visit the Akhal tribes. He referred even to the letter which Captain Butler had addressed to certain Turcoman chiefs of which his Excellency had evidently received copies.

"I inquired from M. de Giers whether any expedition was intended, or was now being undertaken by General Llamakin against the Turcomans. His Excellency professed ignorance as to any such intention, observing, that it was frequently necessary to repel the attacks of those tribes, or to punish them for raids committed on Russian commerce. I finally observed to his Excellency that at a moment when Europe was sitting in Congress for the purpose of maintaining peace, it was advisable to avoid anything which could disturb the harmony and good understanding between England and Russia (the two Asiatic Powers) in other regions where their mutual good-fellowship and co-operation could render such valuable service to the cause of humanity and civilization".

Presently, however, the facts become too transparent for further concealment, and Russia, while renewing her assurances regarding the immediate future, throws off the mask and discloses a past course of action which effectually robs those assurances of all permanent value.

On August 13, 1878, Mr. Stanhope writes to Lord Tenterden from the India Office giving detailed reports of four Russian military expeditions, comprising nearly 20,000 men, converging on points which directly command Merv and the Akhal country, and menacing the northern frontier of Afghanistan. On the part of Lord Cranbrook Mr. Stanhope calls attention to the fact that, instead of the Russian Government adhering to its pledges of 1875, "the past three years have been marked by a considerable increase of territory, by expeditions into the Akhal country, by secret missions of Russian agents both in the Turcoman country and in Western Afghanistan, and finally, by the present military movements."

On the same day, Mr. Plunkett writes from St. Petersburg to Lord Salisbury, giving the following account of an interview with M. de Giers :—

"Reverting to the explanation which he had given to Lord A. Loftus that in view of the probability of a war with Great Britain, the Russian military commanders in Asia had been justified in preparing such measures as they deemed most likely to prejudice Great Britain, I said that peace was now happily secured, and, therefore, I ventured to inquire what measures had been taken for arresting the march of the Russian columns which had left Tashkend and Krasnovodsk, and whether it was true that the Russian Envoy or Agent was still residing at Kabul.

"After carefully weighing his words his Excellency replied that I must understand that in questions of military movements he could not be answerable for the details, with which he was naturally not acquainted; he could only answer for the principles which had been laid down for the policy of the Government. He could then assure me that it was not true that any Russian Emissary had proceeded to Kabul with any letter from the Emperor to the Amir. Possibly there might have been a letter from General Kaufmann. Orders had been given to arrest the march of all the columns which had been put in movement from Tashkend, and as a matter of fact he was under the impression, although he could not tell me so either officially or positively, that the troops had already resumed their old stations.

"I then inquired whether the column which had left Krasnovodsk under General Llamakin had also returned; but on this point I failed to elicit any distinct reply.

"I obtained, however, an assurance from M. de Giers, which he repeated to me twice, that all the special measures which had been taken in Central Asia, and which M. de Giers said Russia had as much right to take, in view of the impending risk of war, as Great Britain had to bring Indian troops to Malta, had been stopped; and he asserted positively that at the present moment no

military measures whatever were being taken which could give umbrage to her Majesty's Government."

As to the question of the ability of Russia to attack Afghanistan in force there may be room for difference of opinion, but there can be none among prudent men for difference as to the nature of the assumption which should guide our policy in the matter. That Russia might fail in such an attempt, in the face of the mere physical difficulties of the road, may be possible, though we think it highly improbable; but no prudent man will go so far as to say that her failure is so certain as to justify us in dispensing with the precautionary measures which would be necessary to enable us to meet the opposite contingency. That Russia herself believes in the possibility of success, is plain from the measures she has adopted, and we cannot afford so to despise her knowledge of her own resources, as to reject her faith without qualification.

The remaining issue concerns the attitude of the ruler of Afghanistan.

On a review of the entire course of relations between the Government of India and the Amir of Kabul since the accession of the present Viceroy, we find it impossible to avoid the conclusion that, when, in August last, the Government of India determined to send a mission to Sher Ali, the attitude of that chief towards it had become one of passive hostility.

From considerations of the responsibility for the conduct of the Amir imposed on England by her engagements with Russia, taken in connexion with the dubious character of his relations with the Government of India, the Cabinet had, previously decided that the first convenient opportunity should be taken of renewing the attempt to open negotiations with the Amir with a view of arriving at some more definite understanding with him. Lord Lytton being of opinion that such a convenient opportunity was offered by the fact of his accession to office, combined with the assumption by her Majesty of her new title of Empress, preparations were made for the despatch of an Envoy, and on the 17th May 1876, a letter from the Commissioner of Peshawur was despatched announcing to the Amir the ostensible objects of the proposed mission. To this communication the Amir replied, declining to receive the proposed mission, on the ground that he desired no change in his relations with the British Government.

At the same time he also informed the British Agent at Kabul that he could not guarantee the personal safety of "the Sahebs," and that, if he admitted a British mission, he could not refuse to receive a Russian one.

The Government of India, however, determined to make another effort to obtain the Amir's consent, and despatched a fresh letter, exhorting him to consider seriously before he rejected its proposals, and

thus obliged the British Government to look upon him as a prince who had voluntarily isolated his personal interests from its proffered alliance and support ; while at the same time it caused Dr. Bellew and other personal friends of the Amir and his ministers to write unofficial letters to them, explaining its sentiments, and the importance of the opportunity thus offered the Afghan Government of strengthening its position.

The Amir, who was in the meantime in frequent confidential communication with General Kaufmann, replied to these letters after a significant delay of two months.

He still declined to receive a mission, but submitted two alternative proposals :—First, that an Afghan Envoy should be deputed to meet one from the Viceroy at Peshawur ; and second, that the British Vakeel at Kabul should proceed to Simla, charged with a confidential explanation to the Viceroy of the personal views and sentiments of the Amir on the subject of his relations with the British Government.

What followed may be conveniently related in the words of the Viceroy's secret despatch of the 10th May 1877.

The second proposal appeared to us, not only free from objection, but altogether advantageous to the realization of our chief object, which was to ascertain the real sentiments of the Amir. We, therefore, authorised our Vakeel to set out for Simla immediately, after placing himself in communication with the Amir on the subject of his instructions.

26. This Vakeel, the Nawab Atta Mahomed Khan, reached Simla on the 6th of October last. At first, though pressed to be explicit, he threw little light on the views and feelings of the Amir. His Highness was, he said, resentful to the rebuffs met with by his previous representations to the Government of India, and resolved not to incur any repetition of a result which he deemed offensive to his dignity. Further pressure, however, elicited from the Vakeel four special causes of grievances as alleged by the Amir against the Government of India. The first was a communication from Lord Northbrook in 1874, on behalf of his rebellious son Yakoob Khan, whom he had imprisoned. This he resented as an unwarrantable interference in his most domestic concerns, as well as a support given to his personal enemies. The second cause of complaint was our decision on the question of the Seistan boundary, which he regarded as an unfriendly act, depriving him of his legitimate possessions. In the third place, he resented, as an interference with his authority, and an offence to his dignity, the gifts sent by the late Viceroy direct to the Chief of Wakhan, who is a tributary to His Highness. Finally, the Amir was profoundly mortified by the repeated rejection of his previous requests for a defensive alliance, coupled with our formal recognition of the order of succession as established by him in the person of his youngest son, Abdulla Jan. It was also elicited from the Vakeel that the Amir was much in want of money, and his people much disaffected by his expedients for obtaining it ; that the undoubted reluctance of His Highness to receive British officers was occasioned, not by fears for their personal safety, but by a dread of their probable popularity and possible intervention on behalf of oppressed or discontented subjects ; that the Amir, confident in the strength of the army our gifts had enabled him to equip, no longer felt his old dread of the power of Russia ; that, in accordance with our own exhortations, he had lost no opportunity of improving his relations

with the Russian authorities in Central Asia ; and that between General Kauffmann and His Highness' permanent diplomatic intercourse was now virtually established by means of a constant succession of special Agents, who held frequent conferences with the Amir, the subject and result of which were successfully kept secret. In short, the information gradually extracted from our Kabul Agent convinced us that the system on which we had hitherto conducted our relations with Shere Ali had practically resulted, not only in the alienation of His Highness from the Power which had unconditionally subsidised and openly protected him ; but also in the increased closeness and confidential character of his relations with the only other Power that can ever cause serious danger to our Empire in India. The Vakeel, however, represented to the Viceroy that the Amir, though strongly disinclined to admit British officers into any part of Afghanistan, would probably, if the point were pressed, accept such a condition rather than forfeit the advantage of a long-desired alliance with the British Government upon terms certain to strengthen his personal position at home, about which His Highness was chiefly anxious.

27. These statements gave us, for the first time, a clue to the Amir's feelings, and the motives of his previous attitude towards us. After prolonged consideration of them in connection with the last instructions received from your Lordship, the Viceroy came to the conclusion that the Treaty of Alliance and the formal recognition of the Amir's selected heir, which His Highness was supposed to desire of us, might be safely and advantageously accorded to him ; provided that his willingness and ability to fulfil with loyalty his own part in the reciprocal obligations of such a Treaty were first manifested to us in a satisfactory manner. These concessions, sanctioned by your Lordship's last instructions, would not practically commit the British Government to anything more than a formal re-affirmation of the assurances already given by it, through Lord Mayo, to the Amir in 1869, and a public recognition of its inevitable obligations to the vital interests of its own Empire. There was great reason to believe, for the ultimate stability of his previously contested authority, the father of the present Amir was mainly indebted to the supposed protection of the British Government. It might, therefore, be presumed (and such a presumption was strongly confirmed by all our most verified knowledge of the social condition of Afghanistan) that notwithstanding the apparently precarious tenure of Shere Ali's power, and the youth of his appointed heir, the timely and positive proclamation of such protection would effectually prevent those civil conflicts otherwise certain to recur upon the death of the present Amir. On the other hand, the conditions on which the concessions thus contemplated would be made dependent were such as any neighbouring Prince, sincerely desirous of our active friendship, might accept with personal cordiality and national benefit. They involved no interference with the Amir's independent authority, no occupation of any portion of his territory, no foreign control over his civil or military administration. They were strictly confined to the location of at most two or three British officers (accredited to His Highness, placed under his protection, and precluded from all interference in the internal affairs of his Government) upon those points of his frontier whence we were unable to obtain intelligence by other means, and which were most exposed to the attacks against which we were asked to defend it. The Viceroy was nevertheless of opinion that it would be wholly inconsistent with the dignity, and contrary to the interests, of this Government to urge any proposals on the unwilling acceptance of the Amir, or afford His Highness the opportunity of rejecting its positive demands. The Amir's apparent object was to place the British Government in the position of a petitioner ; and that position it behoved the British Government to

reverse. Such were the opinions of the Viceroy, in which we generally concurred.

28. The Vakeel was consequently instructed to return to Kabul, and there explain to the Amir, with the utmost possible precision, the moderate and necessary condition on which the British Government was prepared to sign with His Highness a Treaty of Alliance, and to accord its formal recognition to his heir-apparent. The Vakeel was charged to explain to the Amir very clearly that our assent to the conference, suggested by His Highness in reply to our previous communications, would be entirely dependent on his agreement to this preliminary condition as a basis of negotiation. In order to prevent the possibility of misunderstanding on that point, Atta Mahomed received from the Viceroy an Aide Memoire, which he was authorised to communicate to the Amir. The Viceroy also addressed to His Highness a friendly letter, inviting him to Delhi as the guest of the British Government at the Imperial Assemblage, and proposing on that occasion to sign with him the Treaty of Alliance, which subject to the above-mentioned condition, Sir Lewis Pelly would be authorised to negotiate at Peshawur with the Envoy of His Highness.

29. On this errand, in the satisfactory result of which he professed great confidence, Atta Mahomed returned to Kabul at the end of October last; and at the same time the Viceroy left Simla on a tour of inspection round the frontier. About this time, events occurred in Europe the effect of which was immediately apparent on our negotiations with Shere Ali. Throughout India and Asia there was a prevalent expectation that war between the Sultan and the Czar was imminent; and that it must lead, ere long, to war between England and Russia. Had this expectation been realized, the policy which had hitherto governed our relations with Afghanistan would have been promptly brought to a very practical test. It was immediately evident that the Amir had no intention of committing himself to an English alliance on the supposed eve of a war between England and Russia. His apparent policy was to stand aloof from us till the latest possible moment; and then, if he found himself unable to maintain a strict neutrality between the two belligerents, to sell his alliance to the highest bidder, Russian or English, on the dearest terms. For this purpose it was essential to His Highness to gain time. Accordingly, on his return to Kabul, the British Vakeel was informed that the Amir was too unwell to receive him. This transparent pretext was prolonged till the Vakeel, instructed by the Viceroy to insist on its abandonment, was at last admitted to the presence of His Highness. The Amir then informed him that he was still much too ill to discuss business, or even to receive the Viceroy's messages; and the Vakeel, either from stupidity or disloyalty, accepted the excuse. So matters went on for more than a month. During this period the Amir, though too unwell to discuss business with the British Vakeel, was able to review troops and issue military orders. An Agent from General Kaufmann remained at his Court, and was supposed to be in secret communication with His Highness. But of all that was passing at Kabul we knew less than ever; for the reports of our own Agent there had become studiously infrequent, vague, and unintelligible. Thus, after many years of a waiting policy, patiently pursued and confidently trusted, our attainment of the object for which we had so long been waiting, proved to be perilously uncertain, at the very moment when certainty in such a matter was most essential to our interests; nor could we tell whether the lakhs of rupees and rifles, unconditionally lavished on Shere Ali by the British Government, might not at any moment be used against it by His Highness. At length the Amir, finding himself unable to evade any longer the issue put to him, without bringing his relations with us to an open rupture (a result no more compatible with his purpose than placing them on a definitely cordial footing), despatched his Minister, Syud Noor

Mahomed Shah, to meet Sir Lewis Pelly at Peshawur, and wrote to the Commissioner there, briefly informing him of the Minister's departure with instructions to open negotiations; but without noticing the Viceroy's letter, or answering the invitation it contained.

30. The Amir's Minister who was in ill health, and could only travel by easy stages, reached Peshawur on the 27th of January. Thither Sir Lewis Pelly also proceeded, with detailed instructions for his guidance. At the first meeting between the two Envoys, it appeared that the Afghan Envoy had no authority from his Government to accept the basis we had laid down as a *sine qua non* condition of our assent to the negotiations he had come to open. He, however, requested permission to defer his final answer on this point until he had made a full and detailed statement of the Amir's views respecting his relations with us, and of certain episodes in the history of those relations which His Highness considered himself entitled to complain of. As we had all along been anxious to obtain authentic information of the Amir's real sentiments. On this subject, the Envoy's request was at once agreed to; on the condition, which he understood and accepted, that his statement should not be received by us or be treated by him, as a basis of discussion.

31. This statement by the Afghan Envoy, which is herewith enclosed, is an interesting, instructive, and important document. It repeats and confirms the information previously given by Atta Mahomed to the Viceroy in regard to the Amir's professed grievances against the British Government. It assumes, as of matter of course, that the British Government is already bound, in honour and by written contract, to afford to the Amir and his dynasty unconditional military support, both at home and abroad, whenever called upon to do so by His Highness. On this assumption, it naturally questions the advantages to the Amir of any treaty of alliance which, on our part, would merely re-affirm liabilities already contracted by us towards His Highness; whilst, on his part, it would involve the definition and acceptance of liabilities altogether novel towards ourselves. Furthermore, it refers indirectly to the Amir's relations with Russia in terms which seem to imply an impression on the part of His Highness that the claim of the Russian Government upon his consideration is practically much the same as that of the British.

32. Owing to the Envoy's increasing ill-health, several weeks were occupied in the delivery of this long statement. During that time intelligence reached us from Kabul that the Amir was straining every effort to increase his military force; that he was massing troops on various points of his British frontier; that he was publicly exhorting all his subjects and neighbours to make immediate preparation for a religious war, apparently directed against his English, rather than his Russian neighbours, both of whom he denounced, however, as the traditional enemies of Islam; that, on behalf of this jihad, he was urgently soliciting the authoritative support of the Akhoond of Swat, and the armed co-operation of the Chiefs of Dhir, Bajour, and other neighbouring Khanates; that in violation of his engagements with the British Government, he was, by means of bribes, promises, and menaces, endeavouring to bring those Chiefs and territories under personal allegiance to himself; that he was tampering with the tribes immediately on our frontier, and inciting them to acts of hostility against us; and that, for the prosecution of these objects, he was in correspondence with Mahomedan Border Chiefs openly subsidised by ourselves.

33. In acknowledging the receipt of the Afghan Envoy's statement, the Viceroy instructed Sir Lewis Pelly to point out to the Envoy that the alleged grievances, over which the Amir appeared to have been resentfully brooding for some years in unbroken silence, were mostly the result of mutual mis-

understandings which could not possibly have occurred had the two Governments possessed the ordinary means of diplomatic intercourse with each other. With this remark, Sir Lewis Pelly proceeded to correct the Amir's interpretation of our existing engagements with His Highness, and explain the thoroughly conditional character of them. He demanded from the Envoy an explanation of the reported hostility of the Amir's language and conduct, at a time when the representative of His Highness was still engaged in friendly and pacific negotiation with the British Government; and, finally, he required from his Excellency an immediate and decisive answer on the Agency condition, which we had declared to be our only recognized basis of negotiation.

34. The Envoy replied that the reports which had reached us of the Amir's utterances and proceedings were, he trusted, much exaggerated; he feared, nevertheless, that since his own absence from the Kabul Durbar His Highness had fallen under mischievous influences which he himself deplored and condemned; he would lose no time in addressing to the Amir strong remonstrances on this subject. With regard to the Agency condition, he regretted to say that he was still without instructions, for which, however, he would again make special reference to Kabul. He was reminded, in reply, that the condition of our assent to negotiation with the Amir had been distinctly explained to His Highness many months before he had decided, after deliberately considering it, to open the conference at Peshawur. If the Amir had subsequently changed his mind, and now wished to revoke his acquiescence in this condition, we were in no disposition to urge it on his acceptance. It was merely part of a general arrangement to which, if seriously desired by His Highness, we were willing to assent. If the Amir considered the arrangement disadvantageous to himself, he had only to say so, and the discussion of it would cease *ipso facto*. But we must, in either case, insist on a prompt and plain answer.

35. The Afghan Envoy, who had long been suffering from a mortal disease, expired shortly after his receipt of this communication. His surviving colleague, the Mir Akhor, declared that he had no authority to answer any question from the British Government; and Sir Lewis Pelly was consequently instructed to close the conference on the ground that there was no basis for negotiation.

From that period the attitude adopted by the Government of India was one of "vigilant reserve." It was hoped against hope that time would enable the Amir to realise the value of the opportunity he was throwing away. The Amir, however, not only persisted in his isolation, but, after having "declined to receive a British Envoy, even temporarily, within his territory, on the ground that he could not guarantee his safety, or thereafter be left with any excuse for declining to receive a Russian mission, he has welcomed with every appearance of ostentation, an Embassy from the Czar, despatched to his Court at a time when there were indications that an interruption of friendly relations between this country and Russia might be imminent."

These were the circumstances under which, viewing them in connexion with the attitude and movements of Russia already described, the British Government decided that a policy of inaction could be no longer persisted in, and determined to demand the reception of its Envoy by the Amir.

It would have been justified in treating the Amir as hostile, and putting its demand in the form of an ultimatum. But it preferred to assume that he was still friendly, and thus to give him the amplest opportunity of showing himself to be so; and on the 14th August, the Viceroy despatched the following letter to the Amir:—

From His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, To His Highness AMIR SHER ALI KHAN, Wali of Kabul and its Dependencies.

The authentic intelligence which I have lately received of the course of recent events at Kabul and in the countries bordering on Afghanistan, has rendered it necessary that I should communicate fully and without reserve with your Highness upon matters of importance which concern the interests of India and of Afghanistan. For this reason I have considered it expedient to depute a special and confidential British Envoy of high rank, who is known to your Highness, his Excellency General Sir Neville Bowles Chamberlain, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Knight Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army, to visit your Highness immediately at Kabul, in order that he may converse personally with your Highness regarding these urgent affairs. It appears certain that they can be best arranged for the welfare and tranquillity of both States, and for the preservation of friendship between the two Governments, by a full and frank statement of the present position. This letter is therefore sent in advance to your Highness by the hand of Nawab Gholam Hussein Khan, C. S. I., a faithful and honoured Sirdar of my Government, who will explain all necessary details as to the time and manner of the Envoy's visit. It is asked that your Highness may be pleased to issue commands to your Sirdars and to all other authorities in Afghanistan upon the route between Peshawar and Kabul, that they shall make, without any delay, whatever arrangements are necessary and proper for effectively securing to my Envoy, the representative of a friendly Power, due safe conduct and suitable accommodation according to his dignity, while passing with his retinue through the dominions of your Highness.

I beg to express the high consideration I entertain for you Highness, and to subscribe myself.

This letter was delivered on the 12th September.

On the 21st September the mission left Peshawar, Sir Neville Chamberlain being entrusted with the following letter to the Amir:—

To His Highness AMIR SHER ALI KHAN, Wali of Kabul and its Dependencies. MY HONOURED AND VALUED FRIEND.

In my letter of the 14th August 1878, I informed your Highness that I had considered it expedient to depute his Excellency General Sir Neville Bowles Chamberlain, Knight Grand Cross of the most Honourable Order of the Bath, Knight Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army, to visit your Highness immediately at Kabul, in order that he might confer personally with your Highness regarding certain matters of urgency and importance which concern the interests of India and of Afghanistan. The departure of my Envoy was postponed for a time in consequence of the great affliction which befel your Highness in the death of Sirdar Abdulla Jan, the Heir-Apparent to Kabul and its Dependencies. The mission is now about to set out from India; and this letter will be delivered to your Highness at Kabul by my Envoy in person, who will communicate unreservedly with your Highness upon the reasons and objects

of his coming. General Sir Neville Chamberlain possesses the full confidence of this Government; and whatever he may say should be understood to have been said by myself. I beg to express the high consideration I entertain for your Highness, and to subscribe myself

Your Highness' Sincere Friend,

(Signed) LYTTON,

Simla, the 7th September 1878.

Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

The mission was repulsed from Ali Musjid, with strong demonstrations of force, by Faiz Muhammad, the Commandant there, acting under instructions from the Amir, conveyed by the Mir Akhor, who had reached Ali Musjid three days previously:—

On the 19th October, the following reply from the Amir to the letter of the 14th August reached the Government of India:—

After compliments; your Excellency's despatch regarding the sending of a friendly message has been received through Nawab Gholam Hussein Khan; I understand its purport, but the Nawab had not yet had an audience, nor had your Excellency's letters been seen by me when a communication was received to the address of my servant Mirza Hubibullah Khan, from Commissioner, Peshawur, and was read. I am astonished and dismayed by this letter, written threateningly to a well-intentioned friend, replete with contentions, and yet nominally regarding a friendly mission. Coming thus by force, what result, or profit, or fruit could come of it? Following this, three other letters from above-mentioned source, in the very same strain, addressed to my officials, have been perused by me. Thus, during a period of a few days several letters from that quarter have all been before me, and none of them have been free from harsh expressions and hard words, repugnant to courtesy and politeness, and in tone contrary to the ways of friendship and intercourse. Looking to the fact that I am at this time assaulted by affliction and grief at the hand of fate, and that great trouble has possessed my soul, in the officials of the British Government patience and silence would have been specially becoming. Let Your Excellency take into consideration this harsh and breathless haste with which the desired object and place of conference have been seized upon, and how the officials of the Governments have been led into discussion and subjection to reproach. There is some difference between this and the pure road of friendship and goodwill. In alluding to those writings of the officials of the opposite Government which have emanated from them, and are at this time in the possession of my own officials, the latter have in no respect desired to show enmity or opposition towards the British Government, nor, indeed, do they with any other Power desire enmity or strife, but when any other Power, without cause or reason, shows animosity towards this Government, the matter is left in the hands of God and to His will.

The esteemed Nawab Gholam Hussein, the bearer of this despatch, has, in accordance with written instructions received from the British Government, asked for permission to retire, and it has been granted. Dated Sunday, 6th October.

This letter, it will be observed, was written after nearly a months' deliberation, and long after what had occurred at Ali Musjid, and the light in which it was regarded by the Government of India, must have been known to the Amir. Yet it contained no apology and no expression of a desire to receive the proposed mission.

Still it was determined to give the Amir an opportunity of relent-

ing and an *ultimatum* was despatched, giving him twenty days for consideration, with what result is known to the readers of the *Review*.

J. W. F.

In spite of a long warning and the delay of three weeks afforded by the despatch of an ultimatum, the preparations of the Government were not completed when the non-receipt of a reply from the Amir on the 20th November, led to the order for the different columns to cross the frontier. The forces thus assembled were distributed into three columns. The first was to press through the Khaibar Pass to Jellalabad and threaten Kabul, whilst the second occupied the Kurrum valley and distracted the enemy's efforts and attention, and the third was to move from Quetta as the advanced guard of a division moving up from Mooltan. For the operations against Kandahar, Lieutenant-General Donald Stewart had chief command, with General Biddulph leading the advanced brigade. The forces thus directed against Afghanistan are stated by Mr. Forbes, the special correspondent of the London *Daily News*, to have aggregated about 34,000 men, as under—

Quetta Force	...	Europeans	3,380	Total	12,590
Kurrum Force	...	"	1,816	"	5,776
Peshawur Force	...	"	7,544	"	16,364
Total			... 12,740	"	34,730

The regiments and corps composing the different columns will be found below.

The Peshawur force was composed as under—

1ST. DIVISION.

Engineer Department.

Head-quarters and 4 companies, Sappers and Miners.

Engineer Field Park.

Artillery.

I Battery, C Brigade, Royal Horse Artillery.

E " 3rd " Royal Artillery.

No. 11 " 9th " " (Mountain.)

No. 13 " 9th " " (With Heavy Battery.)

No. 4 Mountain Battery, Punjab Frontier Force.

Ordnance Field Park.

Cavalry Brigade.

10th Hussars (two Squadrons.)

11th Bengal Lancers.

Cavalry of the Corps of Guides.

1st Infantry Brigade.

4th Battalion Rifle Brigade.

20th Bengal Native Infantry.

4th Goorkha Regiment.

2nd Infantry Brigade,

1st Battalion 17th Foot.

The Infantry of the Corps of Guides.

1st Sikh Infantry.

3rd Infantry Brigade.

81st Foot.

14th Bengal Native Infantry.

27th " "

4th Infantry Brigade.

51st Foot.

6th Bengal Native Infantry.

45th " "

*2ND DIVISION.**Artillery.*

D Battery, A Brigade, Royal Horse Artillery.

H " C " " " " " " " " " "

C " 3rd " " " " " " " " " " "

Cavalry Brigade.

9th Royal Lancers.

10th Bengal "

13th " "

1st Infantry Brigade.

1st Battalion 25th Foot.

24th Bengal Native Infantry.

The Bhopal Battalion.

The column to operate against Kurrum comprised.

Engineer Department.

7th Company, Bengal Sappers and Miners.

Engineer Field Park.

Artillery.

F Battery, A Brigade, Royal Horse Artillery.

No. 1 Mountain Battery, Punjab Frontier Force.

No. 2 " " " " " " " " " "

Ordnance Field Park.

Cavalry.

10th Hussars (one Squadron.)

12th Bengal Cavalry.

1st Infantry Brigade.

2nd Battalion 8th Foot.

29th Bengal Native Infantry.

5th Punjab Infantry.

2nd Infantry Brigade.

21st Bengal Native Infantry.

2nd Punjab Infantry.

5th Goorkha Regiment.

23rd Bengal Native Infantry (Pioneers.)

The Southern army was ordered to consist of the following :
To be assembled at Mooltan—

Engineer Department.

Three companies of Sappers and Miners.
Engineer Field Park.

Artillery.

A Battery, B Brigade, Royal Horse Artillery.

I	"	1st	"	"	Artillery.	
D	"	2nd	"	"	"	
G	"	4th	"	"	"	
No. 13	"	8th	"	"	"	} (With Siege Train.)
" 16	"	8th	"	"	"	
" 5	"	11th	"	"	"	} (Heavy.)
" 6	"	11th	"	"	"	
" 8	"	11th	"	"	"	(With Siege Train.)
" 11	"	11th	"	"	"	(Mountain.)

Ordnance Field Park.

Cavalry Brigade.

15th Hussars.
8th Bengal Cavalry.
19th Bengal Lancers.

1st Infantry Brigade.

2nd Battalion 60th Rifles.
15th Bengal Native Infantry.
25th "

2nd Infantry Brigade.

59th Foot.
1st Goorkha Regiment (Light Infantry).
3rd (Kemaon) Goorkha Regiment.
12th (Khelat-i-Ghilzi) Regiment, Bengal Native Infantry.

To be assembled at Quetta—

Engineer Department.

5th Company, Bengal Sappers and Miners.
Engineer Field Park.

Artillery.

E Battery, 4th Brigade, Royal Artillery.
No. 3 Mountain Battery, Punjab Frontier Force.
No. 2 Bombay Mountain Battery.
Ordnance Field Park.

Cavalry.

1st Punjab Cavalry
2nd " "
3rd Sind Horse.

1st Infantry Brigade.

70th Foot.
19th Bengal Native Infantry
30th Bombay Native Infantry

2nd Infantry Brigade.

26th Bengal Native Infantry.

1st Punjab Infantry.

29th Bombay Native Infantry.

32nd Bengal Native Infantry (Pioneers.)

In view of hostilities becoming imminent it was absolutely necessary to secure the safety of Quetta, and for this purpose General Biddulph was sent forward by a route never before attempted by an army, and which, leaving the Indus at Mithankote *via* Rajanpore to Lehri, there it joins the caravan route from Shikarpore to Quetta. This new road was found to be badly supplied with water, and to present considerable difficulties. The marches were, many of them, so long as to be forced marches. It was discovered, too, that the troops were imperfectly equipped. The 70th foot had an insufficient supply of water bottles, camp followers were under-clothed and badly organised. The general result was a mortality amongst baggage animals and camp followers which materially crippled the movements of the column after it had reached Quetta. On the 16th October, General Biddulph reached Mithankote, 12 miles from Rajanpore. He at once pushed on and arrived at Quetta on the 9th November. His arrival brought up the strength of the garrison to 6 regiments of Native Infantry, 2 mountain Batteries, and 1 regiment of Cavalry, with 2 regiments of Cavalry at Mustang to keep open communications and guard the rear.

Early in November also, about the 4th, a reserve division, composed of troops drawn from Bombay and Madras, was ordered to assemble at Sukkur, under the command of General Primrose. Some of the cavalry for this force was already in Scinde. From Bombay the troops ordered on service were—

The 83rd Foot.

Poona Horse.

1st and 19th regiments of Native Infantry.

No. 2 Company, Sappers and Miners.

Madras contributed also—

The 67th Foot.

14th Hussars.

1st Madras Cavalry.

30th and 36th regiments of Native Infantry.

Two regiments of Madras Native Infantry were called up to Calcutta to replace Bengal regiments sent to the front.

On 5th November, it was decided that Sir Neville Chamberlain should join the executive Council, and that Sir Samuel Browne should assume command of the Army to advance through the Khaibar.

His force was ultimately divided as under.

1st Brigade.—Brigadier Macpherson :—4th Battalion Rifle Brigade, 4th Goorkhas, 20th P. N. I., No. 4 Mountain Battery and No. 2 Company of Sappers and Miners.

2nd Brigade.—Brigadier G. Tytler :—1st Battalion 17th Foot, Guides Infantry, 1st Sikhs, 11-9 R. A. and No. 3 Company of Sappers and Miners.

5th Brigade.—Brigadier Appleyard :—81st Foot, 14th P. N. I., 27th N. I.

4th Brigade.—Brigadier W. B. Browne :—51st Foot, 6th N. I., 45th Sikhs.

Cavalry Brigade.—Brigadier C. J. S. Gough :—10th Hussars, 2 squadrons, Guide Cavalry, 11th Bengal Cavalry Lancers.

Artillery.—I. C., R. H. A. ; E-3, R. A. ; 13-9, R. A., with heavy battery.

Engineer's—Head-Quarters and 3 Companies of Sappers and Miners, and Ordnance Field Parks.

On the 10th November, Major-General Maude was ordered to take command of a second Division with head-quarters at Hassan Abdal. On receiving orders to advance, Sir Samuel Browne at 6 P. M. on the 20th November, sent forward his second Brigade by the Gadar Lashora and Sipri route, with orders to occupy Kata Koosta, a place two miles in rear of Ali Musjid. At 2-30 A. M. on the morning of the 21st November, the 1st Brigade followed by the same route, with orders to follow the 2nd Brigade and crown the heights above and a little in rear of Ali Musjid. The 3rd and 4th Brigades were kept in hand and intended for a front attack on the Afghan fortress. The enemy were commanded by Gholam Hyder Khan, the Mir Akhor having retired to Jellalabad as soon as it was clear there was to be fighting. The operations of the 21st November resulted in our gaining but little credit. General Browne arrived in front of Ali Musjid with the 3rd and 4th Brigades about 11 A. M., having left his camp at Jamrood at 6 A. M., and at once attacked it. About 4 P. M., a portion of General Tytler's force, the Guides and 1st Sikhs, managed to reach Kata Koosta, and after firing a volley into a mass of fugitives, captured some 300 or 400 men. Brigadier Macpherson's column was last and did not strike the Khaibar until it had reached a point about 10 miles in rear of the fortress.

In the direct attack, the 14th Sikhs and 27th P. N. I. suffered severely owing to their being sent against a steep glacis held in strength by the enemy. Here Major Birch and Lieutenant Fitzgerald were killed, and their bodies were not recovered until the morning of the 22nd November. Early in the morning of this day it was ascertained that Ali Musjid had been evacuated. The day was spent in reopening communications with the advanced Brigade, and on the 23rd, the march was resumed to Lundi-Khana,

and Dhaka at the Western end of the Khaibar. Here a stay was made and the road in advance reconnoitred. On the 4th December, the advance brigade was pushed on to Basauli; on the 12th, Sir S. Browne was ordered to push on and occupy Jellalabad. This was in consequence of news having arrived that Amir Sher Ali had abandoned his capital and fled towards Turkistan. Jellalabad was occupied on the 21st December. No opposition was expected and none was attempted. General Browne will probably winter at Jellalabad as the Commissariat has received orders to accumulate there supplies for 10,000 men for a period of three months.

This is not the place for detailed criticism, but Sir S. Browne himself admits he detached two Brigades along one route, and that imperfectly reconnoitred and imperfectly known, to attempt movements in which time was of decisive consequence. As far as the success of his plans is concerned the operations against Ali Musjid are generally regarded as a failure. With the heavy artillery, 40-pounder Armstrongs employed, the place might have been made untenable by shells.

Major-General Roberts crossed the Kurrum at daylight on the morning of the 21st November, and seized a mud-thannah. As he advanced up the valley, he met with no opposition, and found the garrison of the Kurrum fort retire on his approach to their chosen position, extending for a length of four miles across the valley, from the Spin-Gawai Kotal to the Peiwar Kotal. On the 26th November, the Kurrum fort was occupied. Here the troops found a 6-pounder gun, which the enemy had omitted to carry away. On the 27th, the advance was resumed, and on the 28th, the Brigade under General Cobbe, reinforced by two mountain guns, made a sharp attack, in which they had to be supported by the 5th Goorkhas from the Right Column. In this affair, Lieutenant Reid of the 29th P. N. I. and 8 sepoy of different corps were wounded, and a driver belonging to No. 1 Mountain Battery, was killed.

The camp, having been pitched within 2,500 yards of the enemy's position on the Peiwar Kotal, was shelled by them and had to be retired. The result of this attack was to convince General Roberts that the enemy's position was too strong to be carried by assault. The disposable force for such an enterprise was only 3,058 men. He therefore spent the next four days in reconnoitring, and at day light on the morning of the 2nd December, succeeded in carrying the rest of the Spin-Gawai Kotal, a position which placed him athwart the enemy's line of battle. There was some sharp fighting, but at 2-30 P. M., General Roberts made a dash on Zabardust-kila, the only road by which the Afghans could escape, and as soon as this was observed, they abandoned the fight and left their guns and camp to fall into the hands of Colonel Drew, who had succeeded Brigadier Cobbe, who was unfortunately wounded.

This affair was much more serious than the taking of Ali Musjid. The enemy occupied a position which rendered movements like those of Brigadiers Macpherson and Tytler impossible. It was sharp while it lasted, the loss having been 93 killed and wounded. It will chiefly be remembered as throwing light upon the system under which the Native Army is officered. The staff was obliged to do the work of regimental officers and the General was reduced to accept the services of the chaplain as orderly officer. One regiment the 29th P. N. I. had a slur cast upon its reputation by the conduct of the Pathans in its ranks. Two men fired their rifles as signals to the enemy, and 18 others retired from the fighting line and made their way back to the regimental camp. A grave example was thus rendered necessary. The General summoned a general Court-Martial for the trial of the offenders; the man Hazrat Shah was hanged; another was sentenced to two years' imprisonment; a jemadar who had screened the culprits was condemned to seven years' confinement, and the 18 deserters received sentences of seventeen, ten, and fourteen years' imprisonment each. After securing his trophies, General Roberts advanced and examined the Shutar Gardan pass, on his return on the 16th December, was attacked in the Mangiar pass by the Mangals, and owed his escape from serious loss to the splendid conduct of the 5th Goorkhas.

Hitherto, the Quetta force has had no fighting, indeed it has scarcely been fired at even by stragglers. Lieutenant-General Stewart reached Quetta on the 8th December only to find his army deficient in everything. With an inefficient commissariat, insufficient carriage, and imperfect organisation, real progress was impossible. General Biddulph had crossed the frontier as early as the other columns, and on the 26th November occupied the Pishin valley, and seized large quantities of grain intended for the Amir. The value of the captures made is said to have exceeded one lakh of rupees. It was not, however, until 15th December that an advance guard was pushed across the Kojuck pass to Chummum. Since then General Stewart has reorganised his force, and has constructed roads across the Kojuck and Gwajah passes, and by the latest advices had entered upon his march on Kandahar.

The minor events of the war are the hostility of the Afridis, and the formation of a contingent drawn from the minor Punjab States. This contingent, under the command of Colonel Watson, was reviewed at Lahore on the 18th December by the Viceroy. There were present on the ground 2,500 Infantry, 1,000 Cavalry, and 15 guns, contributed by Pattialla, Jhind, Nabha, Kapurthulla, Farid-Kote and Sirmoor. The Kuki, and Zakka Kheyls of the Afridi tribes, instigated by a partisan named Abdulla Jan or Abdulla Mir have, from the very day of the capture of Ali Musjid, worried

our communications through the Khaibar. On the 2nd December, Colonel C. M. Macgregor was sent to the front to command the troops employed in maintaining our line of communications. On the 20th and 21st December, Generals Maude and Tytler attempted a concerted movement against the Bazar valley. This was not a success, the column having been attacked whilst retiring. Since then these clans have continued their annoyances, and as we write their is a report of a fresh and more effective attempt to be made to bring them to reason.

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ART. I.—RELIGION IN INDIA.

WHOEVER undertakes a discussion about religion must needs consider that he approaches a subject that is both delicate and difficult, *periculosæ plenum opus alex.* Most undoubtedly it is a matter which many excellent persons regard with intense anxiety ; moreover, they are apt to assume that their own religion is the only religion, and that not only is an impious hand about to be laid upon the sacred shrine, but that their own cherished convictions may perhaps be threatened with disturbance.

Let all such accept the assurance that it is not any particular form of religion that is to be dealt with here, but Religion in the abstract ; that deep-seated sense of reverential awe towards the unseen which is a general, if not an absolutely universal, necessity of the human heart. The purpose of this paper is to enquire into the past, present, and future of Indian creeds ; what may have been done for them by the recent infusion of European thought, and what prospect seems to open before our eyes in respect of the shape that the national consciousness is now learning to adopt. Most of all is it desirable to take up the line suggested by etymology and enforced by practical reasons ; namely, to enquire what motives are to be observed or hoped for in connection with restraints and obligations of *conduct*.*

Statistics do not show that, either in India or in the world at large, the various sects of Christianity form an aggregate much larger than the sum total of Hinduism and Islam, or as large as Buddhism alone. In India, its original birth-place, Buddhism is now all but extinct ; but elsewhere those directly or indirectly following or influenced by it are more in number than those of any two, almost equal to the professors of any three creeds put

* An interesting account of current Indian creeds will be found in the LXVth vol. of this Review.

together. The figures are believed to be as follows :—those for India by itself will be detailed hereafter.

1. Jews	...	...	8,000,000
2. Christians	...	...	353,000,000
3. Mohammedans	...	...	120,000,000
4. Brahminical Hindus	...	...	128,000,000
5. Parsees	..	...	1000,000
6. Buddhists	...	..	483,000,000
7. To which may be added the Fetichism of the aboriginal tribes of Africa, America, Polynesia, &c.	...	...	1,89,000,000
Total ...			1,333,000,000

Apart from the uncertain stories of early ages the first introduction of Christianity into modern India was from Rome. Since the time of Xavier the chief church of the West has been at work in the East for fully three centuries of almost uninterrupted labour ; and Pope Gregory XIII, about 1575, established a Board of Missions at Rome which was, not many years later, developed into the famous *College de Propagandâ Fide*.

From that period the church was never without witnesses in this heathen land. Here is the first mention of the matter by the bigoted Badaoni :—

“ In 986 H —(1580 A.D.) the missionaries of Europe, who are called Padres, and whose chief pontiff promulgates his interpretations for the use of his flock—mandates that even monarchs must obey—brought their Gospel to the Emperor's (Akbar's) notice, advanced proofs of the Trinity, and affirmed and preached the faith of Jesus.”

So, in the *Akbarnama*, Abul Fazl, the Emperor's chief friend and counsellor, informs us that in the beginning of the 23rd year of his reign Akbar established weekly meetings at Fatehpur Sikri, one of which “ was brightened by the presence of Padre Rodolph (Aquaviva) who for intelligence and wisdom was unequalled among Christian doctors.” Twelve years later (1592), “ Padre Firmilian arrived from Goa, and was received with much distinction. . . . A few intelligent young men were placed under him for instruction so that provision might be made for translating Greek books and extending knowledge.”

In 1599 the Cathedral of Hughli was built, and about the same time, as is traditionally reported, an imperial grant was made for the foundation of a considerable establishment at Agra. And this is confirmed by Bernier, who tells us that the Jesuits

had at Agra "a very fair and large church upon which there stood a great steeple with a great bell in it whose sound might be heard over all the town." We also learn from contemporary travellers that Akbar's son and successor, the debauched latitudinarian Jahangir, encouraged the Christians from motives of commercial expediency. He wore a Christian rosary, and caused two of his nephews to be baptised in the Agra Cathedral.

The next Emperor was a more zealous Musalman, and his wife, the lady of the Taj, was a bigoted fanatic. Under her influence Shahjahan discountenanced the Christians, pulling down their church at Agra, and persecuting them everywhere. Carrying out the wishes of the Empress even after her death, he laid siege to Hughli, which fell in 1632. It is said that on that occasion more than four thousand Christians were made prisoners of war and sent to Agra. We have considerable glimpses of their fate from the narrative of Manrique, published at Rome a few years later, an interesting abstract of whose account was lately contributed to the journal of the Archæological Society of Agra, by the Rev. Father Symphorien, Secretary to the Bishop of the Vicariate; from this, however, it appears that the ill-treatment of the Portuguese hardly amounted to a religious persecution.

With Aurangzeb harder times no doubt came. But the epitaphs quoted in Father Symphorien's paper show that priests went on living and dying and being openly buried at Agra, all through those, and the yet darker, days which followed. The latest date is 1767, after which anarchy was universal in Hindustan. But the Jesuit Teifenthaler visited the country soon after; so, that the Church did not quite cease to be represented in Upper India, even then.

Nevertheless, it is to be feared that these labours have come to little better than nothing. It is stated in the latest accessible account (*India office Report 1873*) that the Catholic missions are "almost entirely confined to their Christian converts, and have little to do with the non-Christian population."

Yet one can hardly help regretting that it is so: in truth, whenever one thinks of the Church of Rome, its merits tend to obliterate almost all its faults. When one remembers the extreme excellence of some of its men and women, and the influence for good that it has upon the poor, one is disposed to forget the Spanish inquisition, Galileo, Bruno, Saint Bartholomew's day and the Oxford martyrs. It can never be regarded with the same indifference as some other forms of religious opinion. It would be the height of flippant rashness to declare that all the virtuous Catholics had been utterly wrong and duped by an excessive credulity. At least, to say so would be to use the words in a most unusual sense.

But, whatever may be the feelings with which we consider the effect of teaching and training in making people join and obey the Church which has hitherto been that of some of the best and bravest of men, some of the purest and most beneficent of women, such feelings can hardly be extended to those who are led to adopt the practices of that church without its principles, and are satisfied with being Catholics in every thing but Catholicity. Here the conscience and logic of strong and unsophisticated minds is beginning to draw a deep line of demarcation. Such cases as that of the brothers Newman show what is happening. Honest men starting from the same place find their roads bifurcate. Almost any discipline will make men useful and virtuous, so that it be but sincerely received and undergone. The convinced Catholic is as much exercising an act of volition in taking upon him the yoke of the Church as is the professed free-thinker in refusing it; and in both instances the working of the will is alike subordinate to a higher guidance. But what is to be hoped from a school who place its essentials in dressing and music, in lights and decoration, and think that the High and Holy one that inhabiteth Eternity keeps a watchful eye upon their dinner tables?

It must therefore be fairly ranked among the possibilities of the problem that orthodox* Protestantism may be rather losing than gaining ground. The general diffusion of ignorance, the traditional terrors of Ultramontaniam, the tenacity of the British character and the half-way tendencies of Ritualism may combine, for an indefinite period, to preserve for it a semblance of life.

But that period cannot be of long duration, and it may be very swiftly and suddenly brought to an end sooner or later—perhaps sooner. The doctrine of private judgment fettered by absolute submission to a collection of obscure and discrepant old documents and by obedience only less absolute to an undisciplined hierarchy without credentials, may be kept up for a while; but it is apparently incompatible with scientific progress. It may not be strictly true that no Papist convert from Protestantism ever “goes back again” (from Rome). Some very distinguished men in our own day have followed the example set by Chillingworth in the reign of Charles I. But in what sense do they “go back” and whither? Not surely as recaptured convicts, returning to what the most illustrious of refugees has called “the house of bondage.” Their feeling, like Chillingworth’s, is that at last they have found the truth, and the truth has made them *free*.

* The Ritualists disclaim this name. found an authoritative claim upon
But let it stand as a label for all who a basis of rebellion.
keep aloof from the visible church and

The connection of these considerations with India ought to be obvious. It is estimated that the peninsula contains two hundred millions of inhabitants, more or less directly subjected to British sway, who are none of them Christians. About one million more are estimated (in British India at least) in heart or in name as believers in some form or other of Christianity.* Multitudes of good and benevolent persons in the British Islands have been, for more than three quarters of a century, sending out preachers to produce a portion of this small percentage; another portion of it represents descendants from converts acquired by the labours of Xavier and other pious Romanists during a period of more than three hundred years. (S. Francis came to Goa in 1542. Acquaviva and Firmilian we have seen at Agra before the end of the sixteenth century). All earnest members of the various sects and denominations in Christendom are justified in asking why has so small an impression been made? Still more may the historical student inquire whether, if so little has been done in past years, there is reason for believing that more is likely to be done in future.

Of the difficulties that exist some idea may be suggested by the story of Ram Mohan Rai thus pathetically summarised in Miss Martineau's *History of the Peace* (Book IV. Chap. X).

"He became a Christian, and gloried till he came to England in the liberty and liberality secured, as he believed, by that faith. He learned the languages necessary for studying the scriptures in the original; and, from them he directly derived his views of the comprehension, charity, and fundamental freedom of the Christian religion. He arrived in England in 1831, to watch over the reconstruction of the Company's charter. The impressible Hindu was sufficiently excited by the merely political movements of the time; but its religious conflicts affected him much more deeply. He could not recognise the Christianity he had learned and so dearly loved amidst the pretention of the Tractarians and the

* This statement is made on the authority of the *Statesman's Handbook* for 1878. The exact figures for the last available year appear to be as follows:—

Catholics according to Statement prepared for the late Ecumenical Council.	...	...	...	...	730,000
Protestants according to official returns.	...	...	...	...	318,000
				Total	1,048,000

Add for Portuguese and French possessions,

Gon	...	...	...	...	230,000
Pondicherry	...	...	...	...	116,050

and a few thousands at Chandernagore (*Results and Prospects of Missions in India* from Parliamentary papers published by S. P. G., London: 1873.)

ascetism of the Evangelicals, and the wrath of the Irish Protestants, and the tumult of the Irish Catholics, and the contests between the church and the Dissenters, and the widening split in the Scottish Church, and the profane antics of the Irvingites. He went to hear all within his reach, he poured out his wondered sorrow at what he saw, and he wasted day by day. A sickly hue, not concealed by the dark skin, settled on his cheek; the hair round the turban became thin and lank; . . . the cheerful voice grew listless and hoarse; the light of the eye went out, . . . he sank at the first touch of illness." This picture of the end of the noblest of modern Brahmans, drawn by the hand of one who witnessed it with the keen sympathy of a gifted woman, is worth the study of the friends of Christian missions, as a hint of the effect their operations are calculated to produce upon the higher Asiatic natures on whom they may be brought to bear. Clerical readers may frown, and perhaps call us Atheists, and other bad names—as is their unhappy custom; but the fact remains that it is far easier to unsettle such minds and render them permanently weak and anxious, than it is to give them any abiding assurance as regards the unverifiable. As for the effect of propagating the gospel among the masses, we cannot surely listen to better evidence than that of the united Anglican Bishops of India, given in their letter to the English clergy of May 1874.

"There is nothing which can at all warrant the opinion that the heart of the people has been largely touched or that the conscience of the people has been affected seriously. There is no advance in the direction of faith in Christ * * * the condition is one rather of stagnation."

But what else can be reasonably expected from so confused a teaching, where one is of Paul and another of Cephas; and where worst of all, one proclaims the necessity of tradition as an interpreter of Revelation; while numbers of others, holding with Whateley* that scripture is rather needed as the interpreter of traditional doctrine, insist in practice each upon his own interpretation of the Divine message?

It cannot be necessary here to enter a second protest against the supposition that this paper has any pretensions to pronounce as to the merits of any one of these denominations. All that it can

*"How much more just to say that the Christian Scriptures were the appointed interpreter of tradition, coming after it: the books were written from (*sic*) the very churches which had already embraced Christianity's moral teaching, and (were) designed

to clear up what was doubtful in it, to supply what was deficient, and to guard against error which might creep in, 'that they might know the certainty of those things wherein they had been instructed.'" *Whateley's Life*, vol. 2 p. 491.

presume to point out, and that is not much, is that they cannot all be right. If therefore any one particular school, sect or church enjoys a monopoly of Divine truth, one might naturally and reasonably expect that it would prevail. By the inherent beauty and aptness of its doctrines, and by the purity of its followers, lives, if not by actual signs and wonders, that sacred system might be attested and warranted in such a manner that no candid enquirer could fail to remark its immeasurable superiority. Above all things its teachings would tally most strictly, if not otherwise verifiable in themselves, with all the verifiable parts of that other unquestioned revelation of Himself which the Creator has set before us in His works. Now, honestly, is there such a system to be produced when the people of India ask what is your religion? Yet they are in urgent need of one themselves; as most people agree.

The Hindu Pantheon is covered with "a roof of many tinted glass." Many climates and soils have combined to produce its various elements. The proto-Aryan hymns to the Dawn, the Clouds and the Forces that surround man in his days of simpleness; the historical pretension of the later Epic Poems; the didactic triviality of the legal Codes; the monstrous fecundity of the Puránás; and even the subtlety of the Alexandrian Greeks; all these have been absorbed in the multifarious fabric. That a shrine or a niche may be found there for Jesus is not impossible. If it should, it will not prove the Hindus to be Christians. It is, indeed, believed that the Romish missionaries in southern India at one time availed themselves of this liberality of the Hindu mind to introduce a semblance of success into their work. Thus Krishna, repainted, did duty as Christ, and the image of his mother was baptised "Mary." Whether this happened or not, it is quite probable.

The creed of the Moslems is less eclectic. Coming down from a branch of the spiritual-minded race of Shem it cannot brook idolatry or anthropomorphism; and considers Trinitarians blasphemous because they admit "participation" into the great attributes of the ONE. Yet, even here, the influences of external civilisation have had their power and will have it more and more. Just as the cold graces of the Taj at Agra have been draped and decked by the soft velvet of verdant foliage raised about them by English gardeners, so the naked austerity of Islám was once framed in the graces of Chivalry, of Science, and of Art.

In both cases what has once been may be again; and the transformation may be more wonderful and complete, now that the external influences have grown so immeasurably stronger than they were. Only it will not, so far as can be reckoned, be a substitution of one revelation for another, but a modification of old

errors resulting in the appearance of something altogether new. The future may be learned, in this, as in so many respects, from an observation of the past.

Civilisation does not, it is true, make the steady and methodical progress that might be expected from the principles laid down by Mr. Buckle. Even in England, where it has, on the whole, been progressive, the progress has been fitful, sometimes by a sudden bound, sometimes almost suspended for long periods. Between the death of Elizabeth and the last years of George III, social and intellectual matters made but little movement; the Crown and the Peerage maintained in politics—with one memorable interruption—the same sort of ascendancy that the Bible did in the world of belief, and the classics in that of thought and science. In the first quarter of the present century all began to be attacked at once; and by the end of the second the authority of all had well nigh melted like figures of snow in a great thaw. And so among the Hindus it may be roughly said that, from the fall of their dynasties at Ujain, Kanauj, and Dehli (about the 11th century of our era) to the complete establishment of British Administration after the mutiny of 1857, the national mind stood still, if indeed, it did not recede. But in that golden age, that Augustan period of Vikrama, not only did the arts reach a considerable maturity, but philosophy had made its usual attempt to classify and apply the sciences and to derive from the process a theory of the universe. From want of a proper Organon, and also perhaps from an impatience of the slow labour of accurate and methodical observation, the early Hindus failed in this ambitious endeavour. But their two oldest systems, the *Sankhya* and the *Nyaya*, show intelligent and even resolute attempts to systematise what was known of the world, the former synthetically, the latter, by way of analysis. The Sankhya School, with brilliant generalisation almost anticipating the modern scheme of Herbert Spencer, taught that the source of Matter and of Force was eternal and uniform, and that the phenomenal Kosmos was born of the union of evolution with the perceiving mind. The Nyaya, on the other hand, held that cosmogony was “dualistic in the sense of assuming the existence of eternal atoms, side by side, either with eternal souls, or with the Supreme Soul of the Universe.” (*Hindusim.* M. Williams). Thus, though founded on a metaphysical analysis, the Nyaya philosophy was not truly inductive; and, not being based on the study of phenomena, has no inborn principle of permanence. Yet such labours can never be quite thrown away or useless. These interesting, even important, speculations have, it may be hoped, prepared a seed-plot in which the germs of truth may some day strike root.

But the arid sands and unweeded jungles of popular superstition will long resist their spread. Of all the puerile pretensions with which suffering humanity was ever afflicted, it is probable that vulgar Hinduism is the worst ; with its multitudinous objects of worship, its meaningless minutiae of observance. That from time to time reform should have raised its hand among them is attributable no more to the weakness of the flesh than to the weariness of the spirit. Its workings have usually taken the direction of simplicity ; caste and idol-worship have been denounced or discouraged, and salvation declared to depend upon *Bhakti*. This mysterious word is ordinarily translated "faith;" it seems, however, to imply a sort of general spirituality; not necessarily ascetic, for feasting and the flesh have played their part in those systems. An interesting little work lately published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge shows something of the vexatious pettiness and universal meddling of Hinduism. In this exposition we are shown the whole circle of the sciences taken into the province of religion in India. "If a full moon fall on Monday that is a coincidence that must by all means be turned to the best account." Williams' *Hinduism*, p. 180.

The professor gives other illustrations ; showing, for instance, how the lunar asterisms, or constellations of the months, are considered formidable, and to require propitiation. Zoology, botany, mineralogy and geography are each in turn pronounced to be equally tainted by these barbaric notions. Some of the rules and practices are like those of no society but that of Laputa. And all, or nearly all, end in giving alms to Brahmans and other spiritual guides. It is no wonder that, from time to time, mankind should be stimulated by some gifted and original nature to struggle against such bonds, such burdens ; and against the selfishness by which they are imposed.

It is therefore a peculiarity of Hinduism more calling for congratulation than surprise that (if not earlier,) at least from the days of Sakia Muni, or Buddha (about 500 B. C.), to the moment that is now passing, it has never ceased to engender attempts at regeneration and reform from the depths of its own consciousness.*

Buddha presents all the marks of a true reformer ; disinterestedness, energy, and success. Forsaking the pomps of rank and the pleasures of affluence, he devoted himself to the service of mankind : and at this moment his followers far outnumber those of

*Mr. E. Thomas has recently shown who attained *Nirvana* (died) B. C. reasons for believing that Buddha was 526-7 (*Athenæum*, November 2nd a disciple of the Jain Saint, Mâhāvira, 1878).

Jesus himself or any other religious teacher. In the enthusiastic language of a modern European admirer,* Buddha was "a great deal more than a prophet; a rare, exceptional, and altogether transcendental incarnation of moral perfection." He preached a gospel of pure living without hope of recompense in a future state; and that gospel was received throughout India for a thousand years. But ritualism, credulity, hope, fear, sensuousness, all lived on side by side with it, and ever effacing it more and more from the humble, hardworked masses and from the idle aristocracy alike; till at last the "law of the wheel" disappeared from India, to find a still wider home in Ceylon; in the southern Peninsula; among the philosophic schools of China; and on the steppes of High Asia and the mountains of Thibet.

But even in India it left its germs. Buddha, as most people know, had taught that virtue was the great object of pursuit here, and absolute extinction the highest hope for hereafter. Without God, or a future state, he would hardly have succeeded in making Europeans live cleanly; even with the more self-denying people of India his system ultimately broke down. Then arose the Hindu Trinity, thus described by a great poet of the Renaissance, Kali Dás.

"In these three persons the one God is shown, each first in place, each last, not one alone; of Siva, Vishnu, Brahma, each may be first, second, third, among the blessed three.†"

Foremost among the heresies that sprang out of this creed is Vaishnavism, the cult of Vishnu, the Saviour, the Friend of man, who had himself borne flesh and shared our infirmities. Instead of the austere pessimism of the Buddhists the new reformers (while retaining the old simplifications as to caste and imitating them, perhaps, as to ritual) devised a creed of love and joy, and based it on an incarnation. At what precise date the Krishna myth first originated may be difficult to determine; but its puranic developments are of comparatively late date, and not without traces of Christian leaven.

In the words of Prof. Williams:—

"In the practice of *Bhakti* they knew no distinction of caste. There seems, indeed, to have been a general desire on the part of the leaders of religious thought in India to follow the example of the great Buddha in his efforts to deliver the people from the tyranny of caste rules." And elsewhere—

"Vishnu is the only member of *Trimurti* (the Hindu Trinity) who can be said to have infused his essence into actual flesh and blood for the salvation of the world."

* Professor Blackie.

† Griffith's Translation.

In the doctrines referred to, there seem to be sufficient traces of an attempt to transplant Christianity, in a somewhat Arian form, probably from Egypt. Those doctrines are taught in the *Puranás*, popular expositions which began to appear in the 9th century, during what is here called the Renaissance; and (as will be observed) so far resemble those of primitive Christianity as to include (1.) Salvation by a divine incarnation in human form; (2.) the equality of all believers, and (3.) Gospel facts, surrounding the birth and adventures of the Redeemer, though much distorted.

Among successive leaders of this movement it is only necessary here to name the most famous; Kabir the spiritual father of modern Sikhism, Vallabi the founder of the licentious "Maharaja" system out of which such scandal arose some years since at Bombay; and Chaitanya, the pure ascetic of Bengal, whose school is said to be reviving at Brindában, the birth-place of Krishna. The dissolute system of self-indulgence has prospered continuously, or only failed when brought into contact with Western law and morals; the self-denying sect has failed, or only prospered by the patronage of persons imbued with Western thought.

Of these persons, the revivers of Chaitanya's teaching, it is now time to say a word. Rám Mohan Rai, or Rammohun Roy as the name has been usually spelt, was born near Murshidábád in 1772, (the year of Warren Hasting's accession) and, after a youth and manhood of public service, retired and settled in Calcutta. Of studious mind and eclectic nature, he bestirred himself to revive among his countrymen the old simplicity of creed and worship inculcated in the Vedas, casting all, however, in a form so tinctured with Unitarian Christianity that he was joined by a Missionary the Rev. W. Adam, and when he went to Europe, twenty years later, Miss Martineau (as has been already seen) regarded the Rajah as a Christian. Associating with himself the well-known Dwarika Nátha Thákur (or Dwarkanauth Tagore) and other influential and liberal-minded Hindus, he set on foot a church, with a place of worship and a distinctive title which, gradually dropping all belief in any special written revelation, stood forth as following the book of Nature and its Divine Author as intuitively perceived. The following attempt to characterise the Deity is to be found in an accredited publication put forth in October 1850.

"The Being all excellent and imperishable, . . . who is shadowless, bodiless, pure, and undying. He is susceptible of no physical use, subject to no organ of action, invisible, indefinable, indescribable beyond the world; all peace, all goodness, without a second, the intuitive belief in whose existence is the only proof of it." (*History of Brahmo Somáj*. Calcutta: 1868.)

Let us note in passing—

1. That an observation of physics, without becoming actual pessimism, tends to destroy a belief in God's excellence, unless qualified by some other view or explanation, and

2. That God's existence cannot be proved by intuition because intuition itself is not proved, and may, for all we know, be only the product of our ancestors' experience and opinions transmitted to us in our generation.

These remarks are made here somewhat parenthetically ; we may do well to bear them in mind. What is to be at present stated is that this authoritative but unsupported Theism arose out of the Vedas and the Vedanta, but broke loose from even those slight moorings. Once more the Atlantean elephant that supported the world was standing upon nothing better than an unsupported tortoise. But the church of Brahma did not subside at once. This emancipation from scripture took place in 1846* under the leadership of Dwarkanath's son, B. Debendra Nátha Thákur, who objected to the Hindu scriptures as tending to inculcate Pantheism and the annihilation of the soul. From that time the principles of the *Somáj* began to spread among youths educated by British teaching. In 1859 a new evangelist appeared among the reformers, the since celebrated Keshab Chandra Sen. Not content with the propagation of doctrine, this leader addressed himself to social reforms also. Let us, however, first look at his doctrinal projects. A brief summary of his system was given by himself in an address delivered in the Calcutta Town Hall, on 23rd January 1869, published by Miss Collett in her work on the *Brahmo Somáj*.† From this let it be noted, first of all, that it is an eclecticism founded upon arbitrary assumptions.

"There are three elementary and fundamental ideas which enter into all theological as well as philosophical thought and speculation,‡ namely, mind, matter and God" (p. 138). "The great question to be solved by the future church is, how these three are to be held together in a reasonable service without tending towards hero-worship, or jeopardising the unity of the godhead" (p. 144).

Next to this comes the ethical application: "He who loves the common Father will love his brethren also. "Such brotherhood among all mankind will be realised in the church of the future. Its cardinal doctrines will be the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man" (p. 150).

* Prof. Williams attributes this charge to B. Keshab Chandra Sen ; but the church's own historian is the authority for the statement made here

(*History, &c.*, p. 13.)

† Strahan & Co., London : 1870.

‡ Into Spinoza's one may ask, or Comte's ?

But atonement for unpardonable sin through mediation of a sinless Redeemer will not be needed to bring God and man together. Eclecticism here abstains, and allows a new tenet. Mercy is the true gospel, "the only true gospel of salvation" (154). Nor is any written revelation necessary, nor any creed or ceremonial system.

"I believe that the future church will not seek salvation in books of men, in ceremonies or articles of faith; but it will call upon individuals and nations to put their faith in the only true gospel of salvation; God's infinite and all-conquering mercy" (p. 156).

As to India, in particular, Mohamedanism and Hinduism, though full of error, both contain "a residue of truth and purity which we are bound to honour. The process of development will gradually bring those creeds, hitherto so hostile to each other, into closer union, till the two ultimately harmonise to form the future church of India" (p. 157). For that Church must be truly national.

"India has religious traditions and associations, tastes and customs, peculiarly sacred and dear to her . . . and it is idle to expect that she will forego these; nay, she cannot do so as they are interwoven with her very life" (p. 160).

Yet Keshab Chandra attacked many of these; and part of what he could not do by the power of persuasion he confided to the assistance of an alien legislature. He persuaded Debendra Nath to marry one of his daughters without the use of the Hindu ritual; he next proceeded to introduce a similar simplicity in the ceremonies observable at birth and death. This was nothing short of a revolution, followed as it was by the open sanctioning of a marriage between persons of different castes. Such connections, however, were of questionable legality, Hindu law being a part of religion and guaranteed to the people by their British rulers. Hence the next step was to obtain an act of Council setting aside the disabilities of Hinduism for those who no longer received it; and Act III of 1872 became the law for such cases.

How are the mighty fallen! A successful preacher, both in India and in Europe, courted, followed, and respected, as an almost divine deliverer, the Babu seems to have lost the old fervour and unselfishness of character and conduct, which once marked him out among the millions. At the present date, from a train of circumstances too ignoble and complicated to be here explained, the Babu is deserted by most of his old disciples; the venerable Debendra is little more than a historical hero; a brawl has

taken place over the sanctuary in Calcutta which was only appeased by the action of the police, some of the worshippers have become complete positivists, others have become followers of a southern teacher, Daya Nund Sarsuti. This person has returned to the authority of the Vedas; but his church (the *Arya Somáj*) is said to be spreading, and to be affiliated to a Theosophic Society in the United States. It has branches in Upper India, and will probably end by merging in one of the forms of Vaishnavism of which Daya Nund himself will be the *Avatár*.

Such, then, has been the course of the Aryan mind in India; an elemental Monotheism, tending one way to Pantheism, another way to multitudinous idolatry; filled with petty scruples and skin-deep observances; and craving for an incarnation to fix the love and worship of mankind. The religion of Mohamad, which is professed by about one-sixth of the population, is equally monotheistic in origin, equally puerile in many of its minutiae. But it is the work of a people simpler and more energetic than the Hindus, and it has preserved a germ of Semitic spirituality amid all the corrupting influences to which it has been, from time to time, exposed. Judged from the Musalmán point of view, this religion of theirs differs from Christianity chiefly in that it teaches a purer Monotheism. For the orthodox Trinitarian, on the other hand, its proper aspect must be that of an extremely distorted form of the Monarchian or Arian heresies which in the early days of the Church seemed not unlikely to become the common creed of Christendom. But there is of course a third way of looking at the matter. Apart from theologic ground, the historical student may take his standpoint on the field of real life, and enquire what has been the effect of Islam on the acts and fortunes of humanity. Fanatical Christians tell us that Islam leads to the legalisation of lust and carnage; that all Mohamadan governments are always intolerable, and yet that no Mohamadan will continue a peaceful subject in a country where he has ceased to be governed by his co-religionists; that "the Koran is not sufficiently elastic to admit of progressive developments and interpretations because it is a religion essentially opposed to the advancement of humanity, a religion of force and sex."

In reply to this it has been well pointed out by a contemporary publicist that the workings of religious systems are not to be altogether inferred from their direct precepts. Christians, for instance, are told in their scriptures to turn their cheeks to the smiter, not to resist evil, to obey the powers that be, as ordained of God, at a time when they were really appointed and controlled by Nero. In

answering some charges of this kind recently brought against the

As to Mohammedanism not being capable of admitting "progressive developments," and as to non-elasticity of the Koran, where did MR. BAXTER's instructor find the sect of earnestly believing Christians who looked with satisfaction on "progressive developments" of Christianity, and who allowed the "elasticity," of the Scriptural text? And where did MR. BAXTER or his instructor discover that Christianity was not "a religion of sex?" It has been very justly and pointedly said that if there are two causes which are condemned in the clearest language in both Testaments, they are teetotalism and woman's rights. In point of fact, if women in the eyes of the Mohammedans are hardly more than chattels, they were in the eyes of the early Christians a partially necessary but always a deplorable evil."—*Pall Mall Budget*.—Nov. 15th 1878.

Turks by a Mr. Baxter, the *Pall Mall Gazette* further observed that if any one chose to dwell exclusively on the letter of the two books (the Koran and the New Testament) he might as easily argue that one was written for men who are doomed to obey as that the other is intended for men who are dis-

tinged either to rule, or to rebel, or to emigrate.

"As a matter of fact, we know that Christians bear rule in many Mohamedan countries at this day and that in British India at least—where most of the existing Mohamedans live—they form an orderly and useful part of the community. As for toleration, few rulers have been so tolerant as the modern Turks and their kinsfolk the Mughals in mediæval India;* and we have yet to learn that it was the Moors in Spain who set their Christian subjects the example from which, in their turn of power the latter modelled their Inquisition. As to progress again, the Musalmans of Spain, Baghdad, and India at one time had far surpassed their Christian contemporaries; the accounts of Roe and other European travellers show what were the splendours of the Mughal Court of India at a time when England had scarcely learned the uses of cold water.

Yet there seems an undeniable weakness in Islâm. Those hardy warriors before whom the Christian troops of Byzantium fled in the seventh century, have not appeared in modern warfare. Since the horse-tail *tughs* of Kara Mustafa flew back before John Sobieski, through the days of Clive to those of Kauffmann and our own recent Afghân Campaign, Islam has never prevailed. And as in arms so in arts: the swelling domes and towering minars, the illuminated manuscripts pregnant with preserved lore that was otherwise like to perish, the rich carpets and shawls, all that once made up the picture of the gorgeous East, all that is gone or going. In every country we see the people sunk in superstition and ceremonial; the chiefs corrupt, debauched and heartless. Only where modern thought and science are working an entrance, does there seem a dawn of improvement; and that is heralded

* Akbar's Prime Minister was a Hindu.

by voices of doubt and spiritual criticism. All true well-wishers of the Indian Mohamedans now turn their eyes to the Reformer of Aligarh, the earnest and devoted Sáyid Ahmad Khan ; and to him they look, not because of his earnestness and devotion for the creed of his fathers, but because he has not shrunk from bringing it face to face with modern science. Sáyid Ahmad, though not popular with the bigots of his creed, has never been other than an orthodox Muslim of the purer sort, denouncing abuses, it is true, but ever maintaining the Unity of the Godhead and the divine commission of the Arabian Prophet. Nay, he has not feared to defend the inspiration of the Pentateuch against a Christian Bishop. But he never tries to throw a veil over the wonders of physical research, or to claim authority for written teaching that should be found at variance with the verified conclusions of phenomenal revelation. Hundreds of boys are now learning at his College that, come what may, the voice of God is addressed to man in nature ; and that it is not to be disregarded with impunity. Hence, while his followers will avoid the arbitrary assumptions of lawless speculation, the extravagances of *Sufis* and *Bábis*, and the Puritan arrogance of the extreme *Wahábis*, it may be fairly hoped that they will be more prosperous and more influential than the members of those discredited denominations.

The reasons for questioning whether the cure of India's religious doubts and difficulties can ever be found in modern Christianity are many and strong. It might at first sight be supposed that Christianity, a Semitic creed coming through an Aryan channel, would be likely to recommend itself to the subjects of Britain in India. But we can see two things very plainly ; first, that Christianity has been hitherto offered to Musalmans and Hindus in vain ; secondly, that it is now so impregnated with European ideas as to be quite unsuited to them in any of its existing forms.

Christianity, as has been already suggested, appears to have been known to the Hindus at some period previous to the first inroads of the Muslims in the 10th century A. D. Clear historical proof of this may not at present be producible. The possibility, however, being granted, the internal evidence is considerable. Whether through Asia Minor, or through Egypt, the story of the Gōspel and some of its self-denying precepts must have been known to Hindu thinkers. Hinduism, while absorbing a few outward fragments, rejected it as a whole.

Of the study of the New Testament by the Prophet of Islám the proofs are clear and abundant. The doctrine of the Trinity is very distinctly and strongly denounced in the Koran (Surás V-7 and IV 169), the birth of John the Baptist is related, followed by that of Jesus (III 40 and XIX, 16-23). His crucifixion is ascribed to a

divine stratagem (III. 47, 48). He is not to be worshipped (IX 31). Here is proof of the knowledge and repudiation of Christianity—as we view it—that cannot be denied.

And why should we expect it to be otherwise in the future? If in the tenderness and adaptability of young societies, a substance is expelled as incapable of assimilation, why should it be offered to them when both it and they have hardened and developed into fixed forms? The process that failed in the green tree will never succeed in the dry. Modern Christianity, in its various forms, is the result of two factors; and it is the central element of modern civilisation, as is well summed up by one of its most eloquent advocates.

“Christianity is of all religions that ever existed the most poetic, the most humane, the most favourable to liberty, literature and art; the modern world owes it everything from agriculture up to abstract science, from hospitals for the miserable up to temples built by M. Angelo and adorned by Raffael. Nothing can be diviner than its morality, it favours genius, purifies taste, develops virtuous passion, gives vigour to the thoughts, noble style to the author, subjects to the painter and finally, we ought to summon all the fascinations of imagination and all the interests of the heart to the aid of that faith.”

Such was the aspect of modern Catholicism presented to European readers by Chateaubriand in analysing the scope of his celebrated work *Le genie du Christianisme*. To European minds, no doubt, the statement suggests reasons for conformity. We are children of forefathers who have slowly built into the social fabric that they have bequeathed to us many influences derived from the sufferings and doctrines of our Lord and his immediate followers. Therefore it may be argued that we are not at liberty to profit by their labours while setting at nought their laws. Any one who may find their scheme repugnant to any of his thoughts or feelings may modify his view of it. But he cannot deny that, situated as he is, he has derived from it a birth-right which cannot be surrendered and an emotion which soars above logic. He may even learn to refuse freedom upon grounds resembling those which Socrates presented to Crito.

But what has the native of India to say to all that? His forefathers (unhappily for themselves as we think) rejected the scheme, and their social fabric has been built on other lines and with other materials. In vain do we talk to them of our poetry, our literature, our art; these things have been, partially at least, produced by early forms of Christianity, and certainly later forms of Christianity have been produced or influenced by them. But the Christianity of Scotland is no more that

of Spain than it is that of Bulgaria. And none of them is, purely and simply the Christianity of the gospel or rather of the *Epistles* or the *Acts*. On the other hand the people of India have changed too; and they have wandered away, the cultivated into speculation, and the multitude into superstition, according as their occasions tempted them and from motives unknown to any of the nations of Europe.

From all which we may safely conclude that not only have *ex cathedra* announcements of Monotheism no essential fascination nor any principle of permanence; but that they are actually less to be depended upon than proclamations similarly arbitrary that are addressed to human folly and self-indulgence; although both are to be deprecated with almost equal force in the present day. When a missionary or a reformer says, to any race of men not utterly undeveloped, "God is one; He is good and great beyond compare; He is your loving father, love each other as brothers ought," it is really easy to mock and hard to obey. But with a teacher who says "He is an austere Master, give him sacrifice of your substance and use the rest in making the best of His bad world," the superficial sensual soul of the natural man is allured at once. Modern civilisation next enters upon the task, with moral philosophy and metaphysical systems dancing round her, and a train of constables to clear the way, but she, too, comes somewhat short. In the words of a highly Orthodox writer to whom we have been already much indebted,

"The education we (the British) are giving to India has little effect on the heart, and has certainly no power to regenerate it.*"

This is nearly the same result as that yielded by the letter of our Anglican bishops as to the outturn of Christian preaching and teaching. The people are left in their idolatry. But there is one kind of teaching, secular yet not necessarily impious, which has scarcely yet had a fair trial, though a beginning has been lately made. In June 1872 the Syndicate of the Calcutta University passed a number of resolutions among which was one which may prove to have been one of the most momentous steps in human history. It was to the effect that the examinations for the degree of B. A. in January 1875 should take place under "the amended regulations." And the principle of those regulations was that there should be an alternative class list or tripos for the students of physical science. When the time came the following was the result:—

"The number of candidates was 217, of whom 128 took up the A. Course and 79 the B. Course (Of the candidates for the A. Course

* Prof. M. Williams, *ubi sup.*

74 took up Philosophy" "(Hamilton's *Lectures* with an optional supplement of Fleming, Butler or Logic)," "133 History and 17 mathematics. . . . Of the different branches of Science . . . 54 were examined in Physics, 22 in Botany, and 3 in Zoology. Out of 79 candidates passed 44."

Such was the modest beginning of scientific teaching for a tract of country containing more than one hundred millions of inhabitants. In subsequent years a little further improvement was shown. Even from the first it had appeared that the best men gravitated towards this B. Course; for there were two subjects common to both courses (English and mathematics) and in these two common subjects the Science or B. Course students gained the highest marks. Out of the whole number examined in Physics no less than about 14 appeared to have obtained some grasp of the subject as far as they had read. That gentle encouragement proceeded. In 1876. 130 took up the B. Course for 150 who adhered to the old cobwebs: of these 89 elected to be examined in Physics; and thirty of the whole (say 20 per cent) were successful in passing for degree of B. A. Sixty-two of the 89 candidates who went up in physics were successful; a most respectable proportion. In the following year the (last for which the returns are accessible) the B. Course candidates had over-balanced those of the A. Course, the numbers being respectively 154 against 133, and the system having fairly taken root.

The study of physical science in India is in its infancy; and the most hopeful forecast that can be made is that the infant is growing. In the meantime the bulk of the people continue to bow down before stocks and stones, to worship fetishes and adore devils, to believe in miracles and in magic.

What then is the religious future for which India is to aspire and to prepare? Is Britain, the most progressive country (as her sons say) of progressive Europe, to give no assistance to her helpless sister? We have seen how British religion appeared to the modern Indian Reformer; how he languished and pined away in the din of Christian dissensions and amid the strife of tongues. That dissension has not decreased since the days of Ram Mohan Rai; and in addition to the clamour of sectarians there is now, more and more distinctly heard, the voice of those who doubt as to the very basis of all dogmatic theology. What then remains, but to turn to the book of Nature? Let us take to heart those brave and honest words of Helmholtz.

"Complete truth carries with it the antidote against the bane and danger which follow in the train of half knowledge. A cheerfully laborious and temperate people—a people morally strong—can afford to look truth full in the face. Nor are they to be ruined by

the enunciation of one-sided theories even when these may appear to threaten the basis of society."

Real practical scientific education has only within the last three years or so been introduced into the curriculum of the Calcutta University. Were it made general throughout the continent of India, it is possible that an electric lamp would be kindled for teachers, pupils, inspectors, and the whole thinking community, from which, like a beneficent epidemic light would win its way among the whole population. Then if it appeared that the book of Nature was not irreconcilable with any professed written revelation (otherwise edifying) it may be hoped that the people being in the main wise and honest, would act accordingly. Unless there be no God, which can never be proved, the phenomena of the Kosmos must in some way or other be a divine revelation to man. This forms, for those by whom those phenomena are rightly apprehended, a common basis for real Catholicity, *quod semper ubique et ab omnibus creditum*. On that rock if we but build our church, all necessary truth may be reasonably hoped for. Felt for by the *Sankhya* and by Plato, brought near by Descartes and organised by Spinoza, this conviction has in our own time, been expanded into a system by Herbert Spencer and his followers, and appears, so far as can at present be seen, to be making its way among all European thinkers who seek to introduce the intellect into religion. The late Mr. Mill with all his singular training seems to have reached at last the conclusion that the evidence for the causation of the Kosmos was capable of inductive demonstration*, and an almost equally original thinker once spoke scarcely less distinctly, though with guarded language, before Indian hearers.

"If I were addressing an Oxford or Cambridge audience and were to speak of the future as belonging to the sciences of experiment and observation, I should have many objections to answer, some of taste, some of philosophical prejudice, some perhaps of religious feeling Here in India, at all events, the conditions of truth are plain enough. In the fight which the educated Hindu, which the Christian missionary, wage against error, such success as has been gained, such as will be gained, evidently depends on physical knowledge Unchecked by external truth the mind of man has a fatal facility for ensnaring and entrapping, and entangling itself. But happily, happily for the human race, some fragment of physical speculation has been built into every false system. Here is the weak point. Its inevitable destruction leaves a breach in the whole fabric, and through that breach the armies of truth march in."

* *Vide* note at end.

So spoke Sir Henry Sumner Maine to the Senate and members of the University of Calcutta when addressing them as Vice-Chancellor on the 11th of March 1865. Bishop Cotton and Archdeacon Pratt, both distinguished scholars and champions of orthodoxy, were present; and the eloquent jurist may have felt restrained. But the meaning that was latent in the words above quoted scarcely requires, now, the developing sentences which follow shortly after. Before sitting down Sir Henry plainly told the company that the fact, "that the methods of physical science are proving to be applicable to fields of thought where they once had no place is in itself an indication that all truth will, at some time be shown to be one and indivisible." Some, he added, might think of the intellect as of an universal solvent before whose action all that was holy and beautiful would melt away. But for his part he felt sure that no knowledge would endure "that did not ring true when sounded by the intellect." For him, therefore, this vilipended organ "was all-creating and all-renewing" the only known instrument of all material moral and religious improvement. Truth is real and certain, but truth is at the same time infinite. "The progress of knowledge leads to the very frame of mind to which some have thought it fatal, not only to certainty, but to reverence."

In order that such aspirations should be gradually fulfilled, let us summon the concurrent labour of all who are in any way connected with the education of the people of India. Their fulfilment will be a gain to the cause of religion. Worship and reverence are eternal needs of man which objective knowledge can neither satisfy nor destroy. The thoughts of the brain and the emotions of the blood may attract or repel each other with rhythmic force, but the end of all polarity is equilibrium. The poetry of nature will surely crystallise into religion.

H. G. KEENE.

NOTE.—"The argument (from Design) is not one of mere analogy. As mere analogy it has its weight, but it is more than analogy. It surpasses analogy exactly as induction surpasses it. It is an inductive argument I think it must be allowed that in the present state of our knowledge the adaptations in nature afford a large balance of probability in favour of creation by intelligence Whatever ground there is, revelation apart, to believe in an author of nature is derived from the appearances in the universe" (*Nature, &c., argument for a first cause* 170, ff.)

These words appear to justify the statement in the text. But they are subject to two qualifications:

1. On the one hand Mr. Mill did not write them at a time when the doctrine of Evolution had been so generally accepted as is now the case. The essays in which they occur were composed between 1868 and 1870 as we learn from the preface; and the author expressly reserved that part of the subject which many persons, ten years later would consider a most undoubted essential.

2. Mr. Mill, in a later part of his own speculations, limited his view

of the First Cause as taught by induction. He was led by the difficulties presented in the Kosmos to argue that if God was good he could not be omnipotent.

The present paper does not profess to be a lesson from Mill, and his authority—*clarum et venerabile nomen*—has only been here invoked to show that logic and something very like positivism were not sufficient to drive the idea of a great unknowable (latent) author of Kosmos from the mind of him who had less of a *priori* disposition than most modern thinkers.

But it is of course possible to go a good deal further than this. If evolution should prove to be a sufficient explanation of the causation of existing phenomena (as they exist, that is, in our consciousness) it may appear that we cannot judge of God's goodness or power by human stand-

ards at all; and that He is not only the source of all possible power but also is such a Being that all that he does is good, absolutely if not relatively to us. The difficulty lies in conceiving that phenomena which are relative to man, can give indications of a law that is not so. Yet this is to all seeming, man's best hope. "If history be true it must teach that which every other science teaches, continuous sequence, inflexible order and eternal law." (Maine *ut sup.*) A good deal of this difficulty, however, will disappear if men can only apprehend the fact that they are but transient and infinitesimal organisms in a boundless whole. "When I consider the Heavens the work of thine hands what is man that thou regardest him?" the sons of Shem had this thought so long ago!

P. S.—The following extract is taken from a manifesto, dated New York 1878, and shows the way in which the new development of Vaishnavism by Dāya Nand Sarsuti is received by the "Theosophists" in the United States.

The agitation of modern thought has already paved the way for a calm and impartial examination of Oriental religious philosophy, and the acceptance of its inherent truths. The time appearing auspicious, the Theosophical Society has affiliated with the great and noble brotherhood of the Arya Samaj, in whose membership are included many of the best minds and the profoundest scholars among

the Hindus, and has established a Vedic Section. Its members are already at work founding schools, delivering lectures, holding public assemblages, translating the Vedas, the *Saddharshana Chintanika* (or six schools of Indian philosophy), &c., publishing newspapers and otherwise carrying on an active crusade against idolatry and superstition in whatever creed or country they may be found. Admitted to fraternal co-operation in this holy work, the theosophical Society, in behalf of the Arya Samaj, appeals for the zealous support of its fellows, and the goodwill of every lover of truth and virtue and enemy of ecclesiastical tyranny.

ART. II.—THE ORIENTAL CONGRESSES

At St. Petersburg in 1876 and Florence in 1878.

IN our number for April 1875 we gave an account of the International Congress of Orientalists held in London, in September 1874; this was the second of the series, the first having been held at Paris in the previous year. Since then the third Congress has been held at St. Petersburg in September 1876, and the fourth at Florence in September 1878, while the fifth is announced to be held at some city of Germany (probably Dresden) in 1881. On each occasion the attendance has been better than at the previous gatherings. Malcontents and doubters have withdrawn their objections, and it is admitted that science is advanced by such periodical meetings, and that they will be continued, though probably at longer intervals, now that each great country has been honoured by having been once the place of reunion. A certain amount of expense is necessarily entailed on both the host and the guests, which forbids the idea of such ceremonies being repeated too often.

It is convenient to place on record, and it may be interesting to our readers to be informed of the branches of Oriental research which were discussed, the nature of the discussions, and the names of the scholars who took part in them on each occasion: for there is necessarily a marked preponderance given to certain branches at certain places, and, as it is not every scholar that has the time and means to take long journies, the company necessarily varies as much as the subjects: for instance, at the Congress of 1876 there were many Russians, and only one Italian. At the Congress of 1878 there were a very large number of Italians, and only about five Russians. Other national idiosyncracies came markedly into view. Russian scholarship has the robustness and vigour of Northern climate, but limited indigenous developments; no glorious past, and a very doubtful future, since the nation is an amalgam of uncongenial elements, of which the literary strength is due to the admixture of the Swedes of Finland and the Germans of the Baltic provinces, and the names are few, which are worthy of notice and not of German or French origin or adoption. Italian scholarship, on the other hand, represents a glorious past, which, since its last loan from the Greek more than two thousand years ago, has borrowed nothing, but has lent, and given its treasures to the whole world, and although it has undergone a long eclipse, has now reasserted itself, and gives promise of a brilliant future. On the other hand the Italian character is essentially feminine, and there is an absence of the organizing power and strong administrative

genius which distinguish the inhabitants of northern Europe, and render them less amiable and courteous, but more business-like.

Under the organic rules of the first Congress at Paris it rested with the Congress of London of 1874 to fix the date and place of the next Congress, and name the President and Council, and, until that new Council was duly inaugurated by a new Congress, the Council of the old Congress was, by a fiction of law, deemed to be "in permanence," in order to keep up the unbroken continuity of these International meetings. On the Continent nothing can be done without the permission and countenance of the head of the State. It is easy to believe that the English Government were unaware of the fact of the Congress of 1874 being held in London. It is certain that no leave was asked, and no patronage extended to the Congress, or hospitality shown to the foreigners by sovereign, minister, or public body, with the exception of the Corporation of the City of London. It is necessary to notice this singular feature of our insular habits, and it may be added, that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge entirely ignored the Congress and its members.

Leave having been obtained from the Emperor of all the Russias, the Congress of London, in spite of the hesitation and protest of many of its members, named St. Petersburg as the place of meeting for the year 1875, under the presidency of Count Vorontsoff-Dashchkoff, of whom nothing is known, except that he declined to act. The Council consisted of the following: Basil Gregorieff, professor of Oriental history, and Dean of the Faculty of Oriental languages in the University of St. Petersburg; Keropé Patkanoff, professor of Armenian, Daniel Chwolson, professor of Hebrew, and Alexander Kuhn, a distinguished Archæologist, attached to the Government of Turkistan. Professor Gregorieff succeeded to the vacant post of president, and the following persons were added to the Committee:—Baron Osten-Sacken, a most able member of the Foreign office, who became General Secretary, and was in effect the mainspring of the Congress; the veteran scholar, Bernhard Dorn, and Count Veliamanoff Zernoff, a distinguished Tartar Noble of Kazan. Both these last were members of the Academy of St. Petersburg. Two secretaries were appointed, the Baron Victor Rosen, professor of Arabic in the University, and Peter Lerch, a scholar of good repute, Secretary to the Imperial Archæological Commission. To these two gentlemen all the foreign members of the Congress are specially indebted for kindness and courtesy. The Committee, as thus constituted, was worthy of its distinguished duties.

The Imperial Government took the matter under their patronage, and guaranteed all the expenditure; but so much time was

lost in correspondence that the meeting of the Congress had to be deferred till 1876, by which time the rumour of the Russo-Turkish war had become so loud, that the existence of the Congress was jeopardized. However, it did actually come off on September 1st of that year, and lasted ten days. No pretence was made of private or public hospitality to the assembled strangers. On two occasions an entertainment was given at the Imperial palaces of Peterhof, and Tsarkoe-Selo, at which the Imperial Chamberlain presided, but no notice was taken of the Congress by any member of the Imperial family, or any of the nobility. The Emperor of Brazil, himself on his travels, and a good scholar, assisted at the meetings, under the name of Dom Pedro de Alcantara.

It soon became evident that the German element was nearly entirely absent from the Congress. Not only had Germany sent no scholars, but the Russianized Germans, such as Schiefner, and Boetlingck were absent. Moreover it was clear, that there was a feud among the Russians, for the Academy of St. Petersburg had turned its back on the University, and with the exception of Dom and Veliamanoff, not one made his appearance. Men, again, of such note in the world of scholars, as Meinayeff, the Palí scholar, were in the city at the time, and had to be visited in their own homes by those who wished to see them. It could not be concealed that the President, who had once been Lieutenant-Governor in Central Asia, and was now Chief Censor of the Press, was not a popular person, and that the air was full of personal quarrels and antipathies. It is but fair to state that kindness and attention within the walls of the Congress were shown to all strangers without respect of persons. A great mistake was made in admitting chance travellers, male and female, old and young, to the position of membership of a scientific Congress: thus it happened, that the English representatives were swamped and discredited by unwelcome and unworthy additions to their number, who took out tickets of membership for the sake of the invitations to the Imperial banquets.

There were, however, notable improvements in the arrangements made for the Congress, and a great advance upon the procedure in London, in consequence of the earnest representations on this subject made to the organizing Committee. A magnificent suite of rooms in one of the offices of Government was set aside for the purpose; an interesting museum was attached to this hall of assembly, which was fitted up splendidly and commodiously, a great contrast to such sad looking, dusty places as the Amphitheatres at King's College, and the Royal Institution. The publication of official bulletins every morning, and the notices

affixed to the screen in the official Bureau, kept every member fully informed of the proceedings of the day, and the tomorrow. Within the walls of the Congress, again, it was the duty of a select body of students of the Oriental College to attend to the requirements of strangers, and act as Mihmandars. Some of the members of the Congress also undertook the pleasing task of making themselves acquainted with scholars of all nationalities, and then introducing them to each other, and to one of these, an old Indian, the honour of being described as an "excellent medium" was accorded in a Continental magazine.

The difficulty about the language to be used soon came to the surface; it had made the London Congress ridiculous, but it made the Russian Congress offensive. By one of the organic rules laid down at the first Congress in Paris, the number of languages to be used in the Congress was limited to French and the language of the country. It was attempted to enforce this rule, and in the first session a reverend English missionary was promptly shut up by the President, for demanding to be heard in English or Bengali, the only two Vernaculars available to him. When, however, another Englishman ascended the rostrum, and addressed the meeting in a most execrable French, commencing "*Je suis un Anglais barbare,*" on a subject of which he was pre-eminently master, and when all his countrymen, from very shame at the exposure, rose and retired from the hall, the conscience of the Congress was touched, and the rule was unanimously rescinded, and liberty given for the use of *all* languages. Considering the motley character of the assembly, and their polyglot capacity, this was a dangerous license to give to the Finlanders, Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, Dutch, Turks, Jews, Buriats, and Ostyaks, and, had they abused their opportunities in the same ruthless way, in which the Russians did, although they could speak French with facility, and did so, when they chose, the Congress would have been a Babel. As it was, the four great and received languages of Europe, English, French, German, and Italian, were heard with satisfaction, and a set speech in Latin, in the old scholastic style was not objected to; but the rule for the future must be, that a member having a facility of using more than one language should be compelled to adopt the one most intelligible, and, failing this, he must prepare his written communication in one of the great languages, of Europe, to be read by the Secretary, and entrust his oral remarks to one of his more gifted colleagues; for be it remembered, that for one man who can make a speech in a foreign language, there are ten who can perfectly understand a paper properly read, or a speech clearly delivered: and this points to another suggestion, that Presidents, and Vice-

Presidents, should be selected with special reference to their power of catching the drift of the argument of the speaker, and recapitulating it briefly for the information of the meeting.

The long essays read by the President of the Congress, and the Presidents of most of the sections, which actually throttled all discussion in London, were entirely absent at St. Petersburg. On the other hand, the idea of dividing the company into sections, and thus having contemporaneous sittings, and economizing the limited space of time, had not been arrived at until the fourth Congress met at Florence. At St. Petersburg there were nine collective sittings in the great hall, and all the proceedings were dignified, practical and successful. In front of the audience were seated the President and Vice-presidents, supported by the six secretaries. The front row of the body of the house was reserved for the representatives of foreign nations. The speaker stood at a rostrum, and behind him were the reporters.

The order of the proceedings had been carefully thought over, and the Committee of organization had used their undoubted right of settling the main division of subjects to be discussed, and giving the lion's share to Russia in Asia for the simple reason that at St. Petersburg alone were the men and matter forthcoming to illustrate those far off regions. The scope of the Oriental Congress, as originally conceived, was widened so as to include archæology in all its branches, the ethnology and the religions and philosophy of the East, thus putting an end to the idea that only philologists were admissible, and it was practically affirmed that Egypt was included in the Orient ; it remained for the Congress at Florence to extend the meaning of the term still further, so as to include the whole of Northern Asia, and to perpetrate the absurdity of allowing an Italian professor to show the universality of his knowledge by reading a paper on a North American language.

To carry out their arrangements in a business-like way, the Committee of organization drew up rules for the conduct of the business of the Congress, which were gladly accepted by the members. We shall see further on the inconvenience which arose from the Committee of the Florence Congress neglecting to follow this salutary and masculine precedent. The nine sections were as follows :—

- I. Russia in Asia. Siberia, or "Northern Asia."
- II. do. Central Asia.
- III. do. The Caucasus and Crimea.
- IV. do. The Trans-Caucasian Provinces and Armenia.
- V. Turkistan, Tibet, Mongolia, Manchuria, Corea, China and Japan, or generally "Eastern Asia."

VI. India, nearer and further, Afghanistan, Persia, and the Indian Archipelago, or generally "Southern Asia."

VII. Turkey, Arabia, and Egypt, or "Western Asia."

VIII. Archæology of Asia.

IX. Religious and Philosophic systems of Asia.

A constitution for the conduct of affairs was also drawn up, and all delegates of the Russian and foreign Governments, and universities, and learned bodies were called in to form a Council to assist the Committee in the very delicate operation of adjusting the *personelle* of the sections; for be it remembered that scholars are as sensitive and thin skinned as ballet dancers, and in this matter consideration had to be paid to nationalities, branches of the subject, age of the parties, and scholastic repute. Certain posts were rigorously reserved to Russians, the majority of the secretariat, and one seat in the chairs of control of every section, but it is amusing to find that so great is the antipathy betwixt Turk and Russ, that when the Presidential chair of the Western Asia section was conferred on that distinguished scholar and amiable gentleman, Ahmed Vafyk Effendi, no Russian could be found who would act as Vice-President with him. The number of Russian delegates present, added to the Committee and the secretariat, gave the President so great a majority in this Council, that practically he did what he liked, and perhaps it was best that it should be so.

To assist the discussions, a list of no less than forty-one questions had been published and placed in the hands of members, covering the whole ground which it was proposed to traverse. It was not necessary that every one of these should be taken up, but it was guarded, that no other question could be mooted without the special permission of the Committee. In the same way all papers proposed to be read were submitted for previous scrutiny, and it was authoritatively declared that no topic relating to the Christian religion, politics, general administration, commerce, or contemporary manufacture, would be permitted to be alluded to. In a free country the President of such an assembly would, by the common law of public meeting, be enabled to keep the discussions within the given programme. In a country ruled by despotic institutions, even scientific meetings have to be warned off forbidden topics. It is a singular illustration of the anomaly of continental systems that in Russia the press was apparently admitted, while in Italy it was rigidly excluded. In Russia ladies were freely admitted to be members, and to be present at the discussions, and even to be delegates, in the case of Madame Fedhschenko, who represented the Central Provinces of the Empire and addressed the Congress. In Italy they were

sternly and deliberately rejected! In Russia such of the general public as might feel interested in oriental studies, were pressed to attend, and personal invitations were declared to be unnecessary; in Italy it was a subject of constant complaint in the public papers, that even oriental students were refused admittance, and, as a fact, the general public took no part, not even the silent part of looking on, in the discussions, and, in the absence of reporters and daily bulletins, the doors were practically closed to the public.

The nationalities represented at St. Petersburg were English, French, German (a few), Italian (one), Denmark (one), Sweden (two), Norway (one), Finland (one), Poland (one), Holland (two), Turkey (one); the rest of Europe and the United States were unrepresented, and it is but just to say that few, if any, of the great scholars of Europe were present. Instead of the stranger being heard to ask to have the author of such a work pointed out to him, the question generally was, after seeing, or hearing, a new personage, "what has he written?" The first rank of the scholarship of Europe was not represented at St. Petersburg, nor even the first rank of Russian scholarship.

We trust that, in naming officials for administrative posts, a more careful choice is exercised than was shown by the Russian Council of the St. Petersburg Congress; we call it Russian deliberately, as the voice of the foreign delegates was not heard in the two meetings which were held to settle the *personelle* of the officials. Round men were put at random into square holes; Indians were sent off to the Caucasus; Finlander Arabists were banished to the extreme Orient; all considerations of fitness and suitability were left outside. As the whole arrangement was one of form and compliment only, it did not much signify. The list stood as follows:—

President of Congress,	Gregorieff	(Russian).
General Secretary,	Osten-Sacken	do.
Assistant do.	de-Rosen	do.
do. do.	Lerch	do.
I. Section, Siberia, President,	Vassilieff (Chinese)	do.
Northern Asia, V. P.	Slovtssoff (<i>Altaic</i>)	do.
do.	Neumann (<i>do.</i>)	do.
II. Section, Central Asia, Presdt.,	Schéfer (Arabist) (French).	
V. P.	De Goeje (<i>do.</i>) (Dutch).	
do.	Veliaminoff (Tartar) (Russian).	
III. Section, Caucasus, Presdt.,	Gamasoff (<i>Orientalist</i>)	do.
V. P.	Cust (<i>Indianist</i>) (English).	
do.	Berger (Caucasian) (Russian).	
IV. Section, Trans-Caucasian, Presdt.,	Patkanoff (American)	do.
V. P.	Clarke (<i>Soldier</i>) (English).	

	V. P.	Eastwick	(Persian)	(English).
V. Section, Eastern Asia,	Presdt.,	De Rosny	(Japanese)	(French).
	V. P.	Zakharoff	do.	(Russian).
	do.	Lazus	(Arabist)	(Prussian).
VI. Section, India,	Presdt.,	Kern	(Indianist)	(Dutch).
South Asia,	V. P.	Sachau	(Arabist)	(German).
	do.	Kossowitch	(Persian)	(Russian).
VII. Section, Western Asia,	Presdt.,	Ahmed Vefyk	(Turkish)	(Turk).
	V. P.	Wright	(Arabist)	(English).
	do.	Mehren	do.	(Dane).
VIII. Section, Archæology,	Presdt.,	Oppert	(Assyrian)	(French).
	V. P.	Tiesenhausen	(Numismatist).	(Pole).
	do.	Stickel	do.	(German).
IX. Section, Religious,	Presdt.,	Douglas	(Chinese)	(English).
& Philosophic	V. P.	De Gubernatis	(Comparative	
Systems			Mythologist)	(Italian).
	do.	Chenery	(Arabist)	(English).

Members were invited to bring books for the exhibition, attached to the Congress, and the Dutch scholars brought with them the latest works published by Messrs. Brill of Leyden. Professor De-Gubernatis brought a book specially written for this Congress, narrating the work of Italian Orientalists. This is the weak side of Continental scholars; each nationality is too apt to crack up its own workmen. Mr. Robert Cust laid on the table specimens of translations of portions of the Holy Scriptures in twenty-three languages of India, and a specimen issue of eighty-two different Vernacular newspapers published in British India, and specially collected for the purpose. The Russians exhibited many curious and interesting works, and they undertook to bring out a grand Historico-Bibliographical review of all the publications and researches of Russians in the Oriental field; it was hoped that this would be ready for the Congress, but it appears that the work was to be published in the Russian language, and that members of the Congress were specially debarred from the privilege of receiving a copy. No doubt Russia was right to free herself from her ancient bondage to the French language, and the native Russian is naturally jealous of the influence of the Germans, whether their own fellow subjects of the Baltic provinces, or their neighbours of the great Empire. Still Russia must suffer from the maintenance of this system of isolation, and their attachment to their clumsy, and unpractical character for writing and printing, which limits the use of their scientific works and periodicals. The Russian language is musical and pleasant to hear, both in an assembly and on the stage, but it is impossible that it should even be accepted as one of

the great languages of literature, nor will the really valuable works published in that language be appreciated until they are printed in the Roman character.

The Congress was opened in due state in the great Hall of the University. An anthem was sung by the long-haired choristers of the Imperial Chapel; the President delivered a brief and very suitable address in French, which was responded to by the French delegate, M. Schefer, and the Secretary, Osten-Sacken, then read, in the same language, an account of the proceedings of the Committee of organization, and the arrangements which had been made for the Congress, and the names of the President and Vice-Presidents of sections were read out, and received the unanimous confirmation of the members assembled in conclave. In Russia every thing is conducted with due order, and if little scope is left to private will, at least the controlling authorities know what they are about, and took care, that others should be duly informed of the same. Every little detail was considered beforehand, and members who read a paper, or made a speech, were cautioned to deliver their notes to the Secretary as they left the tribune, in order that the precis might appear in the Bulletin of the following morning; if they failed to do so, nothing was recorded but the name of the communication in the briefest fashion. Thus, every one was interested in assisting the secretaries, who ably discharged this part of their duty with the assistance of short hand writers, who were always present,

A great many papers were read, and a great deal was said, which it is unnecessary to notice. Even to this day no official report has been published, and we have no record of the transactions of the Congress beyond the contents of these daily bulletins. We propose to run lightly over the proceedings of each day, noticing in detail subjects of novelty and interest. The section of Central Asia was the first that came before the Congress.

M. Oppert drew attention to one of the great discoveries of the age, *viz.*, the existence of a population in Media, and Mesopotamia, and Susiana, which was neither Semitic, nor Aryan, but anterior to both, and which had left imperishable records of themselves in the languages called Median, Susian, and Accadian, and were the inventors of that form of writing called the Cuneiform, subsequently appropriated by the Semitic Assyrians, and the Aryan Persians. He illustrated his arguments by translations and discoursed at considerable length.

The next subject was that of ethnology, and included the history of the people known as the Mongols. Mr. Howorth, an Englishman, and Professor Vassilieff, a Russian Chinese scholar, stated their views.

Professor Gregorieff drew attention to the mistaken use of the word "Turanian," for the unlimited employment of which Professor Max-Müller is responsible. Of late the word has gone out of fashion, and has given way to terms which are more accurate and distinctive. It was now shown that the word "Turanian" never could with propriety have been applied to a non-Aryan people, as the name was assigned by the Persians to the inhabitants of the country North of the Oxus, who are now convincingly shown at that time to have been Aryans, and, according to Gregorieff, the ancestors of the Slaves, Lithuanians and Germans. If this be true, there is an additional reason for the absolute disuse of a misleading word. The speaker then gave his opinion on the people known as Ouigours. In the Caucasian section, which was held in the afternoon of the same day, absolutely nothing took place, and the Congress began to look very like a failure. The President of the section, Gamazoff, absented himself on the plea of illness; but it was shrewdly suspected, that a quarrel with Gregorieff was the real cause. So little is known of the languages and races of the Caucasus, that much interest might have been expected. One of the Vice-Presidents, Berger, was chief of the Archæological Department of that province, a man of great information, and most willing to impart it under the gentle pressure of interest shown by his hearers; but little or nothing was extracted from him on this occasion. Gregorieff, the only other speaker, made an interesting communication on the subject of the procession of races from Central Asia, as they each in their turn advanced westward to occupy Europe. It was for the third time his duty and pleasure to point out the misapplication of a popular term, and he showed that the so-called Caucasian race had no connection whatever with the Caucasus, which never had been, or could be, the cradle of races, for, as a fact, mountains are rather the place of refuge of oppressed races, than the birth-place of new and vigorous nationalities.

He then proceeded to show whence the so-called Caucasian races, according to his theory, did come, *viz.*, Central Asia, and that one portion felt their way westward south of the Caucasus, by way of Asia Minor and the Greek Archipelago, while the other portion traversed the regions northward. He cited Herodotus to show how the Scythians had displaced the Cimmerians north of the Caspian; how the Scythians had given way to the Sarmatians, and they in their turn to the Alains, who were the last in order. As these people, in their westward movements, left space, the end was filled up by the advance of Turkish populations, yet the aborigines of Russian Turkistan were still Aryan and spoke Persian; and, more than this, the inhabitants of Chinese Tur-

kistan on the other side of the Pamir, though they had at a late period adopted the Turki language, were still, from an Anthropological point of view, Aryans. This subject was followed out at considerable length by another scholar, M. Bonnell, in the Trans-Caucasian section, and we await with interest the full text of these interesting communications.

The section of western Asia, including Turkey, Arabia, and Egypt, was all of great interest. M. Harkavy read a paper on the origin of the Slaves. M. Derenbourg, junior, brought to the notice of the Congress two works, which he was conducting through the press at Paris. Mr. Howorth read a paper on the Khazars. M. Sachau, of Berlin, brought before the Congress the expediency of paying more attention to the astronomical works of the Arabs, as illustrative of the degree of civilisation of that period. Mr. Chwolson and M. Stickel discussed the points of analogy betwixt the tribes of Israel and the tribes of the Arabs before the time of Mahomet, and the light thrown upon the period of the Judges by this study. Professor Gregorieff tried to find a reason for the fact that the commerce betwixt Central Asia and the north of Europe, which flourished so remarkably from the seventh to the tenth century of the Christian Era, suddenly ceased in the eleventh century. A great quantity of coins are found in Russia and the Baltic provinces which go to show that the commerce was very extensive, and the coins of the latest date found are of 1011 A. D. A commerce which had lasted at least one thousand years, then suddenly ceased. The learned Professor could give no explanation of this remarkable fact, but M. Chwolson took up the subject and found a cause in the fall of the kingdom of the Khazars, which occupied all the country north of the Caspian, and the mouths of the Volga, and which was strong and civilized enough to protect commerce from the plundering Nomads, and the old Russians, and with their fall commerce fell also. M. Harkavy and Mr. Howorth joined in this discussion, which will no doubt attract the deep attention, which it deserves.

In the afternoon of the same day the section of the extreme Orient, or Eastern Asia, held its sitting. The special delegate from the Japanese emperor, Vice-Admiral Enomotto, made a communication upon the historical works of the Japanese, for the oldest of which he claimed an antiquity of eleven hundred years. His excellency then briefly described the relation of the Shogun to the Mikado, remarking that the hereditary power of the Shoguns had lasted 680 years, when it was finally destroyed in 1866. The President of the section, M. Leon de Rosney then started the interesting question, whether it was possible, in the interest of

comparative philology, to reconstitute the language spoken by the Chinese at the time of the Han-Dynasty, and to carry back the investigation even into the preceding centuries. He then proceeded with boldness and yet in conformity with strict linguistic principles to point out how the Chinese language, consisting of a limited number of monosyllabic roots, and an unlimited number of homophones differentiated by tones, had undergone considerable changes in the lapse of centuries, but that the Archaic pronunciation could be arrived at by careful comparison with the Japanese, Korean and Annamite, as well as by the method pursued in expressing the Indian names and terms of Buddhism in the Chinese language and characters. He remarked that Mr. Edkins had made considerable advance on the same plan. Having once reconstituted the ancient language of the Chinese, it would be possible to commence upon the work of comparison with regard to it and the other languages of Central Asia, but not till then. He could, however, state that he had already detected numerous lexicographical and grammatical affinities betwixt Archaic Japanese, Finnic, Magyar, and Turkish, and that it could not be doubted, that before long a grouping upon scientific principles would be possible of all the languages of Central and Northern Asia. Professor Vassilief, one of the greatest living scholars replied in Russian, when the *Final Bulletin* was published, his audience became aware that he had entered fully into the subject, that he preferred M. Schlegel's treatment of the subject in his *Sinico-Aryaca* (1872) to that of Mr. Edkins in his "Study of Chinese characters;" he added that the Chinese themselves had striven to re-establish the pronunciation used long before the time of the Han-Dynasty, in fact as far back as the time of Confucius, who had committed to writing the *Shi-King*, a classical work, which, being in rhythm, and rhyme, presented a more solid basis for ascertaining the ancient pronunciation than any deductions derived from the Japanese language, as that nation, at the time of the Emperor Han, was in a state of savagery.

M. Vassilieff then touched upon the Korean language, remarking that, on examining a vocabulary of that language, he found a great number of words evidently of Chinese origin, though they had undergone phonetic distortion in the same way as the Chinese loan-words in the Japanese language. He then drew attention to a little work which he had himself published some years before, in which he discussed the affinity of the Chinese language and the languages of Central Asia, and showed that the grammatical suffixes of the Mandchu agglutinative language could be explained by Chinese roots, and that an attentive exami-

nation might possibly extend this affinity to the language of the Turks and Mongols.

M. Vassilieff then touched upon the cause of the emigrations of the Chinese people in the valley of the Yellow river, and, alluding to an appendix to one of his published works, he went over his geographical notions of the gradual extension of the Chinese authority.

M. Raczynski then drew attention to the contents of the Imperial Archives in the city of Moscow. We have had the opportunity of visiting them, and regret to say that they are as magnificently and conveniently housed as the French Archives at Paris, and throw into a sad and melancholy contrast the arrangements for the precious Archives of England, which we visited, on our return from Russia and Paris, in the new building in Fetter lane. Every kind of formality is weaved to prevent anybody getting in, and when personal favour, and persistent effort succeeds in getting in, the impression is such as is above described.

M. Raczynski dwelt on the extraordinary importance of the documents contained in these Archives for the right understanding of the relations of Russia with the people of Northern Asia, and there is no doubt that there exists a treasure, of the extent of which we are imperfectly informed, as the old kingdom of the Tsar of Moscow was essentially an Asiatic kingdom, and for two hundred years was under Tartar domination.

The Indian, or South Asian, section was presided over by a Dutch scholar of the first rank, who has the happy privilege of acquaintance with the language of further as well as nearer India, and who, as Professor of the College of Benares, is as well acquainted with Sanskrit, as, being by birth a native of Java, he is with the Javanese, and its archaic form, the Kawi. He was supported by ten excellent scholars, M. Kossowitch, who has published a Memorial Book of the text and translation of the Persian Cuneiform inscriptions of Cyrus and Darius, and M. Sakhan, who has published the works of Albiruni.

M. Kern himself gave a translation of a part of an inscription or the King Piyadasi, or Asoka, and remarked that by itself it was sufficient to show that that King was by persuasion a Buddhist. This position has been stoutly traversed by Mr. Edward Thomas in the pages of the *Royal Asiatic Society*, who maintains that he was a Jain. This is one of the questions of the future.

The section was deprived, by a sudden indisposition, of the opportunity of being informed on the subject of the language of the Kurds, which M. Lerch, one of the Secretaries, commenced, but was unable to conclude. The official report will no doubt put us in

possession of his views on a subject very little understood, beyond the fact that the Kurdish belongs to the Iranic family.

The next person who came on the stage was a man of notoriety rather than note. M. Terantieff, an officer of General Kaufmann's army, and an insubordinate one, but who had developed literary powers, and when Sir Henry Rawlinson published his volume, "England and Russia" in the East, answered it by his volume, "Russia and England," which was translated into English in Calcutta. We have carefully read both, and, without agreeing with the policy of the former, we admit the correctness of his facts; as regards the latter we are only more surprised at the obvious ignorance than at the malignity and audacity of the statements. We made M. Terantieff's acquaintance at St. Petersburg, and found him not a bad fellow, a rough soldier, who had acquired all his knowledge of British India from the Russian newspapers, and said bluntly, that, as a *bad* book had been published about Russia by England, he published a *bad* book about England. However, when we undertook to supply him with a copy of all the blue books relating to the Indian frontier, and it appeared that his wife was a good English scholar, employed in translating Miss Braddon's novels into Russian, he undertook to read all that was supplied to him, and to reconsider his opinions. In this section he brought forward his view with regard to the Pushtu language, and as he did not quote the opinions of the chief authority Dr. Trumpp of Munich, it may be supposed, that he did not know of its existence: it was to the effect that the Pushtu was an entirely independent language, belonging neither to the Iranic nor Indic family; he did not go so far as to say that it was Semitic. M. Terantieff then gave his views as to the ethnical affinities of the Tajiks and Sarts, and the Kafirs or Siah-Posh, to whom he gave the additional name of *Bolors*.

This speech led to the expression and formularizing of a resolution of the whole Congress, that an address should be made to the Governments of Russia and England, praying them to facilitate, by international privileges, voyagers, who seek to explore these hitherto unknown regions, merely for the love of science.

M. Sachau expressed a wish that a careful study should be made of the various Tajik dialects, which would be extremely interesting to all Iranic scholars. M. Lerch assured the Congress that this work had been commenced by M. Kuhn, one of the committee of this Congress, who had collected and published vocabularies, tales, and ballads of some of the villagers in the Zar-Afshan district. We may add that the work to be done is much more extensive, and includes the collection of every variety of dialect of Modern Persian from the Ghalchul on the frontier

of Little Tibet and Cashmir, on the east, to the Kurdo-Persian dialects on the west; from the Semi-Balúch dialects of the southern Sea Coast to the Tajiks on the Jaxartes. This would indeed be an addition to linguistic knowledge.

M. Oppert explained the proper meaning of the words *Avesta* and *Zend*, and remarked that both words belonged to the old Persian of the inscriptions of the Achæmenides, and that neither appeared in the old Bactrian of the so-called *Zendavests*, and the sooner the wrong use of these terms is abandoned in scientific works the better. The language should be called the old Bactrian.

M. Sakhaui laid down a principle which we heartily endorse, and which we trust, the good sense of scholars and statesmen will support also, that when any language is illiterate, and possesses no peculiar written character of its own, in that case the Roman character of M. Lepsius' alphabet be adopted, or some equally satisfactory adaptation of the Roman character; but that, when a language has a character of its own, however inadequate it may appear to be to express the sounds, it should not be set aside for a European intruder, but that steps should be taken to improve it. It is quite another case when a people of their own choice accept the use of a new character, and of this we have instances in Europe, but what we object to is the forcing upon a people 'ab externo' a strange character, merely because it is theoretically, or even practically, more perfect as a representation of sounds. The sentiment, religious feelings, and habitudes of a nation have to be considered.

The section of Siberia, or Central Asia, was presided over by the great, and yet modest and unassuming, scholar, Vassilieff. After some remarks about the educational establishments in Siberia, which would sound like a foolish joke, if it were not too well known that the Russians never joke, Madame Fedschenko, the widow of the great traveller, in person, laid on the table of the Congress a specimen of the great work on the anthropology and ethnology of Eastern Asia, which is in course of publication. The first portion related to the Ainos, who inhabit one of the northern Islands of Japan, concerning whom more will be known now, since the Church Missionary Society has a Mission established among them.

M. Neumann then gave an account of the tribe called the Chogti, occupying the inhospitable regions of the extreme north, where the climate was so severe that there were few nights in the year without a frost. M. Sobruk, an Ostyak by birth, in the dress of his people, then addressed the Russian in Russian and described the ancient idols of the Ostyaks and Voguls, which,

though not now worshipped publicly, receive the private homage of nominal Christians. He enumerated the names of the different gods formerly worshipped. He was followed by Zyren-Mob Sakharoff, one of the principal chiefs of the Buriats, who was also dressed in the costume of his country, and spoke Russian. He dwelt beyond the Lake Baikal, and was a member of the great Mongol race, who are Buddhist in religion, and Nomads, inhabiting tents during the summer, and wooden houses, erected in spots suitable for pasturage, during the winter. They have turned to agriculture in a slight degree, but it is considered a good beginning. They have a certain amount of civilization and use both the Tibetan and Mongolian characters, and have lately begun to learn Russian. It was interesting to hear this specimen of Russian civilization of the East tell his story, and then to contrast him mentally with the ordinary type of Anglo-Bengali civilization turned out yearly in such numbers by our Colleges. England and Russia have both the great and noble task before them of enforcing peace among the countries of Asia, and introducing a new civilization. What kind of intellectual manufacture would the Russo-Bengali have been? and would the Anglo-Buriat have been the simple, honest creature who appeared before the Congress, improved no doubt by Russian culture, but not transformed and degraded?

Professor Vassilieff then undertook to throw light upon the important question propounded to the Congress, how it came about that Siberia had for two thousands years poured her population into Central Asia, and since the Russian occupation had ceased to do so. Vassilieff's explanation was original: he denied that Siberia ever had been the nursery of nations, but on the contrary, in his opinion, Siberia has been the asylum of nationalities driven from the south, and that from Mongolia, the north of China and the Altaic range, had gone forth the Huns, the Mongols and the Turks.

He then answered another question on the subject of the form of religious faith, called "Shamanism." He derived the word from the Sanskrit "Sramana," through the Chinese word "Shamyn." He admitted that some gave the word another derivation. It appeared that Shamanism was a form of Buddhism, but in direct antagonism to Lamaism. It is not possible to get more accurate details from the discursive remarks of the learned Professor.

The next section was that of Trans-Caucasia, under the presidency of the distinguished professor of Armenian, himself an Armenian by birth, Professor Patkhanoff. M. Berger laid before the Congress specimens of the songs of the Tartars of Azerbaijan in Persia, in the peculiar dialect of the Turki language. The

districts in which this dialect was spoken were carefully defined, and were partly in the Russian dominions. Selections of these songs were published at Leipzig in 1868.

An abstract was then read of the subject of a book laid before the Congress by an absent scholar, M. Schmidt, in which new and striking theories were broached: it was suggested that there was a possible connection between the Chinese and Egyptians, and that these latter had their cradle in Mesopotamia, whence they spread to the Persian Gulf, Arabia, Ethiopia and Egypt, whence again, in due time, their civilization was conveyed back to Syria and Assyria. The author proceeded further to hint at a connection between the aborigines of America, and the race above described. He concluded by hoping that the theories thus sketched out might be considered by learned Orientalists. The propounding of such theories, indeed, makes the hearer hold his breath for a time. M. Patkhanoff made a learned communication on the subject of the geography of Moses of Khorene.

M. Oppert took up the subject of the cuneiform inscriptions on the rocks of Van in Armenia, which have hitherto baffled the cunning of scholars. They are called Armeniac, and are totally unintelligible: one thing seems certain, that they have no connection with modern Armenian. Fortunately many of the signs are ideographic, which express ideas, and are independent of all language-sound, and these correspond to the Assyrian ideographs. We thus become aware that mention is made of so much silver and gold, so many oxen, etc., taken from an enemy; of a house and temple being built. It is hoped that the lucky chance of finding an inscription, or the happy divining rod of some scholar may reveal the mystery, and inform us of the details of a lost and long forgotten civilization of a race entirely passed away.

M. Eritsoff drew attention to the seven variations of written character used by the Armenians, whose alphabet dates back to the fifth century of our era. He mentioned also the abundance of Armenian manuscripts in the monastery of Etchmiadzin, which had been catalogued by Mr. Brosset: there are upwards of thirty-two thousand, although so many had perished.

M. Tsagarelli gave an account of the tales and fables in the Georgian language, which he had translated. He remarked on the number and importance of the poetic compositions in this language, many of them entirely indigenous and not borrowed from their more civilized neighbours. They will contribute greatly to the explanation of the connection betwixt the East and the West, occupying, as they do, a middle position. Another com-

munication was made on the subject of the laws of the Georgians, which appear to have been of a feudal character.

Hitherto, the sections had been divided by geographical limits. The section of Archæology and Numismatics embraced all time and space, and had an interest for all present.

M. Gorski Platanoff laid on the table some photographic specimen sheets of a Hebrew manuscript of the Pentateuch of the twelfth century, which is not a date of any peculiar antiquity; other memoirs were deposited, but not read. M. Lerch read a paper on the coins of a particular dynasty in Bokhara. The subject was most interesting, and the conclusions were most novel, but the argument was most intricate, and the president of the section, M. Oppert, very properly begged the learned scholar to give his conclusions, as a distinction must be drawn between papers fit to be read at a Congress, and others suitable to be printed for careful study afterwards. The distinction is most important, and the success of future congresses depends upon the protection given by the organizing committee from the tyranny of some scholars, who weary and disgust their audience. This remark does not apply to M. Lerch, one of the most agreeable of men; but his subject was so intricate, that until we have the official report, and his paper *in extenso*, we cannot venture precisely to define his theory.

M. Stickel exhibited an ingenious arrangement for holding coins, so that both sides could be inspected with convenience.

M. Lagus of Helsingfors, in Finland, then took up a most interesting subject. It was made more remarkable by being delivered in scholarly Latin, a usage which still clings to unhappy countries, which are not blessed with a language admitted into the clearing house of European literature. Finland is peculiarly unfortunate: their original language is Finnic, belonging to the same group as the Magyar and Turki, known as the Altaic family; over the Finnic, from long political domination, is the Swedish, and the Swedish colonists of Finland for many generations call themselves Finlanders, as distinguished from Fins proper: over the Swedes again, who speak Swedish, are the Russians. M. Lagus laid before the Congress the facts connected with the discovery of Cufic coins, and other Oriental antiquities in great quantities in Finland, and in the Islands of Aland, which occupy towards Finland the same position of depository of hidden treasures, that the Island of Gothland does to Sweden. No other explanation can be given of these discoveries except the existence of an extensive commerce in former ages and, what is most remarkable, this commerce must have extended to Lapland. It must have been owing to this commerce that the Arab geographers were able to describe these

distant regions. M. Stickel was fired by hearing the sound of scholastic Latin, and made an impromptu reply in the same language, and recommended its adoption, which is not the least likely to take place. The industry, which would be wasted on Latin had better be applied to the study of English, German, French, and Italian, any one of which are more intelligible, elegant, and better suited to the requirements of modern science.

M. Lieblein, of Christiania, in Norway, then read a paper upon the Khitas or Hittites, and the Rutenu, names which occur so often in Egyptian monuments. M. Harkavi made a communication on a similar subject. The same scholar also announced the publication, in the memoirs of the Imperial academy, of a paper on the subject of the ancient Hebrew monuments of the Crimea. Fortunately, he went no further, for he touched upon one of the burning subjects of Palæography, as the Karaite inscriptions are either most interesting and important chronological landmarks, or abominable forgeries. M. Harkavi is of the latter opinion, but M. Chwolson appeared to be of the former.

After some points of minor interest, a question of first rate importance was mooted by M. Terantieff, the Anglo-phobist, to whom we have above alluded: it really turned on this, whether greater faith should be placed on the dates derived from the examination of coins, than on monumental inscriptions and on chronicles. M. Terantieff quoted a case to prove that coins ought to be depended upon above all other evidence, but this does not dispose of the question, as it is notorious that coins were issued long after the death of the person whose superscription they bear. The section closed with a brief discussion about smaller questions; whether the word *Apiru*, used in Egyptian inscriptions, meant the Hebrews, whether the name *Musur* in Assyrian inscriptions meant always Egypt, which M. Oppert maintained that it did; and lastly, whether the Philistines were in very deed only an Egyptian military colony, as strongly insisted upon by M. Chwolson.

The last section was upon the religious and philosophic systems of the East, and was disappointing. A long paper was read by M. Mehren of Copenhagen, on the reform of the Mahomedan religion in the third century of the Hijrut, a subject of the least possible importance in the history of the world, and absolutely of no value at all when weighed in the balance with the great and awful questions of the religions of the East, anterior to, or coeval with, the dawning of Christianity.

M. Gubernatis of Florence opened out a vast question of the parallel of the *Biblic* cosmogony with that of the *Vedas*: we must await his arguments in detail.

At this moment, and just as M. Oppert was about to mount the rostrum to ride his usual hobby on the subject of the legends of the deluge, as derived from Cuneiform inscriptions, arrived, as by melodramatic arrangement, but by a mere chance, a telegram from London, announcing the death at Mosul of George Smith, the well-known decipherer of Cuneiform and other inscriptions, who was deputed to Nineveh to make further excavations in the company of a young Finlander, M. Eneberg, who had also succumbed to the climate. It was notorious that M. Oppert differed entirely from George Smith in his interpretations, but to him fell the duty of making an eulogium on his dead adversary, which he did with all the grandiloquence and empty phraseology of a Frenchman; he then proceeded to give his version of the Deluge tablets; he denied altogether the identification of Izdubar with Nimrod, maintaining that that latter word was not the representative of an individual, but of a people.

M. Miller of Moscow laid upon the table of the Congress his work on Aryan mythology, and started the bold theory that the so-called Vedic civilization of the first Aryan settlers of Northern India, far from being primitive, as was generally accepted to be the case, was, in fact, the result of much more ancient developments.

The last question was a singular one, considering that all subjects connected with the Christian religion were, by the very constitution of the Congress, rigorously excluded. M. Khyloff started the point, whether the literature published for the purpose of converting the Pagans of Siberia to the Christian religion should be in one of the Oriental literary languages, or in one of the popular vernaculars of the people. It seems scarcely credible, that a missionary should, for one instant, prepare to convert the rural population of Bengal by treatises in Sanscrit and Persian; yet this seems to be the drift of the argument. It appears that no less than a dozen works have been prepared and printed in the Mongol languages, and that portions of the New Testament have been translated, though not yet printed, but that the circulation of these books has been arrested by the missionaries on the (in the opinion of the speaker) frivolous pretence, that they were translated into a language not intelligible to the people. The Buriat have so many different dialects that they cannot understand each other; this would seem to indicate the necessity of different versions to suit each clan, or division, but the speaker argued that, as it was better for the Buriats to have a translation in the Mongol than in the Slave language, or to have none at all, therefore the objection of the missionaries should be set aside, and the Buriats be compelled

to learn the Mongol language so as to be able to be converted. This is but an additional instance of the extraordinary vagaries of the human intellect.

Thus the Congress of St. Petersburg closed. One duty remained to be discharged, which was to fix on a locality for the next congress. The presidents of sections met, and, as only one offer was made, that was accepted. The offer was from the Government of Italy, and the Syndicate of Florence, and a President and Committee of organization were appointed. The President of the Congress announced this fact to the members assembled, for the last time, and after a few words from M. De Rosny, the Congress was dissolved. It was a great and marked success. The official and full report, when it does appear, will be a mine of information on the subject of Russia in Asia, and all impartial observers will admit that Russia is doing its duty to science in these remote regions, and has already deserved thanks for the excellent work done, and the promise of greater things in progress. The presence of the Japanese, Buriats, Ostyaks, Finlanders, and Tartars, gave an oriental reality to the meeting, which can be found nowhere else but in London and at St. Petersburg, the two great Powers, who divide Asia betwixt them, and who, if they had respect to the high duties to which they are called, would swear eternal friendship, as there is room enough for both, and to spare.

Two years elapsed betwixt September 1876 and September 1878, years of great political anxiety; the storm which all visitors at the St. Petersburg Congress anticipated, burst upon Turkey, and there was a chance of a European war breaking out. All who were interested in the Congress of 1878, were anxious, and until the greater Congress of Berlin had cleared the political atmosphere, no preparations could be made for the peaceful meeting at Florence. However, all ended happily, and on the twelfth of September the fourth Congress was held at Florence, of which we will now give the account.

It differed materially from that of St. Petersburg. The arrangements were somewhat worse, but the attendance of scholars was out of all comparison, better. By a rigorous rule all ladies, and persons not *bonâ-fide* interested in oriental studies, were excluded. The subject-matter and geographical area were greatly modified. The sub-divisions were no longer geographical, but technical; the business was disposed of, not in one collective assembly, in which all participated, but in sections sitting in different rooms at the same time; the organization of sections and presiding officers was not based upon the autocratic power of a strong Italian Committee, but left to the uncontrolled exercise of universal

suffrage. Without the protection of a written constitution, or established precedents, the visitors felt, that they were among a people, new to the arts of self-government, jealous of official control, and not much gifted with the knack of providing beforehand for contingencies which must necessarily occur. A magnificent palace was indeed provided, refreshments suited to the intensely hot weather were thoughtfully handed round, amiability and courtesy, and a hearty welcome was shown to all, but it was clear that an organizing mind was absent, and a good deal of confusion, and waste of time ensued, for it is obvious that small parties of strangers from every part of Europe, suddenly brought together, required guidance from a benevolent, paternal authority, before they could properly discharge their duties. The Italians, like the other nations of Southern Europe, are justly described as *feminine*, from their lack of administrative capacity, and their sweetness of disposition.

Gradually light came out of darkness, and the following sections were formed :—

- I. North Africa : *viz.*, Egyptology and Khamitic.
- II. Ancient Semitic : *viz.*, Hebrew and Assyrian.
- III. Modern Semitic : *viz.*, Mahomedan, Arabic.
- IV. Indo-European and Iranian
- V. India : *viz.*, Southern Asia
- VI. Altaic : *viz.*, Northern Asia
- VII. Chinese, Indo-Chinese and Japanese : *viz.*, Eastern Asia.

On the whole, this distribution, though neither logical nor exhaustive, was the best that could be made with reference to the communications received, and the scholars who had attended, about one hundred and twenty in number. The next process was to invite these scholars to attach themselves to one or more sections, and then assembling in different rooms, proceed to the election by ballot of President, Vice-President and Secretary. This might, under some circumstances, have been a very delicate operation, but so complete was the self-abnegation of the amiable Italians, so abundant the presence of really great scholars, that no littleness of character was exhibited, and the operation was satisfactorily accomplished, without reclamation, or secession of any disappointed individual.

The Committee of organization had appointed delegates in every city in Europe, where there was a university, and any prospect of attention being paid to their invitation. Some countries sent national delegates. A great many learned societies were represented ; the Viceroy of British India sent a delegate specially from India ; a large number of books, maps, and manuscripts, and other objects of interest were exhibited in a very interesting museum. Much

private hospitality was not shown, but the delegates appointed by the Committee of organization, dined with the brother of the King of Italy, Amadeo, Duca d'Aosta, late King of Spain, in the Royal Palazzo Pitti, and all the members of the Congress dined with the Minister of Public Instruction in the provincial Palazzo Riccardi. Every gallery in the city was opened free of charge to the members of the Congress, and their friends. The great blot was, that no daily Bulletins, or orders of the day were issued, and no report of the work of the previous day—and as the Press was rigorously excluded, there was a general uncertainty as to the past, present, and future. The internal arrangement of the Congress being based upon the principle of division into sections, it soon became evident that there were seven congresses "*en seance*," and that it was impossible for individual members to attend more than two or three sections. This was a very serious drawback, and it was not until a week had elapsed after the close of the Congress that a "Bulletino" was issued, and a very meagre one when compared with those daily issued at St. Petersburg.

The Congress was opened in great state by Amadeo, Duca d'Aosta, who represented his brother the King of Italy, who would have been present but for the Annual Manœuvres of the army. All the members assembled in the Sala di Senato of the Palazzo Uffizi, and heard long speeches made, and a great many allusions to Italian independence, and the dynasty of Savoy.

We now turn to the *personelle* of this Congress. The President was Michell Amari, distinguished as a scholar and a patriot. He was assisted by Professor Ascoli of Milan, Commendatore Gaspare Gorresio of Turin, Severini, Lasinio, and Angelo di Gubernatis, of Florence, who was the life and soul of the Congress.

The official list, as finally settled, stood thus :—

- | | | | |
|--|--------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| I. Sec., North Africa, President, Maspéro (Egyptologist) (French). | | | |
| | V.P. | Sapéro (African) | (Italian). |
| | do. | Lieblein (Egyptologist) | (Norwegian). |
| | Secretary, Naville | Do. | (Swiss). |
| II. Sec., Ancient Semitic, President, Renan (Semitic) | | | (French). |
| | V.P. | Oppert | Do. |
| | do. | Merx | (German). |
| | Secretary, Perreau | Do. | (Italian). |
| | Do. | Socin | (German). |
| III. Sec., Mohamedan, President, Schéfer (Arabist) | | | (French). |
| | V.P. | Cusa | (Italian). |
| | do. | Mehren | (Dane). |
| | Secretary, Nahmias | Do. | (Italian). |
| IV. Sec., Indo-European, President, Benfey (Sanskritist) | | | (German). |

	V.P.	Ascoli	{ Comparative Linguist. }	(Italian).
		Secretary, Kerbaker	(Sanskritist)	(Italian).
V. Sec., Indian,		President, Roth	Do.	(German).
	V.P.	Weber	Do.	Do.
	do.	Flechia	Do.	(Italian).
		Secretary, da Cunha	Do.	(Indian).
		Do.	Pullé	Do. (Italian).
VI. Sec., Altaic,		President, Velaminoff	(Altaic)	(Russian).
	V.P.	Teza	Do.	(Italian).
	do.	Vambery	Do.	(Hungarian).
		Secretary, Donner	Do.	(Finlander).
VII. Sec., Chinese.		President, Legge	(Chinese)	(English).
	V.P.	Gabelentz	(Indo Chinese)	(German).
	do.	Andreozzi	(Chinese)	(Italian).
		Secretary, Cordier	Do.	(French).

Unquestionably this was a very strong cast, and there were men of great repute who were present, and yet left out of office, such as John Muir, Lenormant, DeRosny, Sayce, Beresine, Leitner, Weit, Dieterici, Chenery, Lagus, Justi Krehl, Rost, Cust, Seager, Hommel and others, who had held office in previous Congresses, written books of a certain degree of estimation, and otherwise devoted themselves to oriental subjects. In addition to these there were scholars of whom we shall hear again, Constantinesco, of Bucharest, Leland, Brandreth, and many others, chiefly Italians, of the numerous universities of that country.

We now proceed to notice in detail the work of the section, as far as the very insufficient *Bulletino*, and non-appearance of the official report, permit us.

The section of North Africa consisted of a harmonious little party of Frenchmen and Italians, with one Swiss, and one Norwegian, for both Germans and English were conspicuously absent from this section. Among the subjects discussed was that of the African races of the Blue Nile, and a subordinate question arose as to the extent to which the phonetic phenomenon known by the term "Click" prevailed, which is one of great interest, as though clicks prevail in the languages of South Africa, they are unknown, or at least unnoticed, in the languages of Central Africa, either on the east or west Coast, and yet here they appear again in the tribes north of the Equator. Discussions took place on Berber, and Egyptian inscriptions. M. Edouard Naville read a paper on the subject of the edition of the "Ritual of the Dead," with the preparation of which he had been charged at the second Congress in 1874. No doubt this section was a specimen of a really effective Congress, for the members were limited in number, all were

interested in the subjects raised, and the written communications were not so lengthy as to leave no time for oral discussions. One remarkable communication related to late discoveries of Egyptian remains, including images of gods, in Sardinia, and at Rome beneath the walls of Servius Tullius, thus indicating the existence of a civilization on the seven Hills of a date anterior to the date of 'Urbs Condita.'

The next section was that of ancient Semitic, and was enlivened by the eccentricities of the celebrated Assyriologist, M. Oppert. Nothing could exceed the gravity, dignity and grace, with which the illustrious Ernest Renan presided in this section; though not himself an Assyriologist, he had kept himself informed of the nature of each problem, as it arose, and on the Hebrew and Phœnician questions he was one of the greatest authorities. He read an interesting paper on the Phœnician inscriptions found in the temple of Abydos in Egypt. M. Lenormant read a paper on the myth of Tammuz, the well-known Adonis, as illustrated by Cuneiform inscriptions. M. Oppert discoursed at length on the sources of the chronology of Genesis. Professor Ascoli made an important communication on some Hebrew inscriptions lately found at Naples, which filled up a great gap in the catena of inscriptions about the tenth century. Professor Sayce described the cuneiform tablets, which are the most remarkable of the spoils lately brought home from Assyria and Babylonia. At one of the sittings the Minister of Public Instruction of the Italian kingdom, himself an old Professor, was present, and Professor Ascoli brought prominently to his notice the expediency of conducting further researches for monumental inscriptions in Italy. Another interesting feature was the display of the catalogues of Oriental manuscripts in the different Libraries of Italy, evidencing the great store of unknown literary treasure, and the great industry of Italian scholars, which has not hitherto been fully appreciated in Europe.

We cannot speak in praise of the proceedings of the third or Mahomedan Semitic section. It was composed of a very large number of members, and very illustrious ones, but the communications made, and the subjects discussed, were upon subordinate points, of the driest literary interest, such as would occupy the minds of dilettanti scholars, and would be passed over by the *bond-fide* scholar of this century. There was a singular absence from this section of any philological or archæological spirit; no allusion was made to the pre-Mahomedan Arabic, and Himyaritic inscriptions, or to the modern developments of the same great language. The report reads very much like that of a Congress of university tutors fifty years ago on the minutæ of the Greek and Latin languages, before the great light of

comparative Philology had dawned on the world, and taught scholars, that the words, of which sentences were composed, were as important, if not more so, than the ideas, which those sentences conveyed. Inscriptions on astrolabes of the middle ages, and the question whether Mahomet could read or write, were scarcely worthy of the time devoted to them; it was forgotten or unknown, that in the East, to this day, hearing and dictation so much supplies the place of reading and writing, and it is quite possible that the greatest of administrators and authors may have been deficient in both these accomplishments.

The fourth or Indo-European section supplied a great deal of interesting matter for subsequent reflection, and inquiry. M. Oppert showed in detail the process by which the Cuneiform alphabet was formed on the Acrostychic principle from the ideographic characters of the earlier Cuneiform syllabic and ideographic systems. Professor Schiefner, of St. Petersburg, one of the greatest of living scholars, made a communication of the highest interest, and replete with the greatest learning, on the subject of the Caucasian languages so little known, or appreciated. It was received by the section with the attention which it deserved, as marking a distinct advance in linguistic knowledge. A paper was read by Professor Pizzi of Parma on the appearance of the old Bactrian word "Karet" in the names of all cutting instruments in Europe. Of course without the whole text before us this assertion can only be taken upon trust. A communication was made by Doctor Balbu Constantinesco, a resident of Wallachia, on the subject of the language spoken by the Zingari, or Gypsies, of Romania, and he laid on the table a copy of his lately published treatise on the subject. This is a subject of interest to all Indian Philologists. Mr. Charles Leland, better known as Hans Breitman, read a paper on the language of the English Gypsy, which he unhesitatingly affiliates to the Hindi. Professor Ascoli had also devoted much attention to this subject, and an interesting discussion might have ensued between the Englishman, Romanian, and Italian, but they had unfortunately no common medium of exchanging ideas.

An equally interesting subject was started by Mr. Edward Brandreth, late of the Bengal civil service, which, though not entirely original in conception, as it is shadowed out in the admirable comparative grammar of the Neo-Aryan languages by Mr. Beames of the civil service, has never been thoroughly worked out. In the same way as the Sanskrit language, when it ceased to be a colloquial medium, was replaced by a group of Sanskritic, or Neo-Aryan, Vernaculars, the well-known Hindi, Bengali, Maráthi, &c., &c.; the Latin language, when it ceased to be a living

speech, was replaced by the group of Romance Vernaculars, Italian, Spanish, French, Wallachian, &c., &c.; but the curious feature is, that in no other case but these two instances has such a replacement of a dead mother by living daughters taken place, and in both these groups the same linguistic expedients to effect the transition from a Synthetic to an Analytic language can be traced, and more than this, certain languages of each group seem to have undergone analogous phonetic influences, *viz.*, the Sindhi and the Italian, the Hindi and the French, and so on. This was the last business of this most important section in its regular sittings, but a special meeting was held in one of the rooms of the museum of the Congress to meet Dr. Leitner, the delegate of British India, the nature of whose communication was most interesting. Dr. Leitner was the only member of the Congress, who could speak the four great languages of Europe with equal fluency; on this occasion he commenced with English, and turned off to Italian; he had brought with him a selection of the Greek antiquities which he had disinterred in the Trans-Indus portion of the Punjab province, upon which, and upon the archaic form of speech spoken by the hill people, he based certain theories regarding the connection of the Indian and Greek mythology. He called these antiquities Græco-Buddhist. A wish was expressed by the meeting that the Government of India should publish a description of all the monumental remains which have been discovered.

In the fifth, or Indian section, the company was small and select; perhaps so many Sanskrit scholars of repute were never before collected in so small a room. Professor Rudolph Roth, of Tübingen, read a most interesting paper on a lately discovered manuscript of the Atharvan Veda in Kashmir, in the Sârada variation of the Indian written character peculiar to that valley. He remarked that the discrepancies between this and other manuscripts, were very marked, and that this discovery was most important, as it showed that a totally distinct recension existed of the Veda, as it does also of the Heroic poem, the Ramáyana.

On the second day Dr. Gerson da Cunha, a Brahmin by birth, but of a Christian family for many generations, in the Portuguese settlement of Goa, read a paper on the subjects of the labours of the Portuguese scholars of Goa in the Sanskrit language, and that form of the Neo-Aryan speech called Konkani, which has hitherto been classed as a dialect of Maráthi, but for which da Cunha claimed a separate existence as a language, in which Sanskrit, Latin and Dravidian elements were remarkably blended owing to the geographical position of the people.

Mr Robert Cust, late of the Bengal Civil Service, and now Honorary Librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society, then placed in the hands of Professor Pullé, the Secretary of the section, a paper in the Italian language prepared by himself on the non-Aryan language of British India, and the adjoining Independent States. This paper was prepared in Italian under the idea, that the Congress would meet in full session, and out of compliment to the country, where the Congress was held; but it so happened that with the exception of the writer, two or three Italians, and Dr. Leitner, no one present understood Italian, so the reading of the paper fell very flat. It was designed to draw attention to the five families of languages spoken in British India, in addition to, and independent of, the great Aryan family, *viz.*, the Dravidian, Kolarian, Tibeto-Burman, Tai, and Mon-Anam, comprising scores of languages and dialects, spoken by millions. Mr. Cust, remarking that his Italian paper had not been understood, addressed the section in English, and went over the names of the distinguished scholars who had, by their works published at different times and places, and by contributions to different periodicals during the last quarter of a century, enabled him to compile a good deal of information regarding the modern languages of the East Indies. He remarked that what English scholars had done, they had done from a simple sense of duty to the great kingdom which Providence had placed in their charge, but that the contributions of the scholars of the nations of Europe were labours of pure love to science, and had not been requited with the praise which they deserved.

Dr. Reinholdt Rost, Librarian of the India office, then moved that an address be forwarded to the Viceroy of India, praying that encouragement be given to the publication of the second volume of the *Ayecn Akbari*. The Rev. Mr. Long, an old missionary of Bengal, moved that another address be presented, praying that measures be taken to collect the proverbs of the Indian People.

In the Altaic section, notwithstanding that so many distinguished scholars were present, to the surprise of all there was but little business disposed of. Professor Arminius Vambery, of Buda-Pesth, read a paper on the primitive culture of the Turco-Tartar race, which may be interesting when we know what his conclusions are. Professor Donner, of Helsingfors in Finland, discussed the question of the connection of the Finnic with the Samoiedic language. In the absence of legitimate material for this section, an Italian section had the audacity to read a paper on an American language, which did not fall within the scope of an oriental Congress, and which should not have been allowed a hearing.

The Chinese section was the last. Professor Legge, of Oxford, read an address on the state of Chinese studies, and what was wanting

to complete the analysis of the Chinese written characters. The learned Professor was master of two living languages only, English and Chinese, but as they did not go far as media of communication to a German, and Italian audience, he made his opening address in Latin, and as regards his valuable paper we must await the publication of the official report. M. Leon de Rosny of Paris, the founder of the International Congresses, found himself robbed of his position as president of the Japanese, or extreme Orient section, by the absence of any other scholars. He made an interesting communication on some affinities between the Indo-Chinese and Malayan races, drawn from Chinese writers. Mr. Wylie, the agent for the British and Foreign Bible society in China, read a paper on the subjugation of ancient Corea. Professor Von Gabelentz entered upon the subject, so interesting, and as yet so little understood, of the connection betwixt the so-called Indo-Chinese languages.

Many papers of less interest were read, some with scanty, and others with no discussion at all. It might have been an economy of time, that such should only be printed in the report. The papers of absent members were in some cases read by persons, who knew nothing of the subject, and on the other hand, some person actually present could not get the opportunity to read their papers. Much might have been done, had there been a competent Committee of selection. Thus ended the fourth Congress as regards its work in session. On the last day they again assembled in the Sala di Senato, in the Palazzo Uffizi, and were addressed by the President, and Secretary; the butter-boat went freely round after the fashion of the Latin races, for M. Ernest Renan, a Frenchman, undertook, on his own responsibility, to give back to the managing Committee in French an amount of fulsome flattery, and undeserved eulogium, of equal weight and thickness with that which had been bespattered on the Congress in Italian. It was much to be regretted, as it gave an air of unreality to the whole meeting.

The heat was intense, and the members were longing to be off by the train, but two other matters had to be disposed of. By the organic rules the place of meeting of the next Congress, and the time; and the Committee of organization had to be named. Great difficulties were contemplated and may still arise. The great German nation, so prolific of scholars, could no longer be passed over, and yet no Frenchman would go to Berlin. An attempt has been made to get over this difficulty by putting off the next meeting till 1881, an interval of three years, and naming Germany as the field, while leaving the choice of place, and the direction to the German oriental society, under tacit understanding that some towns of Saxony, probably Dresden, will be selected.

The other point was to announce the decision of the judges as to the prize awarded by the Italian Government for the best Essay on "The Vicissitudes of Aryan culture in India"; six were admitted to compete, after the exclusion of others for some informality, and prizes of different values were given to four, among whom we gladly find two natives of India, who are Hindus, and Dr. Gerson da Cunha, a member of the Congress.

The very incomplete and unsatisfactory *Bolletino* has not enabled us to do any sort of justice to the work of this Congress, and the neglect is quite inexcusable; there were Secretaries in every Congress, really efficient men, chosen for the purpose; the aid of a short-hand writer would have enabled them to draw up a short, but sufficient, resumé of what was said, and read, which should have been at once printed, while the interest in the Congress was warm. Instead of this, the most meagre statements were accepted from the Secretaries, merely noting the names of the persons who read papers, and intimating that there was discussion. A thick volume was made up of unsatisfactory padding, such as the long speeches of the President and Secretary, the catalogue of the contents of the museum, and what was most objectionable, a list of the works of each member of the Congress, as far as the data at the disposal of the editor, enabled them to make one. This Bibliographical appendix seems like a bitter satire. It is not the greatest scholars, and the greatest authorities, that have published the greatest number of fugitive contributions to contemporary literature. Three pages are barely sufficient to contain the name of the works of that worthy and amiable man, Professor Lagus of Helsingfors in Finland, a province of Russia, who, until these Congresses, was unknown beyond Finland; one-third of a page is sufficient to chronicle the works of Professor Legge, Roth, and Vambéry, whose works science would not willingly allow to die; less than three lines suffice for Sapéto, Schiaparelli and Gaspar Gorresio, the last of whom will not be forgotten while the study of the Sanskrit language lives.

We wish well to future International Oriental congresses. It is well now and then to take stock of our progress and shortcomings, it is well that scholars, too apt to quarrel at a distance, should meet now and then, shake hands, and find what good fellows they are, though one in the opinion of the other has failed in a particular translation, or is mad for propounding a particular theory. We hope to live to attend the Congress in Germany, and write an account of it in this Review. No one, we think, can read the above lines without feeling that the world does indeed move; that knowledge is advancing with rapidity and certainty. London: 1878.

ART. III.—ORIENTAL HUMOUR ILLUSTRATED BY ANECDOTES.

THE Arabs appear to be of a serious disposition and not addicted to joking ; they nevertheless have professional storytellers who indulge in a good deal of fun, and from many of the stories in the "Thousand and one Nights" it would appear that wit and humour were appreciated, although much of both is naturally lost when rendered in different phraseology and in another language. The character of the Persians is more gay, and has in some measure justified the assertion made by some travellers, that they are, as far as their humorous disposition is concerned, with reference to other Asiatics what the French or Italians are among European nations, namely, a people addicted to amusement and humour. The Persians have also their *Polichinelle*, *Pulcinello* ; the *Punch* of the English, who has been domiciled among them from the highest antiquity ; especially among the Nomads of Turkish origin, whose puppet-show bears the name of *Karaguez* (black eye). The Persian Punch is called *Ketchel Pehleván* or bald hero ; his distinctive attribute being baldness, as the hump is that of *Polichinelle*. *Ketchel Pehleván* pretends to be a devotee, a man of letters and even a poet, which everybody is, more or less, in Persia. His favourite occupations are to deceive the Mollahs and to court the ladies. M. Chodiko in his "Théâtre Persan" favours us with the following description of a scene in the Persian puppet-show :—

Ketchel Pehleván pays a visit to an *Akhond* (Chief of a parish). The manner in which he presents himself, already excites the gaiety of the public. Nobody would recognize *Ketchel*, if it were not for his baldness ; his demeanour is that of a most pious Moslem. He might serve as the model of a *Sheikh-ul-Islám* (Arch-Mollah). He only sighs, prays, and recites verses of the *Qorán*, which he utters with the correct pronunciation of the rough Arabic gutturals, betraying no accent, and committing no fault ; like a true disciple of the best Arabic scholars of the land. They recite together the rosary ; they pray fervently. *Ketchel Pehleván* talks divinity and is acquainted with the sacred traditions ; he is a narrator, and recites legends ; he lays particular stress on the tenets which prove the excellence of tithes, and the virtue of alms. Prosperity to the *Zekát* (tithes) and to the *khayrát* (voluntary alms) ! The *Akhond* is full of admiration. But this is not all ; *Ketchel* is a poet who knows by heart all the mystic verses, in which, under the profane curtain of wine and love, the secrets of Providence, the

mysterious breath whereof imparts life to every existence in the world, are extolled. He speaks of the delights reserved for Moslem Saints. He sings of paradise with its repasts, its fine wines and its Húris with fawn-like eyes; the Akhond is in ecstasy. Our two Saints forget themselves; they enjoy already a foretaste of paradise, and sniff the odour of the game, said to be laid out all roasted on the branches of the trees which overshadow the denizens of that Elysiac abode. Ketchel and the Akhond begin to feel extremely comfortable; they dance; they first drop the rosary, then the Qorán; they drink; they become intoxicated, as by some accident they discover a few bottles of most excellent Shiráz wine and a guitar, in the recess of a niche in the Akhond's apartment. This scene of the Moslem Tartuffe is very comic.

Ketchel Pehleván is the personification of the people of Erán a people superior to its neighbours in civilisation, but nevertheless incessantly subjugated. The Persians succumbed to Alexander, then to the Arabs, and lastly to the Mongols; the two latter conquests, having been more lasting than the first, ended with an amalgamation, whereby the vanquished became the vanquishers, and imposed their manners, their language and their literature on the conquerors.

Besides the puppet-shows the Persians have, like the Indians, their wandering minstrels, musicians and jugglers, who also perform farces to make the spectators laugh. The following is the outline of such a farce, as given by M. Chodiko, and called "The Gardeners":—

The theatre purports to represent a garden. The two gardeners make their appearance very scantily dressed, and almost in a state of nudity. The elder of the two, whose name is Baghir, has a nice daughter whom he keeps shut up in his zenanah. The younger gardener, Nejef by name, is poor, but active and cunning, like a true Persian. The two neighbours commence by discussing the excellence of the fruits of their gardens. "The pulp of these causes the whitest sugar-candies to become pale with jealousy." "The velvety skin of these is soft to the touch like the down which covers the cheeks of a beauty fifteen summers old, &c." The dispute ends with a combat in which the two gardeners use not only their fists but also their spades, and the spectators are ready to burst with laughter. At last Baghir is knocked down and acknowledges himself vanquished. Peace is concluded, and Baghir proposes to his neighbour "to extinguish the flame of discord by potations of a juice, which some bad jokers pretend to have been forbidden by the prophet." They rail at the Mollah of the parish, applying to him the distich, "Thou drinkest the blood of thy neighbour, whilst I quench

my thirst with the blood of the grape ; put thy hand on thy heart, and say, which of us two is the more sanguinary ?" Baghir looses his purse-strings and produces the money required for defraying the cost of the banquet. Nejef hastens to fetch the wine. Baghir recalls him and tells him not to forget to bring some roast lamb cutlets. Nejef goes away, Baghir, however, again shouts after him, and this game is continued, until Nejef, exhausted with fatigue, without having received all his instructions, but unable to resist the temptation of receiving still more, resolves at last to stop his ears and runs away. Baghir, who has remained alone, now prepares himself for the breakfast like a good Musalmán. He gravely performs his ablution, mimicking all the rites the Mollahs are in the habit of practising before their meals. The scene terminates with a banquet, which Nejef enlivens by playing on the guitar. The two neighbours drink copiously. The skill of the performance and the comicality of the scene consists in the imitation of all the symptoms of progressive intoxication. In Persia, where no public wine shops exist, and the people are very sober, this scene is very funny to the beholders. Now Baghir falls asleep ; and Nejef whose drunkenness was but a lover's trick, runs to the gardener's daughter to enjoy his victory.

Husayn Váa'z Káshefy, best known by his edition of the Anvari Subayly which is more elegant than the ancient ones, also collected humorous and other anecdotes, which he wrote down A. H. 939. (A. D. 1532-33) under the title of *Lutayf-ul-Zurayf*.* Like a good Musalmán and preacher (Váa'z) the compiler first shows that joking is lawful, and that the prophet himself not only indulged in fun, but also allowed those with whom he was on familiar terms, such as his children, wives, and companions, to do so in his presence ; and then begins his anecdotes, many of which appear, however, not to be worth noticing. Such as are of any interest will now be given, omitting, however, the Esnád, or authorities, by which their authenticity is supported, as the mere quotation of names would here be out of place.

One day the prophet and A'ly were eating dates together, and the former, whilst doing so, managed gradually to place all the kernels near the latter, but none near himself ; then he said by way of a joke :—" Who has many kernels is a glutton ;" but A'ly retorted :—" Who eats also the kernels is a glutton."

In a campaign a man asked the prophet for a camel to ride upon. Muḥammad replied " I shall give thee the foal of a she camel." The man said :—" O prophet of God ! what can I do with foal of a camel ? I want a camel which may carry me." The

* Described in my "*Catalogue raisonné of the Mulla Firuz Library*," p. 203. Bombay : 1873.

prophet smiled and said :—" Is there any camel which is not the foal of a she camel ?" and gave him a strong animal.

Once a woman came to the prophet and informed him that her husband desired to see him. He asked :—" Who is thy husband ? is he the man who has whiteness in his eyes ?" She replied " No, indeed." The prophet replied :—" There is no man but has whiteness in his eyes."

There is an authentic tradition that Cefyah, the daughter of A'bd-ul-Mutalleb, and aunt of the prophet, paid him one day a visit, and said :—" O ! prophet, pray that I may enter paradise," but he replied jokingly to the effect that old women do not enter paradise. Accordingly she wept and left him ; but he smiled and said, " Inform her that old women will first be changed into young ones, and will then enter paradise." Then he recited the verse, " Verily we have created *the damsels of paradise* by a *peculiar* creation ; and we have made them virgins" (Qorán LVI, 34-35).

Dohák B. Sofyán Kellály, a valiant man, and chieftain of his tribe, but of ugly countenance, had come to profess his allegiance to Muhammad at a time when the verse about the veiling of women had not yet been revealed. On that occasion he beheld A'áysbah sitting by the side of the prophet, and said :—" There are more beautiful women than this one who is sitting by thy side ; leave her and take one of them." Hereon A'áysbah asked him :—" Is thy wife more handsome than thyself ?" Sofyán replied :—" No, indeed ; I am more beautiful." The prophet smiled at this conversation.

A'ly happened once to walk with two of the great companions who were at the same time also very tall, having one of them on his right and the other on his left side. One of them said by way of a joke :—" Thou art between us, like the letter *nún* in *laná* [لنا]" but A'ly replied, " If it were not for the *nún*, *laná* would be *lá* [*i. e.*, *nothing*]."

No'ymán B. O'mar Ancary, one of the old companions who had fought at Bedr, was noted for his humorous disposition, and many anecdotes are written about him. One of them is as follows :—Once he travelled to Boçrah for trading purposes, and Sowybat B. Hurmalah, who had likewise been present at Bedr, was engaged by one of the great companions to take care of his goods, provisions, and cattle, during the journey. Sowybat's complexion was very dark ; and one day, when their caravan halted, No'ymán approached him, saying :—" I am hungry, give me some food of whatever is ready ;" but Sowybat replied :—" I shall not give any without the permission of its owner." No'ymán replied :—" I shall punish thee for this." Accordingly he went to a tribe camping in the vicinity and said,

"I have a slave who has a bad tongue and retorts; for this blemish I desire to sell him." Then he pointed out to them Sowbybat from a distance, and continued:—"O men! he is a jabbering slave, and you must not mind his asserting that he is free-born and a free man; if you do, I shall not deal with you." They said:—"Be easy on that point; we shall pay no attention to what he says." Accordingly they bought him in exchange for some young camels, and proceeded to take possession of him. It may be supposed that he struggled not a little in endeavouring to retain his liberty; but he was overpowered, tied with ropes, and carried off to the tribe. When the above-mentioned great companion returned to the halting place of the caravan and could not find Sowbybat, he asked for him. Several other men of the caravan then came forward and informed him amidst great laughter, of what had happened; he also laughed and went with them to the tribe, where he explained that the slave they had bought was no other than Sowbybat B. Hurmalah, one of the warriors who had fought at Bedr. They took back their camels with which they had purchased Sowbybat, and allowed him to depart. When the travellers returned to Madynah they informed the prophet of what had happened; he smiled, and his companions joked with each other about this event for a whole year.

Zamakhshary, in his book "*Rabi'-ullabrâr*," mentions, that No'ymân was one of the most funny companions, and that he daily paid a visit to the prophet, who smiled at his jokes. The same author also narrates, that one day a noble Arab happened to be the guest of the Emâm Hasan B. A'ly. After partaking of food he wished to drink, and, on being asked what beverage he desired to have, he said:—"The drink which is the most precious of beverages when it cannot be had." Hereon the Emâm said to an attendant:—"Give him water." All who were present admired the Emâm's acuteness.

Having given traits of humour which are on record of the early period of Islâm, we shall now proceed to narrate some of later times:—

Khwâjah Ahmad Khwâfy, the grand vizier of Mirza Shâhbrokh, was one day sitting in full Divân, when a letter was brought to him. He opened the seal and began to read it. When he arrived at his own name and titles, a bird, hovering above his head, dropped something like a big dot from the air upon the writing; whereon Khwâjah Sherf-al-din Muhammad said:—"When the names of the pious are mentioned, gifts of mercy alight on them."

One of the Khalifs asked his vizier:—"Where hast thou been, O Hâmâm?" which being the name of Pharaoh's vizier, he replied:—

"To build a tower for thee,"—in analogy with the expression of the Qorán, XL. 38, "O Hámám, build me a tower;" and the Khalif was not a little astonished at the repartee.

A king said to one of his courtiers :—"Write down the names of all the fools in this town." The courtier replied :—"I shall do so on condition that your Majesty's wrath be not kindled on account of any name that I may write." He agreed, and the first name the courtier wrote was that of the King himself. "If you cannot show that I am a fool," said the King, "I shall punish you." The courtier replied :—"Your Majesty has entrusted a servant whose name is A. B., and who has neither kin nor property of any kind in this country, with a cheque for a thousand gold dinárs. Now, if he cashes that sum and flees to another country where he cannot be apprehended, what will your Majesty say?" The King replied :—"If the man does not betray the confidence I reposed in him, and faithfully arrives with the money, what will you say?" The courtier replied :—"In that case I shall expunge your Majesty's name from the list of fools and substitute his own."

Mulláná Báshá, who was a courtier in attendance on the Sultán, Abu Sáyd, when Myrak A'bd-ul-Rahym engaged the latter in conversation in an assembly and cracked jokes. Turning round, he observed :—"His Majesty says that he can make a Mulláná from dirt." The Mulláná rejoined :—"This you, no doubt, know by your own experience." The reply pleased the Sultán so much that he made a present of money to the Mulláná, and Myrak A'bd-ul-rahym was ashamed.

Once a general reviewed his army, mounted on a charger as fleet as lightning. All of a sudden he perceived a trooper sitting on a feeble horse, and approaching the man angrily, ordered him to be dragged off his horse. The trooper laughed, and, on being asked for the reason, said :—"I am laughing in astonishment at your anger and command; as I am mounted on an instrument of permanency, but you on an instrument of flight, and you blame me." The General, pleased with this sally, promoted him to the rank of serjeant.

A soldier who was in the habit of frequenting a bath, said every time he left it, to the bathman :—"I have lost an article of my dress; either produce it, or pay for it," creating at the same time much noise and confusion. He also quarreled with the bathman, the barber, and the shampooer, before he paid them and left the bath. He became so well known for this propensity that he was at last refused admittance at every bath. Having thus been brought to his senses, he again went to the bath, and made a solemn promise that he would no more accuse any one of theft, and would, in future, willingly pay to every one his due. The bathman brought several men to be witnesses to this compact,

and the soldier was allowed to enter. The bathman, however, ordered the keeper of the loin-clothes to conceal all the garments of the soldier, but not his sword. When the soldier came out from the bath, he perceived that his clothes were missing, but dared not say anything, as the witnesses were present. Also the loin-cloth-keeper took off the loin-cloth from the body of the soldier, who was now perfectly naked, and, girding the sword on his nude body, he thus addressed the bathman :—"I myself say nothing, and you must tell me whether I came in this state to the bath?" Now all the by-standers laughed; the clothes were returned to the soldier, and the owner of the place gave him permission to bathe gratis once a week.

The horse of a trooper having been stolen, one man said to him :—"It is your fault, why have you not tied up your horse properly?" Another said :—"It is the fault of your servant, who had left the stable-door open." The trooper replied :—"It is all our fault, and no fault of the thief."

At the time when Mo'avyah was the governor of Syria, he once said in an assembly where many great men from the Hejáz and from E'rák were present, and among them also O'kayl B. Aby Táleb :—"O ye people of Syria, of the Hejáz, and of E'rák, have you ever heard the verse, *The hands of Abu Saheb shall perish, and he shall perish* (Qorán CXI)?" They said :—"Yes," and he continued :—"Abu Saheb is the uncle of O'Kayl." Then O'Kayl said :—"O ye people of Syria, of the Hejáz, and of E'rák, has the verse reached you? *And his wife also, bearing wood, having on her neck a cord of twisted fibres of palm tree*?" They said :—"Yes." And he continued :—"This bearer of wood is the aunt of Mo'avyah." Then the latter repented of his jocularities, and was confused.

An Arab came to the Khalif of the period, saying that he desired to go on pilgrimage. The Khalif approved of his intention as a blessed one, and as a duty; quoting the verse, "*And it is a duty towards God, incumbent on those who are able to go thither, to visit the house*" (Qorán III. 91), and recommending him to set out on his journey at once. The Arab replied that he had not the means; neither provisions, nor a camel. "In that case," said the Khalif, "you are excused from going on pilgrimage, because it is incumbent only on those who are able to go. Be easy therefore, because you avoid all the troubles of the journey." The Arab, being thus put down, exclaimed :—"O Khalif! I have come to ask aid from you, and not a Futwa (judicial decision), or a sermon." The Khalif laughed and presented him with 1,000 Dirhems.

An Arab, happening to be present at the Khalif's table when the dish called herysah was brought, the Khalif made him the com-

panion of his plate. As all the gravy happened to be on the side of the Khalif, and that of the Arab was quite dry, he made with his finger an opening in the herysah confining the gravy, so that it flowed towards him. Hereon the Khalif recited the verse *Hast thou made a hole therein, that thou mightest drown those who are on board?* (Qorán XVIII. 70) but the Arab promptly replied :—*And we drive the same unto a dead country.* (XXXV. 10).

An Arab was giving evidence for the plaintiff in a case before the Kády. The defendant, wishing to impugn his testimony, asserted that the Arab, although a wealthy man, had infringed a duty of religion by not going on pilgrimage, and that therefore his evidence could not be reliable. The Arab denied the accusation, and mentioned the date on which he had performed the pilgrimage. The Kády said :—“If you speak the truth, tell us where Zemzem is?” The Arab replied :—“He is a respectable old man, who is always sitting at the gate of A’rafát.” The Kády rejoined :—“O ignorant man, Zem-zem is a well from which water is drawn, and A’rafát a desert without gate or wall;” but the Arab continued undaunted :—“At the time when I was there, the well had not yet been dug, and A’rafát was a garden with a gate and wall.”

A hungry Bedawy Arab arrived from the desert near a spring of water. There he beheld another Arab, taking from a bag pieces of meat and bread with which he regaled himself; accordingly he sat down opposite to him. Whilst the Arab was eating, he looked up, and, on perceiving another sitting opposite to him, he said :—“O brother! where do you come from?” The Bedawy replied :—“From your tribe;” then the following conversation ensued :—“Q. Have you passed near my habitation?” A. Yes, I found it well kept, and in good condition. Q. “Have you seen my dog, whose name is Bekíaa?” A. “Yes, he takes wonderful care of your flock, and no wolf can approach it nearer than a mile.” Q. “Have you seen my son Kháled?” A. “He was sitting in the school by the side of the master, and reading the Qorán aloud.” Q. “Have you seen the mother of my son?” A. “In the whole encampment there is no woman perfect like her in modesty, beauty and cleanliness.” Q. “Have you seen my water-drawing camel?” A. “It looks very fresh and fat, so that it resembles a mountain.” Q. “Have you seen my castle?” A. “The hall of it reaches Saturn, and I have never seen a place higher than it.” After the Arab had thus made enquiries about his family, and ascertained that no mishap had befallen it, he ate his meat and bread with great complacency, but gave nothing to the Bedawy; and, after completing his repast, he tied up his bag again. When the Bedawy perceived that the pleasing information given by him had produced no effect, he was disappointed. A dog happened just then to pass by, and the Arab, throwing him a bone, got up, in order

to take his bag and to depart. The Bedawi, who was now fully aware of his disappointment, said : " If your dog Bekáa were alive, he would resemble this one." Q. " Is my dog Bekáa dead ?" A. " Yes, he died in my presence, may your life be perpetual." Q. " What was the reason of its death ?" A. " It had eaten too much of the lungs of your water-drawing camel." Q. " What calamity had befallen my water-drawing camel that the dog ate its lungs ?" A. " It was slaughtered for the mortuary repast at the death of Khaled's mother." Q. " Is the mother of Khaled dead ?" A. " Yes." Q. " What was the reason of her death ?" A. " Her excessive lamentation ; she went to the sepulchre of Khaled, and so struck her head against it, that she broke it and spilled her brains." Q. " Is also Khaled dead ?" A. " The castle and the hall which you had built, were overthrown by an earthquake, and your son was buried under the ruins which had fallen on him." At these words the Arab threw down his provision bag, and went away lamenting his misfortunes. The Bedawi now snatched up the bag, and feasted on the meat and bread left therein.

An Arab, being asked why his people called their children *Lion*, *Dog* (Asad, Kalb), and their servants *happy*, *blessed* (Sa'd, Mubárack), replied :—" We give names to our children for our enemies, and to our servants for ourselves.

On being asked whether he knew the names of the stars, an Arab replied : " Is there any one who knows the names of the sticks of his roof ?"

A pious, worthy, and learned man presented himself at the door of an avaricious rich fellow, and said :—" I am informed that you have assigned a portion of your wealth to meritorious persons, and I am a deserving man, but in a state of destitution." The rich man said : " My charities are intended for the blind, and you are not one of them." He continued, " You are mistaken ; because I am really a blind man, inasmuch as I have turned away my face from the Nourisher of all creatures, and have applied to an avaricious person like you." These words made such an impression on the rich man, that he ran after the poor fellow and requested him to accept his bounty, but he was unsuccessful in his efforts.

Mulláná Kutb-al-dyn was one day walking in the street, when a man, happening to fall on his neck from the top of a house, injured it, so that he was laid up in his bed for several days. Some of his friends paid him a visit of condolence, and asked him how he felt. He replied, " How would you have me to feel ? One man falls from a roof, and I must suffer for it." On another occasion he assembled a number of Jews, and asked them whether they knew that he was a learned man and a pillar of Islám. They replied that they consi-

dered him to be the paragon of the times. Hereon he proposed to them that if they would during forty days serve him well, and feed him on the best of viands, he would make a profession of their religion and become a pillar of it. They assented, and after they had during forty days provided him with most excellent food, they reminded him of his promise. He then demanded ten days more, to which they likewise agreed. After the expiration of this time, all the priests and great men of the Jews assembled around the Mullá, and reminded him of his promise, as well as of the impossibility of any further procrastination. They, however, received only the following reply :—"O Jews ; you are great fools ! I am now eating 50 years the food, and drinking the drink of Musalmáns, and wearing the dress of Musalmáns, but have not yet become a [perfect] Musalmán. How could I in fifty days, during which I have eaten your food, have become a Jew ?" They went away disappointed, and repented of what they had done to serve him.

A man went to a Faḳih (lawyer) and said to him "I am the husband of a beautiful wife, to whom I am greatly attached ; she is, however, of weak constitution, has no strength to leaven and to bake bread, to cook food, to wash clothes, and to sweep the house. I am, moreover, too poor to buy a slave-girl ; accordingly I desire to marry a second wife who can perform all these services. I have actually in view such a wife ; but her relatives insist on my first divorcing the one with whom I am now living. I have come to ask you by what stratagem I may obtain possession of this second wife, without divorcing my beloved one." The Faḳih replied, "You must take your wife to the cemetery, and when you are required to divorce her, you must say that you have no other wife except her who is in the cemetery. This will induce the people to believe that your first wife has died, and the relatives of the intended one will allow you to marry her." The man acted up to this advice and was successful.

When the Amyr Taymúr Kurkán [Tamerlane] had conquered the province of Fars, had entered Shyráz, and had slain the Sháh Mancur, he called for the poet Háfez. Accordingly Zayn-al-a'abedyn Roknábúdy, who was in great favour with Taymúr, as well as a disciple of Háfez, brought him into the presence of the Amyr. When the poet, who looked very poor and emaciated, made his appearance, Taymúr said to him "I have ruined the whole earth with my scimitar, in order to enrich Samarkand and Bokhárá, whilst you give both of them away merely for a black mole, saying in a distich :—

"If that Turk of Shyráz will take possession of our heart,
I shall for her black mole, give Samarkand and Bokhárá."

Háfez replied, "It is this liberality of mine, which has brought on me all this poverty." At these words the Amyr Taymúr laughed and appointed a stipend for Háfez.

A wit approached the house of a miser and saw him through a chink in the door, with a plate of figs before him, which he was consuming with great relish. The wit knocked at the door, whereon the miser quickly concealed the dish of figs under the table-cloth, and opened the door. The wit entered, saluted, and took his seat. Being asked who he was and what trade he pursued, he replied, "I know the Qorán by heart, can recite it in ten different ways, and have a pleasing voice." "Then, recite some verses of the Qorán," said the miser. Accordingly the wit recited:—"And the olive; and by mount Sinai (Qorán XCV)," omitting the first words, "By the fig." The miser asked, "Where is the fig?" The man replied:—"Under your table-cloth."

A barber, shaving one day a gentleman's head, happened accidentally to cut it a little. Hereon the Khwájah said:—"Little man, you have cut my head;" and the barber replied:—"Hush! A cut head does not speak."

A wit travelled on the highway with an Arab and asked:—*Q.* "What is your name?" *A.* "Matar [rain]." *Q.* "Your surname?" *A.* "Ab-ul-ghayth [father of showers]." *Q.* "Your father's name?" *A.* "Euphrates." *Q.* "Your mother's name?" *A.* "Saḥábah [cloud]." *Q.* "Her sobriquet?" *A.* "Omm-ul-baḥar [mother of the sea]." At these words the wit exclaimed:—"For God's sake! wait a moment, that I may procure a boat, or I shall be drowned in your company."

A joker happened to be the guest of a Durwaysh. The timbers of the roof appeared to be weak, and so heavily loaded that they creaked, and the guest became apprehensive of their falling. Accordingly he said:—"O Durwaysh, take me to another house; I fear this one may come down on my head." The Durwaysh replied:—"There is no fear; this is merely the sound of adoration and praise [of God] uttered by the rafters." He rejoined:—"I dread that their adoration and praises may culminate in ecstasy, when they will jump about and prostrate themselves to the ground."

A man united himself to an ill-starred wife, who had buried already five husbands. All of a sudden he was likewise attacked by a mortal disease, and when he was in the agony of death, his wife made her appearance, weeping at his pillow and asking:—"O husband! You are leaving this world; to whom do you recommend me?" "To your seventh husband," replied the dying man.

A fellow with a very big nose was courting a lady, and describing himself as very patient, and able to bear a great deal. She said "You speak the truth; for if you were not able to bear a great

deal, you would surely not have been bearing this large nose of yours forty years."

Juji said :—" I and my mother are both great astrologers whose decisions cannot be wrong." The people replied :—" O great man ! How can you convince us of the truth of your pretensions ?" He said :—" When a cloud appears, I say it will rain, and my mother says no ; so that either that must happen which I say, or which my mother says."

Juji had an ugly face, and said :—" I was never so disgusted as when one day a woman came to me, and said that she had some business. On my asking, she replied that she wanted me to accompany her only to the bázár. I did so, and she took me to the shop of a painter, merely saying to him, ' Thus,' and then departing. The painter smiled, and I, being puzzled, asked him to explain the matter. Accordingly he informed me that the woman had some time ago promised him a good sum of money, if he would paint for her the face of Satan. He assured her that he had never beheld the countenance of the devil. At last she informed him that she would bring him a model, and on arriving with me she said that ' Thus ' Satan was to be painted. I was never in my life so disgusted as on that occasion."

A Durwaysh paid a visit to an avaricious man, and said :—" Our father was Adam, and our mother Eve ; we are brothers. You possess all this property and ought to share it with me in a fraternal way." The Khwajah said to his slave :—" Give him one farthing." The Durwaysh continued :—" Why do you not observe justice in the distribution." The miser replied :—" Hush ! if other brothers obtain the information, you may perhaps not even get one farthing."

A caravan halted at a caravau-serai which contained a dry well. When the night set in, the people of the caravan removed all their goods into the well and closed its mouth. A thief dug a mine from the oven of the adjoining bush as far as the well, and extracted from it, by the aid of his accomplices, all the property deposited at its bottom. The next morning the lock on the well was found uninjured, but on being opened, the well was discovered to be empty. The people of the caravan made a great disturbance, caught the slaves of the serai and beat them so that they moaned piteously. The thief, attracted by the confusion, also stood in the crowd, arrayed in costly garments and a handsome turban. Being perturbed at witnessing the sufferings of several innocent men, he involuntarily exclaimed :—" O Police ; I am the thief, let these fellows go." They asked :—" What have you done with the property ?" He said " It is all there at the bottom of the well, where I have concealed it. Bring a rope, and tie it round my waist, that I may go down and bring up the goods ; after that you

may deal with me as you choose." The crowd shouted approval at this magnanimous confession, and the police let down the thief into the well by means of a rope. As soon as he arrived at the bottom, he untied the rope, and escaped through the mine. The police waited for a long time at the mouth of the well, and when they got tired, they sent another man down, who very soon informed them that he had discovered a mine, leading out of the well. On being told to enter the mine, he crawled along therein, till he issued from the oven, and walked up to the assembled crowd. All were amazed, and unanimously agreed that the thief had performed a great exploit, by robbing a quantity of goods, escaping himself, and also delivering guiltless men from punishment.

It is on record that Layth had, with his two sons O'mar and Yákub, committed so many depredations in E'rak and Khorásán, and that their ill-repute had so much spread, as to cause all the roads to be watched for them, and they became reduced to great distress on account of the impossibility of pursuing their vocation of robbers and thieves. Accordingly they consulted with each other, and decided to dig a mine to the treasury of the king of Tabryz, in order to obtain property enough for their whole lives, which they might, after that, spend in comfort and ease. They actually executed their project, and stole a great deal of treasure, which they conveyed to their abode. Layth, however, returned once more to the treasury with the intention of getting hold of some extremely valuable gems and pearls, which he suspected might still be there. On entering the place again, he perceived something white on a shelf, which he believed to be a precious stone, but on putting his tongue against it, he thought he had tasted salt. This discovery so impressed him, that he immediately returned home, and ordered his sons to carry back to the treasury everything they had taken. They asked why they should lose the things for which they had jeopardized their lives; but they were told by their father, that he had tasted salt, and that he would not take anything from a man whose salt he had eaten, as such an act would be most outrageous. They obeyed, and restored all the property. Meanwhile the discovery was made by the king's people, that a mine to the treasury had been dug, and the king ordered at once an inventory to be made, to see what was missing. After examination it was found that nothing whatever had been abstracted. The king hereon issued a proclamation, that the man who had performed this exploit need fear nothing, but that, on the contrary, he would, if he presented himself to the king, obtain a reward for it. When Layth heard this news, he performed his ablution, and prayed with two genuflexions; and then presented himself,

with his two sons O'mar and Ya'kub, at the royal court. Layth explained the whole affair to the king, who was so much pleased with this trait of his character, that he took him, with his two sons, into the service of the Government.

A'bbás Dúsy, a celebrated mendicant, was one day in the bath, when a Durwaysh entered, and said :—"O A'bbás, I want you to do me a favour, and to teach me how to beg. I am willing to enter your service, and to attend upon you, until I learn this trade." A'bbás replied :—"O Durwaysh, there is no necessity for long attendance. There are but three rules for begging, and if you observe them correctly, you will be a perfect mendicant. I shall now mention them to you, that you may know them, and commence your business. The first rule is, that you must beg in every place you happen to be in. The second rule is that you must beg from every body you see, and the third rule is, that you must accept everything that is given to you." The Durwaysh thanked A'bbás, kissed his hands, and sat down at some distance in a corner. When A'bbás was about to go out, the Durwaysh came forward and accosted him with the words,—“Give me something for God's sake”; he looked at him and said :—"O Durwaysh, do you beg in the bath?" He replied :—"In every place ;" he further asked :—"Do you beg from a beggar?"—he answered :—"From everybody," Lastly, A'bbás said .—"Here are a few hairs." He took them and said :—"Everything that is given." Now A'bbás exclaimed :—"Here is a clever disciple, who has, after receiving one lesson, excelled his master!"

On another occasion a Durwaysh came to A'bbás and said :—"Give me advice and teach me the secret of mendicancy, so that I may, by practising it, be delivered from the miseries of poverty." A'bbás replied : "Make a *punja*—the human hand with its five fingers spread out—of paper, and paste it on your breast. Then walk about during forty days in the sun naked, so that your body may become dark. After that you may go about the villages and spend three nights in a mosque in prayer. On the fourth morning you must come out and shout :—"I have seen our blessed prophet Muhammad, salutation to him! And he has placed his sacred hand on my breast." When the people approach you and notice the mark of the *punja* on your breast, many will become your disciples, and will serve you in every way." The Durwaysh followed this advice and succeeded.

There was a celebrated mendicant, bearing the name of Mulláná Rashyd, the preacher. When king Husayn desired on a certain occasion to send an envoy to Shah Shujáá, of Shyráz in order to arrange some affairs, he consulted his grandees and they came to

the conclusion that Mulláná Rashyd might be entrusted with the duty. Accordingly King Husayn ordered Mulláná Rashyd into his presence and addressed him as follows :—"I intend to send you on some business to Shah Shujáá, but your habit of mendicancy is a great obstacle. If you promise me that you will not beg in Shyráz, I am ready to make good your claim for recompensation ; name the sum." He replied :—"The ruler of that place would give me alms to the amount of 20,000 Dynárs ; but, to please you, I shall not beg for any money." The king replied :—"Never mind, I shall give you the same sum, as well as all the expenses of your journey." Rashyd went accordingly to Shyráz, acquitted himself of his mission, and then wished to return. Shah Shujáá said, however, to him :—"It is long since I have heard of your fame as a preacher, therefore you ought to favour us with a sermon." Arrangements were accordingly made, and after divine service on a Friday, the Mulláná ascended the pulpit, and preached to a very large congregation, which consisted of the nobles of the court and all classes of the population. The sermon so touched the hearers of the Mulláná that most of them were in tears, and when he saw them in that state, he said :—"Dearly beloved ! I was ere this in the habit of asking for alms from the pulpit, but when I came to this place, an oath was exacted from me not to do so. I have indeed made an oath not to ask, but you have made none not to give me anything." The people, amidst their tears, smiled at this sally, and made a very large collection for the Mulláná.

A squinting and a one-eyed fellow went together to the bázár to make some purchases, when the former said to the latter :—"As you have but one eye, and I have two, you ought to leave the buying business to me." The one-eyed man replied :—"Perhaps you are not aware that one good dirhem is better than two false ones ?"

When Ayás Ben M'oávyah was yet a little boy, he had a quarrel with an old man in Syria, and, desiring to bring his case before a tribunal, began to explain it first ; but the Kády interrupted him, saying :—"I fancy you will, to begin with, not speak a single true word." The boy replied with the first portion of the profession of Faith :—"No God but Allah." On hearing these words, the judge was ashamed, invited the boy to continue his explanation, and gave him satisfaction.

A school-master had purchased a slave in partnership with another man. One day the slave incurred the displeasure of the school-master, who took up a stick and belaboured him. Being asked by his partner what he was doing, he replied :—"I only want to punish my share."

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In taking leave from the indulgent reader I must apologise for having, contrary to the heading of this article, given some anecdotes which do not illustrate what is generally called humour; but as they are all genuine and characteristic of the oriental mind, apology is scarcely needed.

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ART. IV.—RÁJKUMÁR COLLEGES.

SIR JOHN KAYE, in the opening chapter of his 'Administration of the East India Company,' has told us how, when Mr. Secretary Barlow had written, "The two principal objects which the Government ought to have in view in all its arrangements are to insure its political safety and to render the possession of the country as advantageous as possible to the East India Company and the British nation," Sir William Jones crossed out the first three words, and, instead of "The two principal objects," wrote "Two of the primary objects," justifying the correction with the remark; "Surely the principal object of every Government is the happiness of the governed."

In so far, at least, as *good* Governments are concerned, the truth of Sir William Jones' axiom cannot be disputed. But, while the truth is simple enough, its application to the facts of life is rather of a complex character. And eminently must this be the case in a vast country like India, of mixed and various organisations, and great complication of circumstances. The principal object of all good Governments must undoubtedly be the happiness of the masses, and, if that object can be completely realised, we have the perfection of an earthly State: but towards the attainment of that great end many other objects must contribute; objects which in themselves may be said to be part and parcel of "the principal object," and, in some sense, to be co-principal with it. In order, for instance, to deal with the masses, the Government, howsoever direct, must employ intermediate agencies, and it must form part of "the principal object" to keep these agencies pure and just. In the matter of laws and imposts, again, it must always be part of "the principal object" that these laws and imposts be not only equal but suited to the people on whom they are imposed. It may, however, be confidently asserted that, wherever the British Government is direct in India this principal object of benefiting the people, and all other objects which contribute to it, are steadily and honorably kept in view.

But there are many large portions of India where the British Government is not direct at all, where it cannot, at the most, be said to do more than exercise a doubtful and varying influence on the conduct of the rulers and the condition of the ruled.

We allude, of course, to the native States included in, or contiguous with, our possessions in British India, and covering an aggregate area equal to Italy, France and Spain. In each of these

States (whose combined populations number nearly fifty millions) direct influence over the people is exercised by an absolute monarch, or by native ministers who have made the monarch their tool. Nevertheless here, too, considering the public good, and indeed the paramount necessity of maintaining order throughout the country, the British Government, from the time of its establishment, has by means of residents or Political Agents taken on itself the responsibility of advising and admonishing the native courts; and sometimes, when wilful mis-government has been persistently continued, as in the case of Oudh, and more recently of Baroda, this responsibility has been extended to a direct interference. But such interferences have been rare digressions from the habitual British policy.

That our Government is in duty bound to improve and to civilise, as far as it can, the lesser Governments which it protects, no sane person will attempt to deny; and these efforts towards improvement and civilisation may very consistently go hand-in-hand with a general policy of non-interference and non-annexation. One or two large measures, rightly established under British instigation, may do far more good to the native States and cause them far less irritation, than a thousand petty and meddlesome suggestions as to so-called reforms in their time-honoured methods. But such large measures, it must be admitted, can only be established by tact and perseverance in the political officers.

Now as an absolute monarchy, if good, is the best, and, if bad, the worst, of all Governments; and as in each of the large native Governments the power of the Chief over his subjects is very nearly absolute, it follows that the character of the Chief should be "the principal object" which our Government should "have in view in all its arrangements" regarding the foreign States of India. To help the native chief to fit himself for the high responsibilities of his position, should be the first political endeavour of the paramount Power.

Nor, indeed, has our Government ever been wholly forgetful of this great duty. But its efforts in this direction have been hitherto rather of an occasional and sporadic than of a persistent and comprehensive character. It has dealt rather with isolated individuals, brought occasionally under its notice, than with the whole body of chiefs and young nobles *en masse*. With all our educational machinery, our High Schools and University Colleges, for the lower and middle classes, comparatively little has yet been done in the way of a general and systematic training for the great foreign chiefs and important landholders on whose efficiency so much depends. We have turned our attention to the feet and the hands, omitting to take proper thought for the head.

The omission has, no doubt, in great measure been due to a justifiable belief that, in such matters, the head should take thought for itself. It is no proper part, we may fairly argue, of our imperial burden to defray the educational expenses of such foreign rajas and wealthy zemindars as can exceedingly well afford to pay for their own education. That argument is, so far, true: and in its truth there probably lies the root of the reason why so little has yet been done to improve the chiefs. If the Indian aristocracy are to have the benefit of special educational institutions, they must be persuaded to bear the cost of those institutions themselves. But our noble, though semi-barbarous, neighbours, because they *are* semi-barbarous, do not see any benefit in proportion to the cost of such an innovation; on the contrary, they incline to resist and detest the innovation itself; and it is not so easy to persuade people to pay for what they consider to be useless and detestable. In this matter the behaviour of the chiefs is altogether natural. We must help them to know what education is, before we can expect them to know its value.

And thus, it has happened that, though many chiefs have received an excellent education from private tutors and otherwise, there is still a large proportion of the native nobility as rude and as wild as the jungles they inhabit; a large number of kinglets who remind us too strongly of Sidney Smith's picture of the King of Candy:—who “in public audiences appear like great fools, squatting on their hams, far surpassing gingerbread in splendour; and who, after asking some such idiotical question as whether Europe is in Asia or Africa, retire with a flourish of trumpets very much out of tune.” How can chieftains who, “if their tea is not sweet enough, impale their footmen or who smite off the heads of half a dozen of their noblemen if they have pains in their own,” be rightly allowed, in these civilised days, to exercise authority over their fellows? Yet such barbarians do exist as the rightful rulers of native States. Is not the light of the British Ráj bound, if it can, to dispel such darkness?

But, as we have implied, the British Ráj has, for some years, consistently sought to do *something*. And, as might be expected, its first efforts were made on behalf of the Government Wards in our Regulation provinces.

It was in the year 1856 that the first Court of Wards Institute was founded in Calcutta. But as the Court of Wards had itself existed since 1793, it did not, for more than 60 years, directly interfere in the training of its minors. During that interval the education of the Wards had been entrusted to the care of guardians appointed under the 1793 Act: but “the results were so very unsatisfactory that not a single minor under the Court of Wards turned out other than a debauchée or utterly incapable.” So in

1854 the guardianship of minors was, by another Act, transferred to the Collectors of districts ; and then it was that Mr. Samuells, Commissioner of Orissa, recommended that all the Wards in his division should have one common training under "a respectable native tutor." So the Court of Wards Institute in Calcutta was founded, and is still continuing. It holds a proud place in being the first of all such institutions, though, perhaps, its achievements must be admitted not to have been all that can be desired. Baboo Rājendralāl Mittra, the well-known superintendent of the Institute, complains chiefly that the Wards come to him at an advanced age of ignorance, that they are lazy, arrogant, and imbued with a purse-proud contempt for knowledge ; that their studies are much interrupted by long and frequent absences, and that the general influence of their homes, added to the early-marriage system, is an almost insuperable obstacle in the way of wholesome discipline.

A very similar account may be given of the later Institute, established at Benares, which, at the end of last year, numbered 17 students collected from the North-west, Central Provinces and Bengal. Among former inmates of this institution was the young Maharaja of Cooch Behar, who was received with such unwholesome éclat as one of last season's lions in London.

This institute, too, like that in Calcutta, is under the charge of a native gentleman, supervised by the local Commissioner.

Of the success of the institutes we cannot speak with unqualified praise. They have not been popular with natives, nor have Europeans regarded their working with entire approval. At the same time, we are sure, they have not existed for nothing. They have at least made a beginning in a great undertaking : and in them has been proved—what must seem passing strange to the shades of Hyder and Shivajee—that it is quite possible, without offence to native customs, social or religious, to associate and train together the youths of noble Indian families, though differing widely in caste and creed.

Of recent years, however, there has certainly prevailed a steadily growing conviction that Government has not yet done its full duty towards the education of young native chiefs, especially of the tributary chiefs of the semi-independent States. It was to this prevalent conviction that Sir Alexander Grant, when Director of Public Instruction in Bombay, gave expression, when he wrote to the Bombay Government, in 1864, that "the education of young native nobles was a subject for consideration in the Political Department," and a subject of which "the importance seemed urgent." And the same convictions may be said to have culminated in Lord Mayo's speech in the Ajmere Darbār of October 1870.

That generous and high-minded Viceroy, addressing the Rājputāna Chiefs, told them that, as the British Government respected their rights and privileges, so they must also respect the rights and privileges of those placed under their care. He told them that the protecting power demanded that they should govern well, and he showed them in what good Government consists: And then, that they might become good governors, he came to the root of the matter: for, he said, "I desire much to invite your assistance to enable me to establish at Ajmere a School, or College, which should be devoted exclusively to the education of the sons of the Chiefs, Princes and leading Thakoors of Rajputana. It should be an institution suited to the position and rank of the boys for whose instruction it is intended, and such a system of teaching should be founded as will be best calculated to fit them for the important duties which in after life they will be called upon to discharge" "Be assured that we ask you to do all this for no other object but your own benefit. If we wished you to remain weak, we would say,—be poor and ignorant and 'disorderly.' "It is because we wish you to be strong that we desire to see you rich, instructed and well governed. It is for such objects as these that the servants of the Queen rule in India, and providence will ever sustain the Rulers who govern for the people's good." Lord Mayo, however, while exhorting with the voice of supreme benevolence and power, and taking for his exhortation the most impressive opportunity, knew that the effect of his words would grow cold unless kept alive by a corresponding action. So he promised that, if the Rājputāna Chiefs would adequately subscribe to support his proposal, he would himself bring the scheme to maturity and contribute a share of the College endowment from Imperial revenues. Urged in such a manner, by such an authority, the chiefs, always generous, could not hold back. And so the Mayo College was started: and now it is well on its way, doing a work of which the good influence will ever grow with the growing years, and perpetuating to all time the name of one of the noblest and best of our Indian Viceroys.

But it is not believed that Government would be inclined to make Lord Mayo's action a precedent. If asked to subscribe towards other Chiefs' colleges, they would probably reply that, while the object of such institutions has their high approval, they consider that the cost should be borne by the Chiefs for whose special benefit they are intended. Nor do we believe that, in taking that view, the Government would *now* do otherwise than right. But not the less, we believe that Lord Mayo, at the time when he spoke at Ajmere, was fully justified by wisdom and policy, in strengthening the sincerity of his words with the promise of a pecuniary grant.

It was a great aim, but it was not an easy one, to effect the establishment of a great Chiefs' college : and to effect it in Rājputāna, was to effect it in the best place. The attainment of an end of such Imperial importance was surely not unworthy of a small Imperial outlay,—an outlay to be amply repaid by results, we believe, of Imperial blessing.

For the Mayo College will not, already does not, stand alone. In India, if anywhere, a good beginning is half a consummation. It is a matter of every-day proof that to lead is to be followed. The successful establishment of a Rājkuṁḍr College among the great Chiefs of Rājputāna was sure to be followed by other colleges for other chiefs in other places. When once the fashion has become general, the cost is a matter of secondary importance.

The Mayo College, we have said already, does not stand alone. From Sir A. Grant's action (above referred to), strongly supported by Colonels Keatinge and Anderson, and by Mr. T. B. Peile, who succeeded Sir A. Grant as Director, arose the Rājkuṁḍr College at Rajkot; and similar institutions have recently been started at Indore, Nowgong and Ambāla under the care of General Daly, Dr. Stretton and Major Tighe. And we believe that the same sort of school has lately been organised by Sir Salar Jung for the special training, under English supervision, of the young nobility of Hyderabad. Of these, however, the only college properly provided with buildings, &c., is that of the Kattywar Chiefs at Rajkot. Of this institution, really anterior* to the Mayo College, some detailed account was given in the January number of this Review for 1875. It belongs exclusively to the Kattywar Chiefs, who have spent about eight lakhs on it already, and who now subscribe to it very handsomely. But it must not be supposed that to start it originally was an easy undertaking or a matter of course. On the contrary, it was an effort altogether outside of established usage, an effort which among Native States, where our '*locus standi*' is only political, required a rare combination of political energy with political tact. It was truly said by Mr. Peile, in allusion to the opening of its career, that "many traditional prejudices "must have been surrendered, and many ancestral habitudes "broken through, when the darbārs consented to build such a "college, and send their sons to be its inhabitants." And this must be equally true of all such institutions. "Probably the reliance of the Chiefs on the general good faith and beneficent "purpose of the dominant power could not be subjected to any severer ordeal"†

* Its buildings were formally opened by Sir Seymour Fitzerland in December 1870, only two months after Lord Mayo's speech at Ajmere.

† Bombay Public Instruction Report, 1870-71: p. 113.

Not that it is a matter of so much difficulty : it is indeed comparatively easy to obtain the funds for the necessary buildings or the necessary endowment. That much is admittedly (on the Native side) a respectable concession to an effort which must be admitted by all to be at least respectable. But when we come to the question of occupancy, there comes the tug of opposition. The Native darbār hates nothing so much as the loss of the leading strings of its future leader, and also, whereas up to this point the dealings have been altogether with men, we have now arrived at that delicate juncture in which the ladies, too, are concerned. And very often in the acts of Native Courts the zenāna possesses a visible authority which its invisible presence does not prepare us to expect.

However, we do not at all desire to be hard upon the ladies. Secluded as they are from the public, they are necessarily secluded to private interests, and what interest more natural than the interest in the growing son or heir, the 'nūr-i-chashmān,' the hope of the house? Dwelling ever on ancestral fame and the inherited history of her home, the mother, knowing little of the outside world, and distrusting in proportion to her ignorance, cannot be induced to understand what all the innovation means. It seems to involve the estrangement of her child, and such estrangement is of all things most hateful. 'Surely' she argues, 'what was good for his fathers is good enough for him ; for the name of those fathers lives glorious always, and where is the glory now-a-days ? Yet those fathers never went to schools ; they detested the very name of such things. And college or school, or whatever you call it, is now, too, a very detestation ; a cage or 'prison' in which you wish to confine and secrete our precious sons. If it be necessary to teach our boys, we are quite willing to pay what you like to have them taught at home. Let the education be sent to our sons ; we are ready to receive it, and pay for it, but do not send them from us to it.'

Such are the very natural arguments of the darbār ladies, and they deserve our respectful sympathy. But with them, unfortunately, are combined other forces of a more selfish and objectionable character.

It is a mere matter of history that, connected with nearly every darbār, are persons, generally the most influential, who hope to increase their own influence in proportion as their Chief's capacity is diminished ; and to such persons the idea of an educated Chief means prevention of illicit gains and possible ruin, instead of aggrandisement. So these, too, are on the ladies' side, or at any rate, quite against us.

And thus altogether the darbār opposition is a thing very serious to encounter. Every kind of argument is advanced on behalf of

the advantages of home-life and home-tuition : and not seldom, when all other pretexts have failed, the testimony of a sub-assistant surgeon is produced to prove that a child is not as strong as he might be, and that exposure to the trials of school-life may be attended with unpleasant consequences. As if the modern darbárs were not hot-beds of unwholsomeness ! As if these colleges were not intended to be as much physical, as intellectual, sanatoria !

We have here alluded to the home-tutor system, hitherto, and still, much in vogue. Home-tutors are of course very much better than nothing at all. But it has been objected to *Native* tutors that, if not supported by political authority, they have but small influence with their pupils, and that, if supported, they too often take advantage of their position for political intrigues and private ends. On the other hand, comparatively few darbárs have been able to afford the special superintendence of an English tutor ; though such superintendence, in the case of some of the highest States, has probably been, and probably is, the best possible method of combining educational requirements with political necessity. To return to the consideration of our Ráj Kumár Colleges. We have seen that the darbár resistance to them is, and for some time must be, great. We have seen, too, that this resistance, so far as it merits our regard, is due to natural affection, not less than to natural distrust. We believe, however, that all resistance will be gradually removed, as the methods and advantages of these colleges gradually come to be understood. The special character of these methods may be briefly described as an attempt to infuse into India something of the spirit and tone of an English public school. It follows, perhaps, as a necessary corollary, that the system, in all cases hitherto, has been introduced under Englishmen. All Chiefs' schools and colleges recently established have, with the approval of the Chiefs themselves, been placed under English control ; and what may appear to be national conceit must be forgiven if we assert that English supervision, for some time, at all events, will be essential to the efficient working of these institutions.

It is hoped that the tendency of this new system will be, in India, as in England, towards chivalry, manliness and practical wisdom in the ways of life ; and in India, it is moreover believed, there will be added special advantages in removing young chiefs from zenána influence, and in training them on terms of equality and friendship with equals in age and rank.

No sufficient experience has yet been obtained to speak positively as to results, but a few observations on the general nature and working of Chiefs' colleges, so far as they have gone, may not be devoid of interest.

To begin with, there are difficulties within, as well as without, the threshold of the College. First, there is the difficulty as to retinue and accommodation. Each boy must have his own establishment : and how to limit that establishment so that discipline may still be maintained ? This is not an easy question to answer ; it is indeed the inexorable sphinx which still continues to perplex our endeavours. At the outset, to give confidence to the darbárs, as well as to satisfy the requirements of caste, it is perhaps necessary that the large home-retinues demanded for the boys should be temporarily allowed ; afterwards, as confidence is gained, the number may be restricted. We may thus have at first from five to ten servants dwelling in the college with each boy : and probably the number can never be reduced below two, a body-servant and a cook. These servants, though mostly old family-retainers, and not bad men of their sort, are rude and coarse in manners and mind, frequently addicted to opium, wholly illiterate and wholly opposed to our new order of things. The influence of such men amidst a society of students must of course be a standing evil. " Their presence " as Major St. John remarks, " is the greatest obstacle to education we have to contend with. " Yet it is better to endure this evil in a mitigated form than to attempt to cure it altogether. The establishment of a common mess would certainly raise far more serious difficulties than it could remove.

A second great difficulty at the outset, is found in the jealousy and hostility, often the results of hereditary feud, of the Chiefs one towards another. The boys refuse to converse together, and shrink away separately by themselves, under encouragement of their servants. For a while, amalgamation, even the coldest, seems to be impossible, and we are tempted to despair. We are told not only that these sullen feelings may suddenly burst into open violence, but even that a Chief is not safe in the company of his younger brother ! Soon after the opening of one of these colleges, a juvenile scion of the Jhālla clan was observed in class to be shrinking away to the farthest extremity of the seat, and being told to sit nearer his neighbour, answered,—" Please, sir, that boy is 'gāli-ing' me. " " That cannot possibly be, " said the master, " for that boy has said nothing at all. " " No, " replied the little Rajpūt, " I know he has said nothing, but I know he is 'gāli-ing' me in his heart. " And so with them all : each is supposed to be meditating mischief against his associates. The fears expressed of a general battle might perhaps be ridiculous if they were not partly based on the hope that a battle would ruin the college. And so for some days after commencement there is nothing but mutual hate and mistrust ; and these are days of anxiety, requiring care and tact.

But human nature and the force of routine soon begin to mend matters. Nothing dreadful happens; college life is found to be bearable, and friendships begin to be formed. In a month or two, and in spite of the servants, those who at first were most opposed, often become most attached, to one another. For boyish simplicity, everywhere the same, must prevail in the end. This is the evidence, on this point, of Mr. Aberigh-Mackay of the Indore College. "When I first began operations, the boys were most unsociable and unmannerly among themselves. For weeks I could hardly induce them to exchange the most ordinary civilities; but now this is all changed, and the most pleasant relations exist among them. Those of highest rank were especially inflexible at first: and now some of these are to be seen almost every evening driving together, and visiting one another at all times in the most unceremonious and friendly manner." And Major St. John, reporting on the Ajmere College in June 1877, writes, with regard to improvements generally, "Little taste, if not decided disinclination, was shown at first to all but comparatively sedentary games, and even to riding; boys from different States would not amalgamate at all; and even those at the same boarding-house preferred the society of their own menial servants to that of their equals in rank or age. Much of this is rapidly disappearing: attendance at the playground, at first enforced, is now practically voluntary; the riding classes are attended with pleasure; and cricket, rounders and foot-ball played with a zest not far from that shown at an English school." The advantages which in after-life may result from these school-day reconciliations can hardly be overrated. The long standing feuds of a Sciudia and a Holkar, of a Nabha and a Jheend, may be finally forgotten in the neutral halls of a Rāj Kumār College.

It is probable that the system of separate boarding-houses rather aggravates the evil of unsociality, and inclines to increase, rather than to diminish, the number of home-followers. Each separate boarding-house tends to become a small darbār in itself. And it is probably better, if possible, that all the boys should be lodged under one roof, though in separate apartments, similar to those of an English University. But common residence in one building may not always be manageable: the separate-house system at Ajmere was, perhaps, in the first instance, *necessary*, and it is still not without advantage in helping to promote a wholesome rivalry among those States to whom houses belong.

A Bombay traveller who visited Kattywar in 1871 has given the following description of its "Rāj Kumār Resident College, which was occupied by Chiefs and sons of Chiefs, of ages varying from about eleven to nineteen. The building in which they resided and were

"taught was in Italian-Gothic style (having been erected at the expense of the principal chiefs of Kattywar, under the encouragement and direction of Colonel Anderson, then the Political Agent.) The pupils were roused by a bell at half-past five in the morning, and at six had to be ready for their 'morning exercise,' which did not consist of prayers—Jain, Muhammadan, Hindoo or Christian; but of gymnastics on three days of the week, and of riding on the other four. Lessons on full school days were from ten to one, and from two to five. During their hours of leisure, the boys were kept as much as possible together, either engaged in out-door amusements or in the library. They took their meals each in a separate out-house of their own, where their food was prepared for them by their respective attendants; but the Principal discouraged all seclusion there, farther than was absolutely necessary. The table expenses of each boy and of his sanctioned attendants were not allowed to exceed ten rupees a day; but they might, in addition, spend a sum, never exceeding fifty rupees monthly, on special entertainments. The monthly expenses of the college, exclusive of the pupils' board, which was defrayed by themselves, amounted only to Rs. 2,110 a month, or about £2,500 a year."

"One little feature about the College illustrated in a striking manner the extremes of life in Kattywar. Here were these boys, educated and drilled as in a European public school, but in some cases the States to which they belonged had not an unreasonable dread of their being assassinated or kidnapped. Their cricket-field was guarded by sentries, because intimation had been received of some plot to carry off one of the young minor Chiefs; and on going through the dormitories at night with the Principal, I came upon strange, wild-looking, armed figures (which might have come out of the middle ages) of sentries, keeping watch over some of the principal young chiefs. This anxiety was not to be wondered at, considering the immense change which might be wrought in the affairs of a State, and in the position of its principal families, by the assassination of a young Chief. The same dread required that the boys should have their meals prepared by their own special attendants. All this was quite reasonable; but what a light does it throw on the incalculable advantages which, I shall not say English rule, but the presence of Englishmen in India, has conferred upon the country!"*

It is indeed curious and interesting to notice the mixture of coarseness, uncouthness and ignorance with chivalrous feelings and family pride which characterises youths of the Indian nobility on

* Blackwood's Magazine, Oct. 1876, page 409.

their first introduction to college life. Like the White Queen in Mr. Carroll's story, we seem to be 'living backward' in history. Their manners, their gait, their speech, their habits, their close familiarity with their lowest servants, their barbarous love of blackening their eyes and reddening their nails, their equally barbarous detestation of the wholesome influences of soap and water, their passionate desire for guns and swords, their substitution of English coats—badly made, and unfitting in every respect—for their own picturesque and graceful costumes,—all point to an ancient state of things long out-grown by our western civilisation. It is a strange sight to western eyes to behold the descendant of an ancient aristocracy arrayed in a red frock-coat with gold buttons, his head being crowned with a worn-out wide-awake, and his nether limbs girt with the Indian *dhotee*. Yet in such wondrous guise have I seen a young Gohel deck himself out for foot-ball. Is it possible that to the Higher Powers, who see things as they are, the general effect of our influence on India may appear to be, on a larger scale, just such a ludicrous motley as this young gentleman's appearance on the small? It may be so: for we are but children, acting according to imperfect knowledge, even as this young Gohel.

But these young chieftains, if semi-barbarous, have the advantage of barbarian simplicity, added to a good share of natural intelligence and a healthy pride. Their general condition and the state of their homes may well remind us of Macaulay's picture of English country gentlemen at the end of the seventeenth century. "It is not easy," writes Macaulay, "for a generation which is accustomed to find chivalrous sentiments only in company with liberal studies and polished manners to image to itself a man with the deportment, the vocabulary, and the accent of a carter, yet punctilious on matters of genealogy and precedence, and ready to risk his life rather than see a stain cast on the honour of his house." Yet we who live in India have daily opportunities of beholding that very state of things, which at this hour is fulfilled to the letter in many Mohamedan and Rájpút Courts.

Nor is this state of things, as affecting the boys, at all unfavourable to the efforts of education. Simplicity, however uncouth, is favourable to obedience; while a sense of honour and family pride favour a becoming dignity of behaviour. We accordingly find that, when brought together, these young Chiefs are, as a rule, remarkably tractable and well behaved. Each one, from the moment of his arrival, seems anxious, at any rate in outward forms, to do what is required of him. If, at first, the dull everyday routine of lessons, the effort of games, the general regularity, seem to be rather irksome, what else can be expected of those who have hitherto been masters of their own time?

I am not sure whether, or not, they are naturally indolent. At any rate their sedentary tendencies have been greatly fostered by the false Darbár notion that to use one's muscles is to lose one's dignity. They need to be led: but, when once roused, they are not wanting in agility or spirit. Of riding they are naturally fond, and most of them ride exceedingly well.* And, as Major St. John says, they have taken to English games in an almost English manner. But they certainly have not that restless craving to be always in motion which is so common a characteristic of the growing boy in England. Intellectually, they are not better or worse than boys of inferior rank. Some are very intelligent, and even fond of their books: and it may be said generally that their mental capacity is fully equal to the proper discharge of their public duties.

Yet it is rather gratifying than otherwise to find in Major St. John's report that the moral and physical improvement in his College has been more remarkable than the mental, and that the conduct out of school has been, with hardly an exception, good. For it is far more important that these young chiefs should have gentlemanly manners, good dispositions, and practical acquaintance with the ways of the world, than that they should be mere scholars. Of course, if they can be scholars too, so much the better for scholarship. This we ought to do, if we can, but not to leave the other undone.

Major St. John's testimony is very favourable to the moral nature of his pupils, and with that testimony similar experiences generally concur. I add the evidence of Mr. Aberigh-Mackay, of the Indore College, to which I myself most heartily subscribe.

"From my short experience" writes Mr. Mackay, "I am disposed to hope that there is much latent manliness, intelligence and honesty to be found in these young native chiefs, and I believe that the boarding-house discipline, the associations of the playground and the well-regulated duties of the school-room, in an institution conducted upon English principles, will search out and bring to light these qualities."

Only a beginning has yet been made. The first generation of young chiefs has barely finished its College career. The fruits of our work are as yet immature; but, imperfect as they are, we believe, they give hope of a greater improvement in the second generation, of a greater still in the third. So far, we believe, the progress hitherto, if small, has been in the right direction.

I have never heard more than two objections, from the English side of the question, to the theory of Rájkumár colleges.

* The Rájkumárs at Indore play polo with great skill and enthusiasm.

The first is that it is bad policy in the British Government to give to the chiefs a power which may be used against itself. 'We shall improve them to such an extent that they will improve us out of the country.' The bare statement of an argument so ignoble and short-sighted is its own refutation. If anything else be needed, it is sufficient to say that it is not more counter to justice and humanity, than it is to the Government policy, laid down in Lord Mayo's gracious words:—"Because we wish you to be strong, we desire to see you rich, instructed and well governed." Practically also, we may be assured that this objection is contrary to truth; for increased knowledge cannot but tend to an increased conviction of the advantages accruing to India, and pre-eminently to the protected States from the solid establishment of British power. It must be so if reason and sense have anything to do with knowledge.

The second objection is of a larger and more general character. Is the English education which we administer, of real benefit to India? Does not experience rather show that it has tended, while increasing knowledge, to increase the power of moral depravity? Has not our civilization in this case been a failure? Would it not be better to let it alone? Such questions as these are often in the mouths of those who scoff at the unripe results of our Indian educational system. And the answer to them, though not very easy, still appears to be that education, in its largest sense, the full drawing out of man's best latent qualities, is not a thing to be at once manufactured from a raw material; its consummation is the work of time,—of years, of generations, perhaps of ages. And this is especially true of education as affecting character. But the fact that our work is not yet complete, or even as good as it might be, is no argument for despair, much less a proof that our aims are unwise. The old Persians, no doubt, found their riding and archery very much easier to teach than the truth; nor, indeed, does their history lead to the conclusion that their distinctive aims in the last named particular were crowned with an equally distinctive success. The virtues of the great Cyrus himself would appear, notwithstanding the *Cyropædeia*, to have been rather innate and personal than the results of a perfect education.

And even, though the first growth of mental activity may seem to be exuberant of those very vices,—the vices of selfishness, pride and deceit,—which are farthest removed from moral rectitude; though the cultivated mind may appear for a while to be possessed merely by things, rank and gross, yet even so, and so it may be, we are not to despair, but ever to push on in the assurance that moral elevation is in the end as certainly attainable as mental development, though perhaps by a rarer and more difficult way, as example is rarer and more difficult than precept.

Not in vain the distance beacons. Forward, forward let us range.

Let the great world spin for ever down the ringing grooves of change.

Thro' the shadow of the globe we sweep into the younger day :

Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay."

But this last objection does not really apply to Rájkumár colleges, which are rather places of general *training* than of mere intellectual instruction ; and where, as we have said, the mental improvement has been rather less apparent than the moral.

For the aim of these Chiefs' colleges is to make their chiefs large-minded, humane and good. May that aim always be kept in view ! It is quite distinct from bare knowledge of books.

In conclusion, as regards our general treatment of boys undergoing education in India, I do not think that I can do better than quote the advice with which Meadows Taylor closes his autobiography. "One word," he says, "one last reflection, in regard to "India may not be out of place. It is to advise all who go there, "whatever capacity or whatever position they may hold, to use true "courtesy to natives of all degrees. My experience has taught me "that large masses of men are more easily led than driven, and that "courtesy and kindness, and firmness will gain many a point which, "under a hard and haughty bearing, would prove unattainable. By "courtesy, I do not mean undue familiarity,—far from it ; self-repect must always be observed ; but there is a middle course "which, if rightly pursued, not only exacts respect from natives of "all classes, but gratitude and affection likewise."

I believe the experience of all who have had opportunities of knowing natives well, will witness to the wisdom and the truth of Meadows Taylor's remarks. And his words are quite as applicable to our treatment of Indian boys as of Indian men ; indeed, they have an exceptional significance as applied to our dealing with that class of boys which attends Rájkumár colleges. "That the deepest reverence is due to the boy" is an old and well-worn truism ; but in the whole world there is no class of boys that deserves to be treated with a more careful reverence than the Indian aristocracy, Hindoo and Musalmán, entrusted to the educating hands of Englishmen.*

CHESTER MACNAGHTEN.

* Being myself a worker in the 'Rájkumár College, field' I have endeavoured to limit my remarks to what has been common to general experience : and for valuable assistance I beg to acknowledge my obligations

to Mayor St. John of Ajmere, Mr. Aberigh-Mackay of Indore, Baboo Rájendralál Mitra of Calcutta, Baboo Kedarnath Palodhi of Benares, Mr. Robinson of Ambala, and Mr. Krohn of Hyderabad.

ART. V.—WARREN HASTINGS IN LOWER BENGAL.

PART III.—(*Continued from No. CXXXII for April 1878*).

THE trial of Nandkumar for forgery took place in June 1775. On the 8th of that month he pleaded not guilty and claimed to be tried by his peers. He did not, however, venture to press this claim, and a jury of Englishman was chosen. In those days the Calcutta Courts seem to have followed the *mofussil* practice of having morning sittings during the hot weather, for the trial began next day, the 9th June at 7 A. M. * Mr. Alexander Elliot, Superintendent of the Khalsa Records, was chosen as Interpreter. Farrar, the counsel for the prisoner, objected, saying that Elliot was connected with persons whom the prisoner considered his enemies. The chief Justice was very indignant at the objection and said that it was a cruel insinuation against Mr. Elliot's character, and that his youth, his family and his known abilities and honour should have protected him from it. Elliot offered to withdraw, but Sir Elijah insisted upon his interpreting. "You should be above giving way to the imputation" he said, "Your skill in the languages and your candour will show how little ground there is for it." Farrar now said that he hoped Mr. Elliot did not think the objection came from him. "Who suggested it?" asked the Chief Justice. Farrar replied that he was not authorised to name the person. Chief Justice—"It was improper to be made, especially as the person who suggested it does not authorise you to avow it." Here the jury interposed and said they all wished that Mr. Elliot should interpret. Mr. Farrar, on the part of the prisoner, expressed a similar wish, and so Mr. Elliot and a Mr. Jackson were sworn as interpreters.

I have little doubt that Elliot was competent to interpret, and I do not suppose that his doing so prejudiced the prisoner. Still it would have been more seemly if some other interpreter had been chosen. Elliot was the intimate friend of Warren Hastings, and he lived in Sir Elijah Impey's house. Simple-minded Mr. Impey tells us this and says that Sir Elijah treated him as a son and that he was equally dear to Warren Hastings. Long

* Sir Elijah in a letter to his brother says that he never sat in Court after one. He, too, like Hastings, wisely took care of his health. "I mount my horse every morning without fail, at five o'clock. I dine at one, sup at half past nine, and go to

bed at eleven. This is not the general mode of living in the settlement, hours being very late and irregular, but I intend to live for my friends and family, and will not, even by the stream of custom, be driven from my purpose."

afterwards when he was defending himself in the House of Commons, Sir Elijah said that Elliot almost made part of his family and that no secret of his (Sir Elijah's) heart was unrevealed to him. He added, not very ingenuously, that Elliot had served voluntarily as interpreter.

Nandkumar was tried under a statute of George II. (2 Geo. 2 c. 25) which was so exclusively English in its scope that it did not extend even to Scotland or America. Sir Robert Chambers wished to quash the indictment and to try the prisoner under a statute (the 5th) of Queen Elizabeth in which case there could not have been a capital sentence, as the offence would only have been a misdemeanour. It has been said that Chambers was wrong, because the statute of Queen Elizabeth was obsolete. This apparently is a mistake, for it was not repealed till the reign of William the Fourth. It was held, however, by the other Judges that the older statute was in fact superseded by that of George II., as the greater punishment included the less. In other words, the misdemeanour was merged in the felony. The indictment was very long and rang the changes on forgery and uttering through some twenty paragraphs. Tolfrey, the Under-Sheriff and a partizan of Impey afterwards stated in his evidence before the House of Commons that the common report in Calcutta was that the indictment had been drawn by Justice Lemaistre and that he had seen a copy of it in his hand-writing. He added that he did not think that either the attorney or the counsel engaged for the prosecution was competent to draw up such a paper.

The opening words of the indictment were that Maharajah Nandkumar on the 15th day of January 1770 with force and arms feloniously, did falsely make, forge and counterfeit, and did cause and procure to be falsely made, forged and counterfeited, a certain bond in the Persian language purporting to be sealed by one Bollokey Doss with the seal, or *chop* (properly *chháp*), of him the said Bollokey Doss, the tenor of which bond is as follows (here the bond is written in Persian):—with an intent to defraud the said Bollokey Doss of Rs. 48,071 sicca rupees, principal, and of four annas in the rupee of the said principal sum as premium or profit on the said principal sum.

A translation of the bond was also given; it recited that one Raghu Nath had deposited with the obligor (Bollokey Doss) in 1165 B. S. (1758) certain ornaments on account of Maharajah Nandkumar with a view to their being sold. When Mir Kassim was defeated, Bollokey Doss's property, including the said ornaments, had been plundered. In 1172 (1765) Nandkumar demanded back his jewels. Bollokey could not give them, and so he covenanted that on his receiving two lacs of rupees belong-

ing to him and which were in the Company's treasury at Dacca he would pay Nandkumar Rs. 48,021 and interest. The bond was dated 7th Bhadur 1172 (20th August 1765).

The first witness examined was Mohan Prasad. He was the agent for Gunga Bishen, Bollokey Doss's executor, and was to receive 5 per cent on what he collected for him. He had long before instituted proceedings against Nandkumar about this bond in the Mayor's Court and this is the point which Mr. Impey and other defenders of Hastings bring forward to prove that Hastings did not start the prosecution. They forget, however, that the case in the Mayor's Court was a civil proceeding.* I am unable to say what its exact nature was, but it is known that Hastings stopped the proceedings and for a time took Nandkumar into favour. No doubt Mohan Prasad was an old enemy of Nandkumar's, but I do not think that this was enough to make him of his own accord institute a prosecution against Nandkumar. It only made him a more ready instrument in the hands of others. There is, as far as I know, no evidence that he tried to prosecute Nandkumar for forgery till 1775.

The next witness was Commul-ud-din, whose character I have described in a former article. His name was on the bond as a witness, and his seal was appended. He denied that the signature was his, but admitted the seal, denying, however, that he had affixed it or caused it to be affixed to the bond and saying that Nandkumar had sent to borrow the seal from him. Being asked whether he knew that Nandkumar had received the seal, he said he did, for Nandkumar had written to him a letter in consequence of getting it. The letter was produced, and, in the

* There is a circumstantial account of the previous proceedings against Nandkumâr in a pamphlet of Captain Price, entitled a Letter to Edmund Burke (London 1782). From this account it appears that there never was a prosecution of Nandkumâr in the Mayor's Court. A *civil suit* was brought against him in the Dewani Adalat and Mr. Palk, the President arrested him for contempt, but released him on his making proper submission. Afterwards, in 1771 or 1772, the papers of Bollokey Doss' estate was deposited with Mr. Magee, the Registrar of the Mayor's Court, but it does not appear that any case was instituted there. In March 1795 the papers were deliver-

ed up to the executor. Mr. Impey talks nonsense when he speaks of Hastings' commanding the Mayor's Court to release the half-convicted villain. The very extract from his father's speech which he gives on the memorials shows that the only proceedings against Nandkumâr were in a Civil Court.

Sir Elijah says distinctly that the case was in a *Civil court*. It is true that he also says that Mr. Palk, Judge of the Adalat (not of the Mayor's Court, it will be observed) confined Nandkumar for the forgery, but apparently this is the confinement referred to by Captain Price, described as only a committal for contempt.

printed report of the trial, Mr. Farrar is made to say that he admitted the letter. Mr. Farrar afterwards deposed that there was some mistake in the report. Apparently, however, the matter was not of much moment, for the letter did not state that the seal had been received by Nandkumar. Other witnesses examined were the Armenian, Coja Petruse, Raja Nobokissen, Munshi Sudder-ud-din and Hassein Ally. The first of these men was an old friend of Mir Kassim and consequently connected with Hastings,* who had had at one time intimate relations with Mir Kassim. The second was an old enemy of Nandkumar and was in after years a creditor of Hastings. He was also, I believe Banyan to the Committee of Revenue. The third was Mr. Graham's Munshi and the fourth was Commul-ud-din's servant.†

Nandkumar's defence was that the bond was true. He produced witnesses, but they did not help his case. Indeed, the evidence of one of these, Kissen Jiban Dás, seems to have been fatal to him. When he was first summoned, the Chief Justice was favourably impressed by him, but he was recalled at Nandkumar's request and examined about a Kursinama (genealogical tree) and broken down. The trial lasted from the 9th to the 16th June when, according to Mr. Farrar's evidence, a verdict of guilty was brought in by the Jury at 4 o'clock in the morning. After sentence of death had been passed* Farrar moved for arrest of judgment, but his application was rejected on 22nd or 23rd June. Farrar, next tried to get the Jury to sign a recommendation for a respite. He applied to the foreman Mr. Robinson, but that gentleman, in reply, begged Mr. Farrar to reflect on the nature of a British Juryman's oath and said that the opinion of the Jury must have been such at the time of giving their opinion, or never could with propriety be altered. He went on to say that he had every tender feeling with which the human heart could be impressed for the convict, both at and after his trial, nor would the strict requisition of a positive law that in many cases obliges a jury in conformity to

* Not long after the trial Hastings wrote :—"I shall not deny the connection which formerly subsisted between Kassim Ally Khan and myself, when he was the Nabob of these provinces. It is as well known to the world as the little advantage I made of it."

† In his defence before the House of Commons Hastings admitted that he had in 1783 borrowed for his private use three lacs of rupees from Rajah Nobokissen. Accordingly, however, to

the anonymous translator of the *Sir Matekereen*, Hastings was connected in another way with Coja Petruse or Aga Bedross as he was called for he borrowed money from him in 1764 and was nearly ten years in his debt.

‡ Hastings anticipated this result long before the trial was commenced, for in a letter of the 18th May 1775 he speaks of the old gentleman's being in Jail and in a fair way to be hanged.

the tenor of their oath to find a prisoner guilty have prevented him and his brother from recommending him to mercy had their consciences admitted such an idea. He wound up by observing that the very offering of such a petition to him to sign would very much hurt his feelings, especially as it was on a subject which in his opinion no one had a right to interfere in. Mr. Robinson was not contented with relieving his feelings by this rhodomontade. He carried the matter to the Chief Justice, who severely reprimanded Farrar when he next appeared in Court. He told him that his conduct (in trying to get the petition signed) was derogatory to his professional character and that his duty to his client ended with the trial. One Jurymen, I am glad to say, signed the petition. His name was Edward Ellerington.

The question of whether Nandkumar really forged the bond or not, is one which can probably never be satisfactorily answered. The original record seems to have disappeared from the archives of the High Court and the printed report is not supposed to be quite faithful. It was printed by Elliot, who went home in order to support the Judges, and, according to Farrar, the prisoner's counsel, there are mistakes and omissions in it. It is certain that Mohan Prasad was a bitter enemy of Nandkumar and that Commul-ud-din the principal witness was a poor wretch who was the benamidar (*Scotticé tulchan*) for Hastings' banyan.

Some legal authority or other has said that he has read the proceedings and that Nandkumar had as fair a trial as he would have had in England. Perhaps this is not saying very much. The bond was in Persian and the witnesses were Bengalees.* It is not easy to see how a case which presumably turned a good deal on a comparison of seals and signatures in a foreign language, could have been satisfactorily determined by a British jury, however intelligent. It is moreover not true that the trial was quite fairly conducted. Sir Elijah's manner was bad throughout, and Mr. Farrar, the prisoner's counsel, stated before the House of Commons, that his witnesses were badly treated by the Judges, and that, when he remonstrated, they were treated worse. The temper of the Jury may be judged from the fact that during the progress of the trial, when a paper was produced by the defence and shown to the Jury, their foreman observed that it was an insult to their understandings to offer such papers in evidence as being of the date they professed to be. This might pass, but surely it was not seemly that, after the trial was over, and while the prisoner was awaiting execution, no less than eight of the jurymen should have signed an address to the Chief Justice in which they thanked

* This fact is pointed out by Mr. Hargraves.

him for the pains he took in the late tedious and important trial. "We cannot refrain," they say, "from declaring how much we esteem ourselves indebted to the pains you bestowed during the course of the late tedious and important trial in patiently investigating the evidence, and tracing the truth throughout all the intricacies of perjury and prevarication, and in finally detecting and putting in the way of condign punishment the cloud of false witnesses who seem to have acted from concert, and to have had hopes of introducing into the Court, under the shelter of an unknown tongue, and concealed forms of oath, a general system of false swearing, to the total subversion of all belief in evidence, and to the utmost danger to the life and property of every man in these provinces."* The name of the foreman of the Jury appears second in the list of signatories and is followed by that of the notorious Captain Price. Sir Elijah's reply was not in much better taste. He said, "Neither can we assume to ourselves any extraordinary merit or sagacity for detecting the falsehoods of the witnesses produced at the trial. The subject-matter of the evidence, the manner of delivering it, and the persons who delivered it, made the imposition attempted to be put on the Court, too gross to deceive either the Court or such by-standers as did not through prejudice wish to be deceived." These documents may be found in the appendix to Mr. Impey's memorials. They seem to me to weaken his defence rather than otherwise. Mr. Impey and his following are never wearied of complaining of the injustice of attributing all the guilt, if there was guilt, of Nandkumar's trial to the Chief Justice. They are constantly reminding us that he was only one of four judges who presided on the occasion and that it was the Jury and not he who found the prisoner guilty. But here we have the free merchants, including eight of the jurymen, ascribing all the merit of the trial and of the detection of the false evidence to the Chief Justice.

The fact that the trial of Nandkumar lasted for several days does not of itself prove that there was any tenderness towards the prisoner; criminal trials in Calcutta must always take about double the time that is necessary elsewhere, for everything has to be done twice. The Counsel does not ask his questions directly of the prisoner. He puts them through the interpreter, and thus the answers dribble out like water through a charcoal filter. A trial so conducted may seem solemn and imposing to some persons, but I imagine that "the intelligent native" must regard it

* Impey stated in his defence before the House of Commons that a band of witnesses sent down from Burdwan disappeared when the gross practices on the part of the prisoner in evidence were detected.

with astonishment. Such a person, who is to us in India the political Frankenstein that the "intelligent foreigner" is to our countrymen at home, must surely reflect that a Hindoo or Mahomedan Judge would at least know what the witnesses were saying and would not have to veil his ignorance by assuming a Thulow-like aspect of preternatural wisdom.

The real question, however, is not whether Nandkumar was guilty, but whether he ought to have been prosecuted, and whether having been tried, he should have been hanged.* On the first point I think it is clear from Mohan Prasad's interviews with Hastings before the trial, from Commul-ud-din's being a witness, and from the coincidence of time between Nandkumar's accusations and the prosecution, that the latter would never have occurred had not Mohan Prasad been suborned by Hastings or his friends.

The fact that Hastings was at the bottom of the prosecution was apparently never doubted at the time either by his friends or foes. Nandkumar was evidently referring to this belief when he objected to Elliot's being interpreter, and Macpherson wrote from Madras to Hastings in the month following the conviction and implored him to take precautions for his safety. "Do not," he said, "employ any black cook, let your fair female friend oversee everything you eat." Hastings himself was fully conscious of the currency of the report for when he was examined in Fowke's case and asked if he had directly or indirectly countenanced the prosecution against Nandkumar, he answered "I never did, I have been on my guard; I have carefully avoided every circumstance which might appear to be an interference in the prosecution." And no doubt he was on his guard, and so too, I suppose was Count Königsmark when he employed bravoës to assassinate Mr. Thynne in Pall-Mall. Königsmark got off in consequence of his precautions and so, too, did Hastings, but most sane people, I fancy, do not think the better of them on that account. Let us put it, however, on the very lowest ground and concede that Hastings had nothing to do with the prosecution. Even then we say that his conduct was disgraceful. He knew well what Nandkumar and the great bulk of the people thought on the matter, and he knew that Nandkumar had stood forth as his accuser. Surely if he had been a delicate-minded or even only an honest man he would have quashed the prosecution or at least have stayed execution till Nandkumar's charges against himself had been disposed of. Let us hear "how it struck a contempo-

* As Francis wrote not long after by God! he spoke truth, else why the execution. "Nandkumar may have were they in such a hurry to hang been a most nefarious scoundrel; but, him?"

rary." On 15th September 1775 General Clavering, an honest and plain-spoken soldier, wrote as follows :—" Mr. Hastings says it is an insult on his station to suppose that it requires courage in any man to declare openly against his administration. After the prosecution, so obstinate, conducted against Mr. Fowke until a verdict could be obtained against him, notwithstanding he had been honorably acquitted at his first trial for the same charge, and after the death of Nandkumar, the Governor, we believe, is well assured that no man who regards his own safety will venture to stand forth as his accuser."

* * * * *

"On a subject of this delicate nature (Nandkumar's trial) it becomes us to leave every honest and impartial man to his own reflections. It ought to be made known, however, to the English nation that the forgery of which the Rajah was accused must have been committed several years ago; that in the interim he had been protected and employed by Mr. Hastings; that his son was appointed to one of the first offices in the Nabob's household with a salary of one lac of rupees; and that the accusation which ended in his destruction, was not produced until he came forward and brought a specific charge against the Governor, of corruption in his office."

"If Mr. Hastings had been careful of his own honor, we think he would not have appeared himself as the prosecutor of his accuser, and that he would have exerted his influence with Mohan Prasad to suspend the other prosecution until he had proved the falsehood of the charges brought against himself by Nandkumar. As things are now circumstanced the world may perhaps conclude that this man was too formidable a witness to be suffered to appear, and that any degree of odium or suspicion which the violent measures taken to destroy him might throw on the Governor's character were not to be weighed against the danger of his proving the truth of his accusations."

It is noticeable that Hastings saw this minute and replied to it, and that he did not take the defence which his admirers now make for him, that Mohan Prasad's accusation had commenced in the Mayor's Court many years before. All he says is, "I have declared on oath before the Supreme Court of Justice that I neither advised nor encouraged the prosecution of Maharajah Nandkumar. It would have ill become the first Magistrate in the settlement to have employed his influence either to promote or dissuade it."

As regards the propriety or otherwise of carrying out the sentence of death on Nandkumar, there is, I suppose, very little difference of opinion now-a-days. Nearly everybody must admit that it was unprecedented and iniquitous to hang a Hindoo under

a statute passed in England, and which had almost exclusive reference to that country. As Colonel Fullerton said in the House of Commons in the debate about Impey's impeachment, and as the Court of Directors had said before him, "If it was legal to hang Nandkumar on the statute of George II against forgery it would be equally just and proper to hang the Nabob of Bengal or the great Mogal and all his Court on the statue of James I against bigamy." It is a fact that this idea had startled the Hindus and Mahomedans immediately after Nandkumar's trial, and that Impey was at pains to allay their fears in replying in July 1775 to an address from them. He could then point out that it would be absurd, cruel and unjust to punish bigamy in India when the laws and religion of the country gave a sanction to it. But he found no such incongruity apparently in applying to India an English statute about forgery. Yet the law making forgery a capital offence was wholly alien to Hindoo ideas and was even no part of the old laws of England. Forgery by the common law of England was only a misdemeanour, and the first statute passed against it (that of Elizabeth) did not make it a capital offence. It was not till the establishment of the Bank of England in William the Third's reign that it was thought necessary to make forgery punishable with death.

Mr. Impey and some biographers of Hastings lay great stress on the fact that one Radha Charan Mitter was convicted of forgery in 1765 and sentenced to death. Rightly viewed, however, this case is a precedent against the hanging of Nandkumar rather than one in favour of it. In Radha Charan's case the Government did exactly what Sir Elijah Impey should have done. They recommended a pardon and the result was that Radha Charan was not hanged. We learn, too, from Verelst who wrote before the case of Nandkumar that the proceedings in Radha Charan's case excited general alarm. The same author tells us that the Court which tried Radha Charan also made the Coventry act applicable to India and convicted a man under it. The decisions of such a Court were not precedents which the Westminster lawyers who sat in the Supreme Court were likely to follow with advantage.

It may be noted also that Radha Charan's case was not on all fours with Nandkumar's. His case did not occur between two Hindus, for his forgery was committed against an Armenian of the name of Solomon.

It has been stated by the author of two interesting articles on Nandkumar in the *Englishman* that his name appears in the list of those who petitioned for Radha Charan's pardon. The inference, of course, is that he knew of the conviction and should have taken warning. I believe, however, that his name does not occur and

that on the other hand, the name of Mohan Prasad, who prosecuted Nandkumar, appears among the petitioners in favour of Radha Charan.

An attempt has been made to enlist the illustrious name of Samuel Johnson among those of the admirers of Hastings and Impey, and we have been ostentatiously reminded of his correspondence with Hastings and his friendship for Sir Robert Chambers. I am at a loss to see what Johnson's admiration for Sir Robert and his charming wife can prove, for Chambers wanted to quash the indictment and was opposed to the capital sentence.

Johnson's correspondence with Hastings proves nothing, and we have it under his own hand that he regretted the execution. His old friend, Joseph Fowke, had tried to induce him to write upon the subject. Johnson, unfortunately perhaps, declined, but he wrote as follows:—"Of the death of the unfortunate man (Nandkumar) I believe Europe thinks as you think, but it was past prevention, and it was not fit for me to move a question in public which I was not qualified to discuss as the inquiry could then do no good; and I might have been silenced by a hardy denial of facts which, "if denied, I could not prove."....." whatever you do I do not suspect you of pillaging or oppressing and shall rejoice to see you return with a body unbroken and a mind unclouded. Mrs. Williams, the blind lady, is still with me very ill. She is not likely to die, however, and it would delight me if you would send her some petty token of your remembrance." (Letter of 19th April 1788)."

Perhaps this is the proper place to note that Lord Macaulay has been carried away by his love of rhetoric when he speaks of Hastings' letter to Johnson as being dated a very few hours after the death of Nandkumar. Nandkumar was hanged early on Saturday morning the 5th August, and Hastings' letter was not written till the following Monday. Besides, the victory, such as it was, had been won nearly two months before. It is an extraordinary circumstance about the execution that it did not take place till more than six weeks after the passing of sentence. Why Nandkumar was kept so long in jail I am unable to understand. Possibly Hastings had some idea of acting upon Macpherson's suggestion and of inducing Nandkumar to confess who had made him bring his charges.

It is impossible to think of the long interval between the trial and the execution without regretting that there was no telegraph, or even Overland route, in those days. We have been told by fiery declaimers that the telegraph will be the ruin of India. Possibly, but if there had been telegraphic communication in 1775 India would have been spared the disgrace of a judicial murder. There

is little evidence that the European population of Calcutta showed any sympathy with Nandkumar or compassion for his fall. It is pleasant, however, to learn that a woman's heart was touched by his sufferings and that General Clavering's daughters sent him messages of sympathy.

I shall not attempt to describe the circumstances of Nandkumar's execution. They are detailed in Macrabe's report which was produced by Sir Gilbert Elliot and may be found in the Annual Register. It is from it that Macaulay has constructed his brilliant narrative.

Some one has started the notion, why or wherefore I do not know, that the report is a forgery. I suppose his mind had become so full of thoughts of forgery that he suspected it everywhere. Who could have fabricated the document? Certainly, not poor Macrabe for he died at Ganjam little more than a twelve-month after the execution. And what occasion was there to forge it? It does not in any way show that Nandkumar was innocent. It is nothing but a circumstantial and inartistic account of the execution, such as the Sheriff would naturally draw up. Unless people wish to deny that Nandkumar was executed at all, I do not see why they are interested in denying the report of it. What pinches them apparently is the evidence given in the report that Nandkumar died bravely and that the spectators were horrified. But Bengalis almost always meet death with calmness, and, as we know from the evidence of Major Rennel and Mr. Rouse that the inhabitants of Dacca and Murshedabad felt deeply the shock of Nandkumar's death, why should we doubt that the natives of Calcutta were similarly affected? A writer in the *Calcutta Review* for 1852 tells us that Nandkumar was executed on a platform S.-W. of Kali Bazar and near Hastings' bridge, and that at the time of his writing there was a native living in Calcutta who had heard his father tell that on the day of the hanging all the Hindoos went to the other side of the river to eat.

There is one other fact connected with the execution which requires notice. This is the circumstance that the day before his death Nandkumar sent a petition to General Clavering, and that this was afterwards produced in Council and burned by the common hangman. It was Francis who moved that the document should so be treated and great stress is naturally laid upon this circumstance by Impey and others. I am not concerned in defending Sir Philip Francis' conduct on all occasions. He was a more honest, more English man than Hastings, but he was no saint either politically or privately. Whatever his motive was for moving that the paper should be burnt I cannot see that his conduct affects the question of

Nandkumar's guilt or innocence. However, it is but fair that Francis should be allowed to give his own explanation. His biographer (Merivale) has quoted from his speech of the 26th February 1788, but he has omitted to notice the evidence given by Francis before the Committee two months later. There he said as follows: "My secret, predominant, motive for proposing to destroy the original paper produced by General Clavering was to save him and him alone from the danger to which he had exposed himself by that rash and inconsiderate action; yet the step I took was not immediately taken on my own suggestion. As soon as Mr. Hastings proposed that a copy of the paper should be sent to the Judges, Colonel Monson startled at it and desired me to go with him to another room. He then said 'I suppose you see what the Governor means. If the Judges get possession of the paper Clavering may be ruined by it.' My answer was 'Why, what can they do to him?' To that he replied, 'I know not what they can do but since they have dipped their hands in blood what is there they will not do?' He then desired me to move that the paper should be destroyed by the common hangman." This account of the matter derives support from the minutes of what Clavering and Manson said on the occasion. I am aware that this explanation has been ridiculed on the ground that Clavering could not possibly be in danger, as the regulating Act prevented the Judges from proceeding against the members of the Council except in the matter of treason or felony. But it did not lie in Sir Elijah Impey's mouth to make this objection, when it appears that in 1780 he issued processes against the Governor-General and the whole Council on a charge of trespass.

Impey contrived to get a copy of the petition in spite of the precautions of the Board. It is admitted that it was Hastings who gave it to him, and that he corrected the translation with his own hand. With singular obtuseness, as it seems to me, Impey put in the translation in part of this defence and it has been preserved in consequence. The petition is a simple and despairing cry for justice. Nandkumar writes, "many English gentlemen have become my enemies, and having no other means to conceal their own actions and deeming my destruction of the utmost expediency to themselves, revived an old affair of Mohan Prasad's which had been repeatedly found to be false. And the Governor knowing Mohan Prasad to be a notorious liar turned him out of his house (now), taking the evidence of my enemies they have condemned me to death. . . . The forgery of the bond of which I am accused, never proceeded from me." And then came words which are so affecting from their very helplessness. "If I am unjustly put to death, I will, with my family, demand

justice in the next life." He concludes "They put me to death out of enmity, and from partiality to the gentleman who have betrayed their trust ; and in this case, the thread of life being cut, I in my last moment again request that you, gentlemen, will write my case particularly to the just King of England. I suffer, but my innocence will certainly be made known to him." Thanks, I say in the name of Hastings and truth to Hastings and Impey, that they did not stifle the last cry of their victim and that they have allowed us to hear him declaring with his latest breath that he was innocent and that he was the victim of a foul conspiracy.

It is natural that one should wish to know something of the personal history of Nandkumar. The national apathy of the Bengali, however, is so great that no one, as far as I am aware, has attempted a biography of him. Nearly all that we do know of Nandkumar is derived from English sources. From these we learn that he was a Brahman and a native of Murshedabad. He was not one of those Bengalis who owed all their greatness to the English. Before the battle of Plassey he was high in office, and Orme tells us that in 1757 he was Governor of Hooghly. Before the taking of Chandernagore he had been disposed to assist the French, but Omi Chand is said to have gained him over by a promise of Rs. 12,000. Clive took him up and employed him in the collections and he was long the faithful servant of Mir Jaffir. A good man he certainly was not, but there is no evidence that he fell below the easy level of the time and country. Joseph Fowke described his personal appearance to Dr. Johnson and said that he was tall and majestic but yet graceful, and that his eyes were piercing, &c. His son, Guru Dass, died without issue, but the descendants of his son-in-law, Jaggat Chand, still live at the family house at Kunjoghatta near Berhampore.

Towards the end of 1776, death, Warren Hastings' great ally, came to his assistance by removing Colonel Monson. This gave him a majority in Council, for the members were equally divided and he had the casting vote. He was not slow to take advantage of the change in affairs. One of the first uses which he made of his power was to punish an enemy and reward a friend. The majority of the Council had appointed Francis Fowke, a son of Nandkumar's fellow prisoner, to the post of envoy at the Court of the Rajah of Benares. In December 1776 Hastings had him recalled on the ground that the purposes of his commission had been accomplished. In less than three weeks afterwards he appointed two other men, namely, Graham of Burdwan notoriety and a Mr. D. O. Barwell to do the same work. When the Court of Directors heard of these proceedings, they were very indignant

and ordered that Fowke should be replaced. They observed that it was impossible to suppose that Fowke had been removed from motives of economy, for two persons had been appointed immediately afterwards, with two salaries, to execute an office which had been filled with reputation by Mr. Fowke alone. Hastings, however, was not disposed to submit to an authority who resided several thousand miles away and whose ponderous missiles had so much space to traverse that at last they fell like the blows of Thor on the Jotun. On 20th July 1778, when the orders arrived, Hastings moved that they should be suspended, as a compliance with them would inflict such a wound on his authority as it could not survive. Suspended they were accordingly. The poor Court of Directors became still more angry when they heard of this disobedience, and in a despatch of 27th May 1779 sent fresh orders and directed that they should be carried into immediate execution. Whether they were or not, I do not know, but at all events Hastings carried his point for nearly four years. While these things were going on there occurred the strange affair of Hastings' resignation and his disavowal of it. On this occasion the Judges supported him and in all probability they were right. There seems little doubt that Hastings was referring to this circumstance when he spoke of Impey's support having preserved his fortune and his honour, and that Lord Macaulay was wrong in supposing that the allusion was to Nandkumar's trial. Hastings was not likely to make so damaging an admission even in a letter to a private friend. At the same time the warmth of his language is a little surprising, for it does not appear that Impey did anything more for him than the other Judges did.

The strength of his casting vote now enabled Hastings to carry into execution his ideas on the subject of the collection of the revenues. There is a minute in which he and Barwell trace the history of the revenue settlements from the time when the Company got the Dewany in 1765. It appears from this paper that the settlements were at first annual. The punya or ceremony of receiving the first rent of the year was held every April or May at Murshedabad, when the zemindars assembled from all parts of Bengal for the purpose. The annual settlement was then made, partly with the zemindars and partly with persons called Amils, who agreed to pay certain sums into the Murshedabad treasury and then went into the mofussil and carried out their engagements as best they could. In 1769 supervisors were appointed and elaborate rules have drawn up by Mr. Verelst for their guidance. Extracts from these rules may be seen in the appendix to Patton's *Asiatic Monarchies* (London: 1801), and they show that Verelst had, at all events, a very good knowledge of revenue matters. In 1770

Collectors were appointed, and they found that the Amils had exercised great tyranny. The Collectors made settlements to the best of their ability for 1770, and the process was repeated in 1771, though in that year part of the work was done by the Murshedabad Council.

The settlement of 1772 was for five years. On this occasion the whole of Bengal, was, as it were, put up to auction, and in the scramble the Governor-General's Banyan, Kantu Babu, got the lease of no less than nineteen parganas with a rental of about fourteen lacs ! When Hastings was censured for allowing this, all he could say was that Kantu Babu was not expressly barred from competing and that he had got very little profit out of his leases. In other words, because Kantu was not a Collector's Banyan, but the Banyan of the Ruler of all the Collectors, and because he had made but a poor thing of the swindle, there was nothing wrong in his proceedings. Hastings also had the audacity to say that, as Kantu was not prohibited by the Regulations, it would not have been right in himself to interfere with his private affairs. This was another instance of the masterly inactivity which Hastings knew so well how to display. On one occasion we find him sheltering himself under it when Nandkumar's life was at stake, and now we see him using it to screen his servant's iniquities. He was not always so passive in Kantu Babu's affairs, for some years later we find him asking the Collector of Rungpore to take care of Kantu and prevent his ryots from harassing him.

The settlement of 1772 proved a failure, and the Court of Directors went so far as to order Hastings to prosecute the members of the Committee of Circuit who had made it. In 1777 Hastings and Barwell propounded a new plan. It was opposed by Francis and Clavering, but the upshot was that a Committee of Revenue was appointed. It consisted of Hastings' protégés, Anderson, Crofts and Bogle. The infamous Ganga Gobind Singh was appointed their Dewan. The Committee drew up a somewhat interesting report in 1777 which is preserved among the Hastings' papers. Their labours, however, did not produce any permanent result, and the system of annual leases continued till 1781. It was during the discussions of 1776 and 1777 that Francis advocated the rights of the zemindars and the desirability of a permanent settlement. His plan was published at Calcutta in January 1776 with an apposite motto from Abbé Reynal *

Long afterwards (in 1806), when Francis heard of the Cornwallis settlement and its success, he not unjustly appealed to his former

* C'est la marche de l'esprit humain lorsqu'il s'est épuisé dans les fausses routes, de ne rentrer dans le bon chemin, que

views, and asked if it was not now clear that he had been right from the beginning. In fact Francis was perhaps, better entitled to be called the inventor of the permanent settlement than anyone else. His intimacy with Shore no doubt helped him on the right road. Hastings was, as Francis punningly called him, emphatically a man of parts, and, though the shiftiest of men in the art of raising money or evading a difficulty, he had no capacity for wide and far-reaching statesmanship. Francis tells us that Hastings frequently remarked that he detested general principles, and it was quite of a piece with his character, but that he should fail to see that this detestation was itself a general principle.

While the question of collecting the revenues was still unsettled an internecine conflict broke out between the Government and the Supreme Court. The happy understanding which had existed among nearly all the Europeans in 1775, when they were drawn together by the feeling of a common danger, and the determination to crush an informer against speculation, now came to an end, and the very men who had served on Nandkumar's jury and had implored Sir Elijah to sit for his portrait, in order that the contemplation of it might gratify their sentiments of esteem and respect for him, now clubbed together to petition Parliament against the Court.*

I am far from thinking that the petitioners were altogether innocent as doves, or that the interference of the Supreme Court was an unmixed evil. There was probably some truth in Sir Elijah's remark that the Court was beginning to make the vultures of Bengal disgorge their prey. I suspect, however, that the vultures disgorged chiefly for the benefit of the jackals. Whatever good results the pressure of the Supreme Court produced, there can be little doubt that the motive which actuated the Judges was the appetite for power and the appetite for profit (Mill). In a letter to Lord Weymouth of 1780, the Chief Justice was very plaintive about the sufferings of the attornies from want of business. Shoals of them had come out in hopes of plunging into the golden stream, but they found that they could only reach the tiny rill which had been diverted into Calcutta and that the main river flowed out to the ocean and escaped them. The Chief Justice wrote that the business would soon be reduced to the trial of a few causes arising in Calcutta, and that the Advocate's attornies and officers of the Court would be in a most deplorable situation. He said that the attornies had petitioned him not to increase their numbers by new admissions while this state of things lasted. He

* The petition presented to Parliament in 1780 is commonly called signed by Samuel Touchett who was one of Nandkumar's jury. Touchett's petition from it being

doubted if this requisition could always be complied with, for persons might come from England so recommended and qualified that they could not be refused. Still he thought that the admitting of them would be of little service, as it would only give them the privilege of starving in company with the present attorneys.*

The usurpations of the Supreme Court culminated in three leading cases known as the Patna case, the Dacca case, and the Cossijura or Midnapore case. In the Patna case the Supreme Court pronounced the proceedings of the native Court to be irregular on the ground of "*Delegatus nil potest delegare*." They said that even if the Provincial Courts had power to try suits, they could not delegate this authority to *Black Agents* as Impey politely called them, and this, too, although the said black agents, *i. e.*, the Kazis and Muftis had only been directed to report on the case before them. It is curious to find that this very maxim about delegation was made use of by Mr. Justice Markby in the question about the Cossyah Hills, and that it was one of the grounds on which he held that the Jurisdiction of the High Court had not been taken away. The Dacca case originated in the violent conduct of a Mr. Peat who began by being Mr. Justice Hyde's clerk, but who developed into a three-headed monster, being at once a Master in Chancery, a Practising Attorney and a Deputy-Sheriff. He was a man of war, also, apparently, for he used firearms and shot the Foujdar's brother-in-law. The unhappy Provincial Council were so beset by him that they tried to hoist him with his own petard, and accused him of having broken a statute of Henry V!

It has been said that the Supreme Court was quite unanimous in asserting its jurisdiction, and that, therefore, personal feeling could have had nothing to do with the matter. But after all there were only four judges, and it is not quite correct that they were all agreed. Hyde went further than Impey; and the son of the latter tells us that Hyde's temper and manners disturbed the unanimity of the Court, and that his views as to the extent of its powers ran into extremes. The last and most glaring case was the Cossijura one. In their proceedings in it the Supreme Court even went so far as to imprison Mr. Naylor, the Company's attorney. They also summoned the Governor-General and Council to answer to a charge of trespass, but all of them except the poor-spirited Barwell refused to appear. The judges declared that this

* The kindly feeling here shown by Sir Elijah has been reciprocated by the profession, and to this day the lawyers stand up for him. Thus even so respectable an authority as Mr.

Herbert Cowell could venture to tell his students that Nandkumar deserved his fate, and that the charges against Impey would not bear examination.

was a clear contempt. and every one expected that something great would occur when of a sudden there was a transformation scene. The poacher became the gamekeeper, and all was peace. In other words, Sir Elijah Impey who had confronted the Government from the judgment seat and asserted his independence of it, consented to be its paid servant and to preside over the Company's courts. I am aware that this account has been challenged, and that the merit of lofty disinterestedness has been claimed for Impey. It has been said that he did all the work of the Company's Courts without a salary. But where, I ask, is the evidence for this? It is certain that a large salary was assigned to Sir Elijah and that he fully expected to be paid. On 12th November 1780 he wrote that no pecuniary satisfaction had been offered or ever mentioned to him, but that he did not imagine it was intended that his trouble was to go unrecompensed. He had grounds for this imagining for already, namely, on the 24th October, the majority of the counsel had resolved that he should have the 5,000 sicca a month and an allowance of Rs. 600 sicca a month as house-rent. It was after this resolution that he accepted the appointment, and it is absurd to suppose that he did not know of it. He discharged the duties and presumably drew the salary for many months, for it was not till July 1781 that is, seven or eight months afterwards, that he began to doubt about the propriety of taking the money. He then wrote that he would decline appropriating the salary till the pleasure of the Lord Chancellor was known. The Lord Chancellor was Thurlow; and whether his pleasure was ever taken on the point I do not know. The Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General, however, were referred to, and they said that they saw nothing illegal in Impey's receiving the salary. Presumably this satisfied Impey, and, if it did not, I cannot doubt that Thurlow, who afterwards strongly supported him, gave an opinion in his favour. Mr. Impey, of course, says that his father drew no pay, but he gives no authority for the statement. He very ridiculously prints a list of judicial deposits received in the Supreme Court from the mofussil, and assumes that because these only amount to a small sum his father did not draw his salary. He evidently imagines that Sir Elijah's salary depended on the fees, and that judicial deposits, *i.e.*, deposits on account of execution of decrees, &c., are the same thing as the pay of the Judge of the Court.

The very words used by Sir Elijah, that he should decline appropriating to himself the salary, seem to imply that he drew it but would keep a separate account of it. It is noticeable, too, that in the long letter of 8th August 1781, published by Mr. Impey, Sir Elijah never says that he has not received any salary. On the contrary,

he justifies his action by quoting the example of Sir Robert Chambers.

In 1782 Impey was recalled, but he did not leave India till the end of 1783. Here I take my leave of his Lordship. He was a wicked, grovelling sort of man, and a disgrace to the Bench. It was not enough, apparently, that he should draw two large salaries, for he seems also to have dabbled in contracts. In a burlesque play-bill published in Hickey's *Gazette*, in June 1781, and which has been republished by a contributor to the *Englishman*, Sir Elijah is introduced under the name of the Venerable Poolbudy and is assigned the part of Judge Jefferies. I suspect that the real word is Pulbandi, and that the allusion is to Impey's supposed share in the contract for repairing embankments in Burdwan. Nominally this contract was held by Sir Elijah's cousin, Archibald Frazer. This gentleman had to give evidence about the contract before the House of Commons, and described himself there, with a Bengali-like particularity in such matters, as the son of the brother of the mother of the said Sir Elijah, and as having lived in his family.

Impey's simple-minded son has written a defence of him, but all it proves is that Sir Elijah was an indulgent father. Mr. Impey had no knowledge of India and wrote very much at random. The defenders of Sir Elijah may ascribe all that Francis and Macaulay said of him to spite and prejudice, but they can hardly say this of Lord Cornwallis. He had no grudge against Sir Elijah, and he has always been accounted an honourable-minded gentleman. Yet he wrote as follows to Dundas in 1786: "I trust you will not send out Sir Elijah Impey. *All parties and descriptions of them agree about him.*" Again in 1788 he wrote to Lord Sydney: "without entering into the merits of the case I am very sorry that things have gone so much against poor Hastings for he certainly has many amiable qualities. If you are in the hanging mood you may tuck up Sir Elijah Impey without giving anybody the smallest concern." I confess that it is with a feeling of vindictive pleasure that one reads that when Sir Elijah stood for Stafford in 1790, the opposite party carried in their procession the effigy of a black man hanging on the gallows, and that this helped to defeat him.

The remainder of Hastings' career in Bengal may be briefly chronicled. In 1780 he had the duel with Francis which led to the latter's retirement from India. In defending himself against the charge of rashness in exposing his life, Hastings wrote that, if he had really been possessed of the trust (the charge of the Government) no consideration or provocation would have made him abandon it to the chance of a personal quarrel, but that in fact he was a mere

name. He added :—"I have been ashamed that I have been made an actor in it. I declare to you upon my honour, that such was my sense of it at the time, that I was much disturbed by an old woman whose curiosity prompted her to stand by as a spectatress of a scene so little comprehended by the natives of this part of the world, and attracted others of the same stamp from the adjacent villages to partake in the entertainment."

In 1781 and '82 Hastings was engrossed with the affairs of Benaras and Oude, and nothing remarkable was effected in Bengal. In May 1782, a few days after the passing of the resolution recalling Impey, a resolution was carried in the House of Commons for the recal of the Governor-General and also of the Governor of Bombay (Hornby). The Court of Proprietors, however, supported Hastings, and the result was that he remained in India till February 1785.

In the last years of his stay he seems to have been surrounded with financial difficulties, public and private. He was a bad economist and it was his desperate and unscientific efforts to extricate himself and his government which led to his most questionable acts. There is a curious paper of 15th May 1781 in which he and his council bewail the difficulties occasioned by the too great number of covenanted civilians. "In fact," they say, "the civil officials of this Government might be reduced to a very secondary number were their exigency alone to determine the list of your civil servants, which at this time consists of no less a number than 252, many of them the sons of the first families in the kingdom of Great Britain, and every one aspiring to the rapid acquisition of lacs, and to return to pass the prime of their lives at home as multitudes have done before them. Neither will the revenues of this country suffice for such boundless pretensions, nor are they compatible with your and the national interests which may eventually suffer as certain ruin from the effects of private competition and the claims of patronage as from the more dreadful calamities of war or the other ordinary causes which lead to the decline of dominion. We dare not pursue this subject nor could we without a sacrifice of our duty withhold this brief suggestion of it to your notice." The mind and apologetic tone of the above is remarkable. Evidently the council felt that they were treading on dangerous ground in hinting that the Court of Directors were exercising their powers of appointment too freely. To the jobbers at home India meant patronage, and they would have been quite ready to say perish India, if it could not give them posts for their families and friends.

In 1783 the tyranny of Debi Singh, who was at once Farmers Security and Dewan of Rungpore, led to an insurrection of the peasantry. An investigation was held by Mr. Paterson of the Civil Service, and his report furnished Burke with some of the most terrible passages of his opening speech. I have, however, never seen the report and am not aware if it is still in existence. Paterson, it is said, was afterwards alarmed at the use Burke made of his report and disclaimed any intention of reflecting on Hastings. It seems probable, indeed, that Hastings was only remotely connected with the affair and that the real culprits were Debi Singh and the Committee of Revenue. Hastings, however, was so far to blame that he well knew the character of Debi Singh and yet allowed him so much power. When his conduct was brought to light, and Goodlad, the Collector, was charged with connivance or neglect, Hastings said that he entirely acquitted him, and that he so well knew the character and abilities of Rajah Debi Singh, that he could easily conceive that it was in his power both to commit the enormities laid to his charge and to conceal them from Mr. Goodlad. It appears from Mr. Glazier's book which also contains some interesting documents relating to the insurrection, that Debi Singh got off scot-free, but that his sub-lessee had a year's imprisonment. This was in 1789 and in the time of Lord Cornwallis.

In the beginning of 1784 Mrs. Hastings went home to England, to the bitter grief of her husband. He provided her with a companion for the voyage in the person of a Mrs. Motte but perhaps she had a better object of interest in Shore's cousin, poor Cleveland of Bhaugalpore, who also went home in the *Atlas*, and who died at sea. Hastings accompanied his wife down the river, and perhaps some way further, and she has preserved a letter in which he describes the pangs of the separation "I lost you yesterday morning;" he writes, "I followed your ship with my eyes till I could no longer see it and passed a most wretched day with a heart swoln with affliction and a heart aching with pain. I have been three days in making this place (Culpee) when I met my budgerow and on it I suffer renewal of my sorrow. The instant sight of the cabin and every object in it and beyond it brought my dear Marian to my imagination, with the daily reflection that she was then more than 200 miles removed from me and still receding to a distance which seems, in my estimation, infinite and irretrievable." This letter was dated Culpee, Sunday evening (11th January 1784), and was sent by a Mrs. Sands in hopes that her ship might reach the Cape before Mrs. Hastings left it. Hastings returned to England in company with his friends Shore and Ander-

son and reached home in June 1785. He was, according to those (Lord Teignmouth) a delightful companion on the voyage, and poured forth the stores of a cultivated mind.

In 1788 he stood in the trial before the House of Lords. This trial, as is well known, lasted for seven years, a fact which, if it did not procure his acquittal, at least enhanced, greatly, the public sympathy for him. In truth, however, the actual trial did not consume much time, and a great part of the delay which did occur was owing to the perpetual interruptions caused by the prisoner's counsel. Dr. Markham, the Archbishop of York, told Burke that he examined one of the witnesses as if he were a pick-pocket, but it might have been said with more truth that the lawyers defended Hastings as if he were a pick-pocket. No quibble was too shabby for them and no cavil too slight. Altogether the trial occupied 130 days and the sittings were only for three or four hours each day. The length of the proceedings, therefore, sinks into insignificance when it is compared with the duration of the Tichborne case.

The opening scene of the trial has been brilliantly described by Macaulay. It was a splendid pageant, but there was failure in the end. The prisoner was acquitted and at the same time was impoverished. The only people who really benefitted by the proceedings were the lawyers.

To us, who look back on the trial from a distance of nearly one hundred years, perhaps the only figure to be contemplated with satisfaction is that of Edmund Burke. The trial was glorious to him and to nobody else. In his stainless integrity and combination of plain living and high-thinking he stands among the crowd of politicians, as solitary and superior as Hannibal in the Carthaginian senate. The question has often been asked, who was the greatest Englishman of the 18th century? If we view the question from an Indian stand-point it is easily answered. The greatest Englishman connected with India was not Hastings, or Cornwallis, it was Edmund Burke. It is a singular circumstance that perhaps the greatest benefactors of India have been men who never set foot on it. In the last century there was Burke and in modern times we have had James Mill, Mr. Bright and Mr. Fawcett.

I feel the more bound to raise a voice, however feeble, in praise of Burke, because a man for whom I have a high respect has treated him unfairly. I refer to James Mill, who has, as I think, cruelly and unjustly described him as a man who lived upon applause. This is a harsh censure of a man who endured so much obloquy for the sake of his principles. The truth is that Mill could no more appreciate Burke than he could Carlyle. The intense was to him, as his son tells us, a by-word of scornful disapprobation and the only greatness that he could understand was

that which draped itself in stoicism. But stoicism is a philosophy of endurance rather than of action, and no mere stoic ever accelerated the march of the world.*

The trial of Hastings has been often compared to that of Verres. There was a considerable resemblance between them, but Verres was a less imposing criminal than Hastings, and he had no great services to point to in his defence. The result of the Roman trial was so far more satisfactory, that the accused was not acquitted, but had to go into exile. He took his plunder with him, however, and the Sicilians got small redress for their wrong. On the whole, we must say that neither trial was very creditable to the country concerned. The fact is, that in both cases there was not sufficient public virtue for the condemnation of the accused. The aristocracies of Rome and England had shared too much, directly or indirectly, in the plunder to be able to punish the criminal before them. Hastings' services in providing for so many of the sons of the best families in Great Britain pleaded powerfully in his favor. How, for example, could the Archbishop of York condemn him or even sit as one of his Judges, when his son was indebted to Hastings for his advancement in life.†

I have now finished these sketches of Hastings' career. It will be seen that I am far from thoroughly admiring him. He seems to me to have been a very clever man who was imperfectly educated, and consequently was dexterous and shifty rather than great. His character and abilities may perhaps be diagnosed from the two facts, that he went to India before the battle of Plassey and eventually became Governor-General. No man could have begun life as he did, and risen so high, without the possession of rare ability and determination, and no one could have lived for several years among the "Nabob-makers" and shared their counsels without becoming lax in principles and somewhat hard of heart. The favourite defence made for all his crimes is, that he was obliged to act as he did by the necessities of his position. This is but a sorry excuse, for if it were valid nearly every evil deed could

* The abuse poured by Major Scott and his friends on Burke is well known. The brutal Thurlow spoke of his speeches in the Hastings' trial as being the slaver of a mad dog and Scott described him as a reptile. This last comparison found expression in an epigram which occurs among the Hastings papers, but which is, I suspect, too good to be Hastings' own. It runs as follows:—

Of course I wondered that on Irish ground
No poisonous reptile ever yet was found.

But nature soon or late completes her work
She saved her venom to create a Burke.

† In 1782 Barwell wrote to Hastings. The Archbishop of York called upon me two days ago with a letter from his son; "regarded as a composition it was elegant, as the effusion of a heart overflowing with gratitude and honest indignation, matchless. The old man was in rapture, and dwelt upon it with that sedate dignity which marks his character and commands respect."

be justified. No man is bound to become, or to remain, Governor-General; and if he cannot hold the office with honour, his plain duty is to retire.

I gladly allow that Hastings performed great services, and that he was nobler and better than most of those who assembled in Westminster Hall to judge him or to accuse him. It is also a very just remark of Mr. Mill, that no public man's character was ever so completely explored and laid open to view as Hastings'. "It is my firm conviction," says the historian, "that if we had the same advantage with respect to other men, who have been as much engaged in the conduct of public affairs, and could view their conduct as completely naked and stripped of all its disguises, few of them would be found whose character would present a higher claim to indulgence than his. In point of ability he is beyond all question the most eminent of the chief rulers whom the Company have ever employed; nor is there any one of these, who would not have succumbed under the difficulties which, if he did not overcome, he at any rate sustained."

H. BEVERIDGE.

NOTE.—In my second paper I referred to Dr. Hunter's description of the Commercial Resident as a representation of Vishnu, in the Puranas, and remarked that Hastings' letters gave another and less pleasing picture of that official. My criticism was perhaps unjust, for Dr. Hunter's description refers to a subsequent period when the mofussil authorities were more under control.

The Hastings MSS. in the British Museum form a most valuable collection, and I hope that some day they will be made full use of. A very interesting book of extracts might be compiled from them. Among other things they contain a diary by one of the victims of Mir Kassim, describing the march from Monghyr, &c. Mr. Talboys Wheeler has printed part of this paper in his record book. Then there are some letters of the Surveyor, Mr. Ritchie, dated 1775, descriptive of the Swatch of no ground &c. In them Ritchie speaks of the Haringhatta as being the most navigable river in Bengal. He says it is easier to enter than the Hughli, and is in no other way inferior to it. Then we have correspondence with a Mr. Baldwin about the Overland Route and a copy of a Treaty of Navigation and Commerce between the Bey of Egypt, and Hastings, dated 1st March 1775. The MSS. also contains a description of the early history of Krishnagur, and an account of the Jungle Mahal, by Captain Brown. The letters of Mr. Hancock to his wife, which form part of the collection, are a valuable addition to our knowledge of Anglo-Indian life. There is a letter from Hastings to Suffrein of 16th July 1783, in which he says that the regret expressed by the latter for having been obliged to send our prisoners to Hyder Ali, is dictated by a mind conscious of its truth. There is also correspondence with Turner, the explorer of Bhutan, who, it seems, was a relation of Hastings. In a letter dated 27th October 1783, Hastings wishes to have from a Mr. Davis a portrait of the brother of the late Teeshoo Lama, "whose memory I revere, esteeming him the most perfect character that I have ever known out of my own country and not exceeded by any in it." The MSS. contain also a full account of a duel fought on 6th September 1773 between a Mr. Rochford and a Mr. Petre.

The Impey MSS. are also in the British Museum, but I have not examined them.

ART. VI.—THE RITUAL MOVEMENT IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

A MOVEMENT so remarkable as the "Ritual Revival" in the Church of England scarcely needs an apology for its discussion in the pages of even an Indian Review. Had the movement never been heard of out of England itself, it would still be a subject deserving attention, but as a matter of fact Ritualism, as it is called, has found its advocates in India. Not, indeed, that we have seen it in any extreme form, that our Bishops have had to deal with any 'advanced' teaching on the subject. The very moderation with which any progress in that direction has been made, however, renders it the more easy and perhaps the more opportune to invite men to a consideration of the subject. It is too late to talk of the causes of a flood when the angry waters are actually surging about the walls of our house.

Of late, too, the matter has been brought into more than usual prominence by the facts that an able Romanist ecclesiastic the *Abbé Martin*, has considered the subject in an article in the "*Nineteenth Century*" and has followed up to the subject in the "*Contemporary*" by another article in which he asks—"Why Ritualists do not become Roman Catholics."

Even in India, the subject has not been one merely of speculative interest. It really forms the underlying grievance in the important differences between the Church Missionary Society and the Bishop of Colombo, and of course, as in all cases where the parties are nominally at variance about one thing, and really so about another, the settlement of the dissension is rendered proportionately difficult.

Lastly, that I may not spend further time on introduction, I would only allude to the immense vitality and popularity of the movement. On this subject the *Abbé Martin* says, and with perfect truth:—

"A religious system which has made such progress as Ritualism has made in spite of the attacks directed against it, of the obstacles placed in its way, and of the legal prosecutions in which it has been involved, must indeed possess strong principles and elements of vitality. Nor is there any doubt that Ritualism is on the increase. * * * *"

"Not long since a law directed against Ritualism was passed.* * This new law has been put in force, some clergy have been deprived of their livings and the same fate is preparing for others; yet in spite of all these alarming facts. * * * I repeat that Ritualism still advances and advances with rapid strides.* * *"

"And the rising tide is not limited to the members of the Anglican Church, it has even extended to the dissenting communities and to the Wesleyans in particular."

It is clear that a very great number of persons do throng (and that not merely out of curiosity, as for a nine days' wonder) to the most advanced Ritualist teaching and worship, and that multitudes both of people and priests are captivated by its spirit; it is equally clear on the other hand, that in some congregations there is a strong division of feeling on the subject, resulting in fierce legal struggles and even forcible attempts by one section to oust the other; writers and speakers on both sides attack each other, not only enthusiastically, but with a passionate bitterness to which we can hardly show a parallel.

In the midst of such pronounced partisanship, it is very difficult for moderate men who are still "doubtful whereunto this may grow" to know where to look for a criterion by which to judge how far this movement is an evil to be resisted, or how far it is a good thing to be encouraged or at least let alone.

Whatever side my readers may take in the dispute, it is equally important to understand the movement aright; but it is by no means clear that all have understood it, or have even honestly tried to do so. The violent language and even reckless imputations uttered by some who may be quite sincere in their belief that the movement is wrong are too often accompanied by complete innocence of any real appreciation of the questions at issue, and as long as this is so, their attack will not only fail, but will actually strengthen the opposite party.

What rational being was ever convinced, or even led to weigh the question fairly, by mere rhetorical tirades against altars, crosses, and candles; by shouts of "no Popery," and "the Church is in danger" or by reiterated allusions to harlots in scarlet robes? Yet this language is too often adopted, as if it were conclusive on the subject.

On the other hand, it may with equal reason be asked, are the defenders of the Ritualist Camp, themselves always sure of their own grounds? Do they show that they have considered the origin, and ultimate tendency of the movement? Do they always distinguish between what is good authority, and what is not, for believing a doctrine or resuscitating a form?

Important as the understanding of the question must be to both sides, I must confess that I have not yet, among the various writings on this subject, found any that account satisfactorily, for the movement, or bring to light the real springs of its action and power.

One writer takes the superficial view that it is all a question of taste and of the Art-revival which has been equally progressing in the world outside; another set of writers are content to dispose of the matter by treating it as an infamous conspiracy, a Jesuit plot, to bring back England to the Roman obedience; while the latest contribution already alluded to, discerns in it a powerful move in the right direction, but argues that the supporters and leaders of the movement have not sufficient enlightenment to go *wholly right*. This part of the argument the Ritualistic leaders would do well to ponder.

The defect seems to lie in this; the subject has been considered in some one point of view to the exclusion of others; and Ritualism is pre-eminently a subject which will not yield to such an examination.

As in physical investigations, so in moral, it is the complex phenomena that give the greatest trouble. Where the action of one law is involved in, and modified by, the action of others, there it is that the observer's skill is tasked to trace out the consequences. For when two or more forces act simultaneously, a new resultant may be observed different from the effect which either force by itself might have produced.

It is so with Ritualism; the totality of the movement is the result of the co-operation of various different factors. No one of them alone would produce the effect even if its separate operation could really be traced out, which is far from being the case.

And it is here submitted that the strength and the weakness of the "Ritualistic" case consists in the strange interaction of forces; some are moving in a right direction, others tending in one that is deplorably wrong.

Its opponents often appreciate only the latter, while its defenders are still more inexorably bound to recognize only the former; Hence it is the controversy waxes hotter and hotter; our "*Rocks*" continue to rave and our "*Church Times*" to revile, all the more because the one strikes without discrimination at what cannot be impugned, and the other defends what would, but for the glare of excited feeling, appear as distinctly untenable.

To study exhaustively all that is involved in the theory and practice of Ritualism would be obviously impossible within the narrow limits of an article; but it may be possible, at least such

is my hope, to indicate the chief factors in the movement, to point to the sources from which spring those beliefs and practices which some herald as the survival of the true Kingdom of God, and others condemn as the very breath of the Beast in the Apocalyptic vision.

I have already premised that the difficulty of rightly understanding the Ritual movement chiefly consists in the fact that it does not depend on the action of one or even several separate factors, but on the combined influence of all.

It is not, however, possible in the first instance to examine these different factors, otherwise than individually and separately. But this necessary isolation of treatment will not affect our conclusions if we bear in mind what has been said. Nor will it matter in what order the different factors are brought under consideration; the taking of any one of them first, will not imply that greater or less importance is attached to it, as contributing more or less to the total result. I propose, therefore, to take those first which are the most easily disposed of.

Following this order, every one will admit that the revival of Art and the appreciation of the beautiful has a very large share in the movement. This is indeed so obvious, that this part of the question has always received fairly adequate consideration.

It is not necessary here to consider what has led the public taste to revolt from the reign of hideousness which has long held our householders in bondage in all their details from the humblest jug in our kitchens to the twisted and gilt abominations which formed the furniture of our drawing-rooms. The revival of public taste, here taken for granted as a fact, soon made people feel the inappropriateness of the dingy white-wash, the high, baize-lined pews, the clerk and parson,—old woman and dust pan, theory of Church-worship into which congregations and ministers had gradually sunk.

The decadence of art in connection with churches and their public service dates from the days when the Puritan element in the Reformation, predominated.

When men of little imagination and strong practical character revolted against the tyranny of priest-craft and the corruptions of spiritual religion, the tendency of the reaction was to regard every external expression of worship as directly connected with the errors put away. With stern delight the heads of sculptured Apostles were broken off, Church carvings were destroyed, altars, which, though dead, spoke of mystic sacrifices and "the Mass," were removed, reredoses and chancel sculptures were defaced or buried in plaster, and all that could appeal to the eye or to the feelings was voted "superstitious."

When this period of strong excitement passed away, it was succeeded by another period of mere dullness, and indifference.* The clergy lost all the Apostolic spirit; they became either stupid and worldly, or learned and polite, but equally dead to spiritual things.

Church preferment became a prize, not to furnish means for greater zeal and liberality in good works, but to enable the holder to ensconce himself in a more luxurious library and cheer his soul with rare old port. There was no more zeal for the salvation of souls. Preaching then became a mere hebdomadal droning of dull moralities or dreary religious saws which were not even intended to wake the respectabilities slumbering in their pews below.

No wonder that Abbè Martin, in common with all his Church, thinks this was the necessary fruit of the evil tree, Anglicanism.

But, alas, there are men without spirituality in every creed: and the deadness of priest and people in those times is no more proof that the reformed Catholic doctrine is false, than the ignorance, and social degradation of the priesthood in Portugal (for instance), or the vile music, the dirty vestments, the tawdry Saint-dolls, the irreverent gabbling of the Holy Mass, or the mechanical devotions of the people which one witnesses all over the Continent (in all but a few of the leading churches and cathedrals), are a proof that Roman doctrine is false.

But to return, the revival in Art came, and the men who welcomed back the spirit of beauty into their own households, felt that they could not dwell in houses of cedar, while their God was worshipped in temples of plaster, and thus it came that a demand for Art in the conduct of public worship,† which was too thoroughly right and proper to need further comment here, arose.

And then with this very Art-revival was closely associated that remembrance of the Christian past which struck a new and powerful chord in the hearts of men. Art could not invent a new ritual or create a new style of ornament. The best surviving specimens of old Church-Art showed a beauty and appropriateness, or at least a quaint and taking flavour of antiquity, that was irresistibly attractive.

The spirit of historical and antiquarian enquiry also came to aid the revival. Men began to break off the plaster-crust and find beneath it the remains of beautiful frescos; here and there an ancient reredos was disinterred, rich with its sculptured story

* I speak of the period by its effect as a whole. I do not of course forget that there were some beautiful specimens of Church Art, especially carving, of the Seventeenth Century;

and that there has been a too great tendency to despise this.

† See, on this, subject Keble's exquisite hymn for the 3rd Sunday after the Epiphany (Christian year).

of Knights, of the cross, or of halo-crowned Saints. In a word, the art of the past (revived with the technical improvements of the present) was the art of the Church, partly because of its own beauty, partly because of archæologic interest awakened, but above all, because, it pointed to a revival of the Catholic feeling; it was the gathering up of the thread of continuity which bound the Anglican-Catholic Church to the old Catholic Church. This last feeling is so powerful a factor in the theory of "Ritualism," that we must devote to it a more particular consideration presently.

But before doing so, a subject connected with the artistic aspect of Ritualism demands our attention. I allude to the influence of *Symbolism*.

Every part of the ancient Church-art was symbolic. The proportions of the Church, the position of the Apse, the colors of the hangings and vestments, the forms which were embroidered, blazoned, or sculptured, as the case might be, all had a symbolic meaning.

Now it must frankly be admitted that symbolism affects different minds differently. To some it seems appropriate and natural, to others, ridiculous, or at least without serious meaning or value. And in the same way all minds are not equally constituted as regards the effect of outward acts, or visible signs in worship, or of ornaments in Church buildings; for this is only another aspect of the same thing.

There are, indeed, a number of ceremonies and symbols which are directly expressive of some specific doctrinal belief; and these are of course tenaciously adhered to by those who hold, and are with equal force objected to by those who deny, the beliefs in question. I shall not omit the consideration of these in their place; but at present I am concerned with the general question of the use of outward acts, ceremonies and gestures, which are simply external expressions of religious feeling, of reverence, of adoration, and so forth, or else express facts and things which *in themselves* are accepted by all Christians. Such for instance are the practice of turning to the East while reciting the Creed, the reverences made at certain parts of the *Te Deum*, *Magnificat*, at the *Glorias*, and in the Nicene Creed, the signing with the cross at the close of the Creed and elsewhere, the restoration of the old church use of certain colors to mark fast or festival days and the use of the cross (not the *Crucifix* with a figure, which may be objected to on other grounds) and the other ornaments of the 'retable', or shelf behind the Altar.

The turning to the East at the *glorias* and creeds, never had, and has not now, any reference to the particular sanctity of the chancel, or of the altar, which is in the East; the kneeling or bow-

ing at the '*Et incarnatus*' in the Nicene creed, a practice fourteen centuries old, has no necessary connection with any worship of the eucharistic elements (which at the time are not on the Altar). But these gestures express in the one case our agreement and united attitude as regards our belief, and our desire to maintain the 'faith once delivered to the saints', * in the other our humble adoration of the condescending love which led Divinity to veil itself in human form for our sake. The signing of the cross is a memorial to the person using it, of his baptismal vows, and of the service to which he belongs; signed by the presbyter in blessing, it symbolizes the fulness of the blessing as it proceeds from each and every person or subsistence in the Divine Unity.

None of these things are in themselves rejected by any Christian, but the use of the gestures or symbols implying them is objected to by many, not on any doctrinal ground, but either as a matter of sentiment, or in the mistaken idea that *all* external marks of worship are "Popish."

But some will urge, if this is so, even admitting that nothing intrinsically false is contained in such ceremonies, why not reject them, if some minds do not appreciate them? I do not wish at this stage, to offer a categorical answer to the question: for a true answer will best be arrived at, after we have brought forward and weighed a series of considerations which must not be overlooked; that done, the matter may safely be left to the reader to conclude for himself, whether the Anglo-Catholic Church is not (and apart from any question of authority) essentially in the right as regards its teaching on the subject.

It will hardly be necessary here to make the remark that a certain amount of ritual in public worship is absolutely unavoidable. The act of kneeling is an external act exactly of the same class as signing oneself with the cross; the act of the minister who leaves the church, puts on a black gown before he ascends the pulpit, and again exchanges it for the surplice before commencing the Communion office, is a piece of 'Ritualism' exactly *ejusdem generis* with the use of a green Altar frontal, or a white stole†; yet the opponents of Ritualism have never attacked the one, as they have the other.

Not only is some ritual unavoidable, but it is, I submit, most thoroughly untrue that every thing that is added externally to

* Originally the east was selected as the point, because there was the Holy City, there the land where our Lord lived and suffered; but, the practice becoming *symbolical*, of course the *East* is retained in all countries,

however, geographically situated with respect to Jerusalem itself.

† Observe, I do not speak of the chancel, which has a *specific doctrinal signification*.

worship, is taken away from the spirituality of it. In the first place it is as possible to have a service which is as truly unspiritual, in a church where nothing but whitewash and deal boards meet the eye all round, as it is in a church in which every faculty of the mind and every perceptive sense is appealed to, to join in the spirit's worship. Man is so complex in structure that, as a fact, we can rarely if ever detect the absolutely separate action of the body, the intellect or the spirit; all are perpetually in action together; and it is equally impossible to say that in worship, especially public worship, we will have nothing for mind or sense to do, but only for the spirit.

And I would here but very briefly touch on a subject which is generally misunderstood. I allude to the analogy which Christian public worship bears to the forms of the ancient temple ritual.

In the Christian service no ritual is prescribed by revelation. The spirit of becomingness and beautiful order is to be felt in our doings in God's house; that is all: but it seems to be taken by some persons that, because a ritual is not prescribed (as it was to the Jews), *therefore* everything, without discrimination, that is outward, is distinctly prohibited.

On that view the Bible history of the temple-worship must be only a curious study and an exercise for ingenuity in working out the symbolical meanings; hardly that, for anything that has a symbolical meaning is an object of horror* to these people.

I submit that this is a wholly mistaken view; and that the temple ritual is described in scripture, not of course to be literally followed at the present day, but still for a purpose which goes beyond a mere historical record, or an illustration of the undeveloped theology of the Jews. Indirectly it does actually give us a very good idea of what is the appropriate spirit of symbolism in public worship, and how little ground there is for dissociating the bodily sense, the intellect and the imagination, from our acts of public worship.

As far, then, as the Ritualist party has been concerned in restoring art to our churches, or in a natural reaction against the too great exclusion of the external in public worship, to resist it altogether is to simply to kick against the pricks, and that in a manner which sound reason will not support us in doing. And be it remembered, that in such a controversy every false position taken up, every misapplied term of reprehension, every denunciation of a thing, as 'Popish', which has in fact no connection with

† A cross in the chancel that had the water which came from His five jewels, four red and one white, wounded side) was, I found, symbolic of the five wounds of our considered very shocking.
Lord, (the white one reminding of

Popery, is simply encouraging the evil and strengthening it, as far as it is evil, and in any case is simply adding fuel to the baneful fires of controversial wrath on either side.

But the opponents of Ritualism who have had the patience to read so far, will by this time exclaim that in the matter of external ceremonies we have only touched the outer edge of the matter. Some of the revived ceremonies, they will urge, imply things which are, to say the least of it, doubtful and others imply doctrines which are decidedly wrong.

To begin with the former, for instance; processions are made within the Church walls, on stated festivals. As far indeed as these consist in the clergy and choir entering the church or chancel by a longer route than usual, singing hymns of praise as they go, few will be disposed to think that anything more than a matter of taste or feeling is involved in the practice. But in some such ceremonies candles are carried, or flowers and palms used, incense is diffused before the clergy, and the old ritual books contain forms of *blessing and consecrating* the censers, the vestments, the flowers, &c.*

The use of "holy water" is another instance, of this kind of ceremony: the water itself is blessed, before any one thinks of using it.

And going far beyond these, there are ceremonies of censuring the altar, all kinds of gestures and elevations and genuflections and bell-rings during the Holy Eucharist. Where are we to draw the line? What ceremonies shall we keep; what shall we reject?

It cannot be denied that ritual may be carried, and is carried in some places, to an extent which swallows up everything else; witness the Greek Church for instance, or the Church generally, at the time of the Reformation; but what, asks our prayer book preface, "would St. Augustine have said if he had seen the ceremonies of late days used among us, whereunto the multitude "used in his time was not to be compared."

What, then, was the principle which the Anglican Church adopted? it was this:—*not* to destroy the old ritual and invent a new

* See Mr. Walker's "services of the Church according to the Sarum use" (London, J. T. Hayes).

There we find "offices" for the blessing of ashes to be distributed for the Lenten fast, for the blessing of candles at the feast of the Purification and for the blessing of flowers and palms. The prayer for the blessing of candles for instance after invoking the Almighty. "Who willed „ that by the labor of bees this fluid

"should be brought to the perfection of wax,"—asks that the *candles may be blessed, and sanctified*, and that the congregation may be blessed who desire reverently to bear them in their hands to the praise and exaltation of His Name, &c. In the case of the palms, the "creature of flowers and leaves" is exorcised in the holy names that "the power of the devil and all the host of the adversary may be expelled from it."

one, but to prune off and reject (which the Church on any possible theory has the right to do) such excrescences as had proved to be useless or mischievous.

"Those external ceremonies only were to be retained which did serve to a decent order and godly discipline and such as be apt to stir up the dull mind of man to the remembrance of his duty to God, by some *notable and special signification* whereby he might be edified."*

And if it be asked what ceremonies are those which lead to abuses? I would say first that they are those that distinctly signify a thing which is not true, or a doctrine that is false, and that every ceremony, however devotional or imposing, or beautiful, must be patiently considered with a view to determining this, first of all.

For instance (not here to discuss questions of doctrine), if it is true that in celebrating the Holy Communion, the priest is offering mystically, a true but unbloody sacrifice, it is also right that he should wear the chasuble which is the sacrificial vestment 'notably signifying,' that doctrine. Incense also would be offered as highly appropriate.†

If, on the other hand, the priestly sacrifice is not a fact, then the chasuble, the elevation, the censuring and the bell-rings should be rejected absolutely.

By the same standard also should such ceremonies as the blessing of water, altars, candles, flowers, and such like, be judged. These ceremonies might indeed be considered as part and parcel of the former class in this respect. If it is not true that our religion gives us any authority for offering any kind of 'worship' or reverence to any external object, the censuring of altars, the Book of the Gospels, &c., is a superstitious practice; if also there is no reason to believe that God will (in answer to prayer) impart virtue to water, or to candles, when blessed in due form, or that there may be a devil sitting in the lilies which we place in the altar vases, then the exorcisms and blessing must be regarded as unmixed superstition.‡

* Preface to Prayer Book (of Ceremonies.)

† Lighted candles are sometimes made a great question of. They are sometimes said to symbolize the presence of Christ: but there is no necessary reference to any doctrine of transubstantiation, and surely Christ is present in a very special sense during the Celebration of the Eucharist. Considering the extreme antiquity of the custom and the certainty that it was in use before any doctrine of

corporal presence was invented, I would submit that the custom is unobjectionable, but should never be adopted where any ill-feeling would be aroused, or misconception encouraged.

‡ Nor is there anything in these practices, in common with the usual (but not prescribed) consecration of churches, and grave-yards. Nothing is done beyond devoting formally certain buildings or places to a religious purpose, some public ceremony being desirable to notify the fact. But it

Again, as I am not discussing doctrine, I do not say that these things are true or false, but I do say that the dispassionate determination of their truth or falsity affords at least one perfectly safe criterion of the admissibility of the ritual. And I further say that emotional, artistically-minded people are often led to follow the ritual without one thought whether the *facts* are true or false, and are thus ensnared and their faith undermined. By these tests I would submit all ritual must be tried; and this is practically what the Catholic Church in its Anglican congregation, requires. Briefly to resume the substance of them they are:—

- (1). That all ritual which expresses anything that is not true *in* (Divine) *fact*, should be rejected.
- (2). That all ritual which does not so offend, should be maintained, provided it is in itself appropriate and does not prove a hindrance, as for instance, where ceremonial is made so intricate that it distracts the attention from what is inward, and engrosses it on the form.

Spiritual worship *may* be aided, by external forms, and all ancient and settled ritual should be regarded and not set aside unless it militates against one or other of these canons.

It follows that in reviving Church-art and Church-worship in accordance with such principles, and not otherwise, in restoring what has fallen into undeserved disuse from mere negligence, our "Ritualists," *so far*, have not done anything which is revolutionary or wrong in principle. To mingle them in one common confusion with those who have acted otherwise, and who have over-stepped the limits laid down, is neither wise nor justifiable. Moreover, even in the case where the ritual has distinctly expressed error, it is not a tirade against the external, but a calm *disproof of the error it symbolizes*, that is wanted. It is very little use trying to repress the ritual expression of a doctrine, unless you convince people that the doctrine itself is false.

And one of the reasons why the attempt to repress Ritualism has been so far from successful is that it has fallen into this error. But this subject must be reserved for a brief notice when we have reached a further stage in our argument.

I must now hasten to that feature in the movement which has been already alluded to, as of great importance, I allude to the claim to Catholicity. As far as the principle involved in this claim, is kept within its true limits, its influence is, I submit, a right one.

Certainly seems appropriate to accompany this dedication of the buildings with prayer and praise. And I think the old custom of "consecrating" the Communion plate and other offerings

of the same kind was very suitable. But it is entirely different from exorcising palms or imputing supposed *virtue* to water, or material objects.

It is, however, as usual, confused by the attacking party with others that are not so, in one indiscriminating censure. The claim is simply this; that the Anglo-Catholic religion is not a new faith invented and founded in the sixteenth century, but is *the* one Catholic faith that *always has been* since the day of its delivery; and that the local churches which have kept this faith and cast off errors (which other branches have fallen into and insisted on retaining) are alone logically entitled to be called 'Catholic.'

The Ritualist movement, has been based to a great extent, on this claim. "We restore the idea of continuity which was in danger of being lost, from mere neglect. You have allowed the forms of public worship to become so changed that the fashion into which we had gradually sunk during the last 50 years was one that no one could recognize as Catholic. We have endeavoured to restore the Catholic form and ask on what ground it should be departed from?" They pursue the same argument regarding many points of doctrine also. I am far from saying that in all cases they can justly appeal to this principle or that it always bears them out, but *in so far as it does* so, it is in my opinion, a principle which affords an unassailable stand-point.

This feeling is what writers of the Romanist Church always fail to appreciate.

If a church never can and never does err, of course all its practices and gradual growths are part and parcel of the true and right way; and that is the Roman view.

But in England *all* classes, "Puritan," "Low Church," "High Church," or "Ritualist," are agreed that in some respects,—at various times in its history,—the church has gone astray, and adopted doctrines and practices that were bad; there has been, indeed, always in the church somewhere, a preservation of the true testimony, because there is the divine promise that "the gates of hell shall never prevail against it."

True believers, as individuals may fall often, and be restored; the collective body may do the same. The church, divine as is its foundation, is made up of human elements, and it is human to err? It is not promised that error shall not creep in, but that it shall not *prevail*? No error can therefore have a permanent hold; disease may attack the body, but its inextinguishable vitality will ever enable it to shake off the evil and return to primitive purity and obedience.

When the great movement for purification which had long been going on, culminated in the work of the sixteenth century, it was the practical result (whether necessarily or rightly so, I cannot here enquire) that men did not agree entirely as to the extent of

the work to be done. In general, the difference may be briefly stated thus :—Some thought the Church so corrupt that we had to begin *de novo* casting off all old methods of Government, all old forms of worship, liturgies, and everything else, and reconstruct the fabric aided by the light of the scripture alone. Others again could not accept, or see the need for, such a course ; the Church might have failed in watchfulness and diligence, it might have allowed error to infect both doctrine and practice ; but it was still the Church-Catholic, on the foundation of the Holy Apostles and prophets, having its official ministry, even though some were personally unworthy, directly connected with the Apostles themselves. In clearing away the error and casting out everything that defiled, the Reformed Church did not become a new institution, any more than a man who having fallen into the mire, has washed himself and cast off his defiled garments, becomes a different man from what he was before, by so doing.

The Ritualist movement has eminently asserted this view of the case ; so, indeed, did the old High Church party ; and I submit that in this aspect of the matter, the Ritualist movement deserves entire sympathy.

Those who disclaim or lose sight of the essential continuity of the Church are in a singular position. It seems to me that we are Catholics or we are nothing. From this stand-point I simply ask to be convinced that I hold anything that the Catholic Church has not always and everywhere held, or that I reject anything that the Church has so held. This is the faith once and for ever delivered to the Saints, not the faith which blossoms out into new dogmas, one in 1854, and another in 1870, so that no one can say when he may have something new to believe, or "be anathema" if he doubt it.

A necessary consequence of this view is that those who appreciate it naturally *object to cast away any practice or form or liturgy that belongs to the past ages of the Church, unless it is distinctly a corruption in itself, or directly expresses what is erroneous.* As a consequence, they approve the revival of those devout practices and the restoration of the Church ornaments and customs of worship, which the rubrics of the Anglican office book neither condemn in principle, nor abolish by direct command, and the present disuse of which is merely the result of the utter neglect, deadness and slovenliness of the last century. And this is the view which I would cordially commend for the united adoption of all churchmen.

It is to be regretted that in some instances a determined opposition has been offered to this, and that some have purposely adopted certain peculiar forms (*i.e.*, a ritual which they approve)

which have become the badges of a particular set of views. The so-called "Northward position" during the celebration of the Holy Eucharist is one that affords a good instance of this misuse.

It will hardly be contended that there is any historical doubt that for centuries past the position of the minister was with his back to the people and his face towards the East,* while he was ministering at the Holy Table. This is the natural position and the most convenient.

It cannot be contended either, that this has any necessary connection with the doctrine of a sacrifice† in the Holy Eucharist; consequently, the alteration of the custom cannot justly be claimed as desirable in order to protest against error. It is equally impossible to deny that at no time did the Puritan party, the party who wanted to break with the old church altogether, ever care about the position of the minister; what they cared about was the whole altar; and they actually procured its removal and the substitution of a table which stood detached from any wall and usually in the body of the chancel, endwise. And the rubric, which still stands, directs the minister to follow the Holy Table and stand at what then had become the North side.

Archbishop Laud, as is well known, procured the restoration of the tables to their original position against the East wall, and, by a mere oversight, the rubric which had reference to the former state of things was left standing. It should consequently have become obsolete, because, as a fact, it is impossible to stand at the 'North side' as we know historically the rubric meant it. Those who wish consistently to follow the rubric, should insist on having the altar where it was when the rubric had a meaning.

The position at one end of the altar is therefore not only unmeaning, but (while it must be *in itself* indifferent where the priest stands) is a breach of the universal practice of the Church. As the presbyter must stand somewhere, why should he stand in any place different from that which the immemorial custom of the Church prescribes? And why, to complete the absurdity, should the second priest (when there is one) insist on taking up a place at the South end of the altar (for which there is no rubrical direction at all) instead of kneeling where the ancient practice decided?

I confess to a feeling of distress when I see this curious position taken up, and I doubt not that many do too, not because we believe for one moment that standing in one spot or another can alter the efficacy of that great Spiritual Feast, but because it is just

* In some special cases, to the West, with sacrifice; it is the North end, directly ordered in the Rubric! See

† If anything has a connection Lev. I., 11. &c.

so obtrusive an instance of breaking through the old order and keeping up a new party in the Church.*

I cannot help here adding (at the risk of being considered to digress) the remark that, while the position of a church on the ground of true Catholicity is impregnable, a false claim to Catholicity not only renders it unsafe in itself, but gives all its adversaries a chance of triumphing over it. It is ominous to notice, in Abbé Martin's article before alluded to, how he takes it as certain and granted that the Ritualist Revival has rejected, "as principles of ruin and death, the two primordial 'dogmas' of Protestantism, the right of private judgment and the sufficiency of the Holy Scripture." Now with regard to the right of private judgment, I am not going to say anything; except to deny that it is a 'dogma' at all, or held as such by the Church of England.† But on the other subject, the sufficiency of Holy Scripture, I must do the Ritualists the justice to believe, that many if not most of them *do not* reject this, as a "principle of ruin and death." At any rate those whose claim is based on the test "*quod ubique quod semper quod ab omnibus*," cannot consistently do so, or if they do, their case will not stand one moment. For it may be insisted on without the smallest qualification, that there is no matter of doctrine which answers to this test, but what is read in Holy Scripture or may be proved thereby.

Abbé Martin tells us that Ritualists do, and Protestants do not, believe, in the 'Divinity of the Church' (whatever that may be) "in tradition, in the sacraments, in the Real Presence, in the Sacrifice, in the remission of sins, in the priesthood, in the communion and the worship of the Saints." I can only say that I am a 'Protestant' (that is one who protests against everything, but the "*quod semper*," &c.) and I *do* believe in the Divine institution of the Church and its Holy orders, the Sacraments, the Real Presence, in the remission of sins, in the priesthood, and the communion of Saints; and as for the other things that are skilfully alternated in the catalogue, as not one of them will stand the test '*quod semper*, &c.' I do not see what I have to do with them, or why my creed is decried as a "mere negation"—a desert of lifeless no's,—because I reject them. It would be just as fair to say that the Abbé's creed was "a series of negations," because he

* The "Eastward" position has since been declared 'legal,' B. P.

† It is (among other reasons), because I have no right to form any private judgment that I am obliged to reject the teaching of the Roman Church. Supposing I wished to re-

turn to it, that would involve anxious and serious *private judgment* that the Church in question is in the right and that I ought to be reconciled to it. This, in view of the "dogma" in question, I have no 'right' to make!

does not believe in the inspiration of the Koran, in the efficiency of the Four Buddhist Paths, in the incarnation of Vishnu, or any other 'dogma' which thousands upon thousands of devotees daily profess to believe in.

The fact is that to claim 'Catholicity' for doctrines which only arose within the last twelve centuries is a contradiction in terms. That which was never heard of before the sixth, seventh, tenth, or eighteenth century, as the case may be, cannot be *Catholic*. And while, then, we claim for the Anglican Church, that it is eminently Catholic, let us take care that we do not render nugatory the claim, by introducing practices and doctrines that are not really so. And if they are not Scriptural, they are not Catholic. Take for instance, the "worship of the Saints." Is there a word of injunction in all the Apostolic epistles, that adoration is to be offered to the Blessed Virgin or the Saints? Is there not clear historical proof of the gradual introduction of the error, and especially about the time of the hateful Cyril of Alexandria. Is this *Catholic* in any sense? The calm application of the test of true Catholicity will upset what is really false in doctrine and practices far sooner than a hail-storm of epithets—'Popish,' 'idle superstition,' and so forth,—which some persons, applying, deem themselves to have demolished the doctrine impugned.

But this leads me directly to enquire, what are the really differentiating doctrinal features of the Ritualist movement, and how far have these had a share in its progress?

I would submit that they are mainly contained in the one word 'priest.' That word as we all know, is ambiguous: it may mean priest (*ιερευς*) or priest (*πρεσβυτερος*). The former is the sense in which I here use it. The great doctrinal feature of the Ritualistic movement (where it has gone the length of seriously affecting doctrine) is, that in the Church of Christ, there are a class of men who are divinely empowered:—

(1). To offer a perpetual sacrifice, *i. e.*, that they can, in the Holy Eucharist, repeat, not the actual sacrifice of Christ on the Cross—they all disclaim that,—but an "unbloody sacrifice;" that they are able to offer this, by virtue of their power to make the Wafer and the mingled Wine actually and really into the Body and Blood of Christ, this power being exercised in pronouncing duly and rightly the words of the CANON. That while they offer this sacrifice to God, and the people adore and worship the Host, elevated in sacrificial offering, they offer it on behalf of the people present, and may also offer it on behalf of the people who are dead.

While of course there are high and holy benefits to be acquired by receiving the Sacred Elements, is it not necessary to receive

in order to be a partaker of the benefit which flows from the offering made on behalf of the worshipper.

(2). The same men are also divinely empowered to forgive sins: for this purpose they should receive confessions and examine penitents, and award suitable 'acts of penance' before they grant their absolution.

Round these two centre all the practices (of any consequence) which I expressly excluded from consideration in the former part of this paper. The whole minutely elaborate Eucharistic Ritual, the chasuble, the censing of books and altars, the consecration of altars, the blessing of cloths and vestments and everything else of the kind, becomes not only intelligible, but a matter of course, *if* the doctrine is granted.

The only point not directly connected with this doctrinal view (but traceable in the minds of the laity who accept it, to the same tendency of mind) is the subject of prayers to the Saints or worship of the Saints.—

I shall be pardoned, then, if I devote almost exclusive attention to this main idea of a sacrificing and absolving priest, whose mediating influence may extend after death to the place of awaiting, or intermediate state, before resurrection; for I believe the *Roman* idea of 'purgatory' is definitely rejected by all Ritualists.

I trust that I have, not misstated any point on a subject of such grave importance;—if I have, it is certainly without intention; but I venture to believe that this general summary of the doctrines would be accepted as correct, and as the truth, by the whole clergy of the churches of St. Alban's, St. Peter's, or St. Michael's,—by MR. RIDSDALE and by MR. BENNETT of Frome (to whose writing I am mainly indebted for my information on the subject), as well as by all who sympathize with them.

And here I cannot but pause to protest, and ask every churchman who can feel the *great Reality* of doctrine as DIVINE FACT, to protest also, against the ghastly, the indescribable, absurdity of the procedure in the so-called 'Ecclesiastical Courts,' and culminating in that of the Privy Council, which one cannot help thinking of in connection with these questions. Either the tremendous powers described have been given by Christ to His priests, or they have not. And the question really at issue in every one of the so-called "Ritual cases," is this question, or some one or other aspect of it. Yet, *knowing this*, we agree to go through a costly farce, in the course of which lawyers bandy arguments about Statutes and Injunctions, about Rubrics and Canons, and the time and energy of judges is taken up in writing volumes of judgments and counter-judgments about candles lighted

and candles unlighted, about coats of white linen or coats of worked velvet, knowing all the time that these are but the straws which show which way the wind blows; and that if by your judgment you allow or disallow the straw, the wind blows just the same; you do nothing to settle that. The consequence of such proceedings can only be what it always has been, to settle nothing, to satisfy no one, but on the contrary, to bring religion and the Church into contempt, to cause the controversy of Church parties to glow into fierceness, and their difference into hatred.

But to return, I have not any intention of going into these doctrinal questions, or of arguing on the ground of Scripture and really Catholic belief, that the Christian priest is or is not, a sacrificing priest,—has or has not the power of absolving men from their sins. This is quite unnecessary for my present purpose. Supposing, however, for the sake of argument that it is an open question, I would ask those who hold that the Christian priest has such powers, to recollect certain necessary points of caution, and ask them clearly to remove any suspicion that the *belief is the result of their own wish* to occupy such a position.

For the position of "Priest" is one that, if it involves a certain amount of ascetic labor and self-denial, at the same time gratifies a very easily understood spiritual ambition, if I may use the phrase. Not only so, but asceticism and self-denial are in themselves notoriously acceptable to human nature when directly connected with religious merit.

While giving this caution, I by no means wish to suggest that, as a fact, this feeling necessarily or universally affects those who believe themselves 'priests' in the sense we are now considering. The belief may come from far other sources.

And I hasten to bear testimony to the fact that a great many Ritualist priests are intensely humble and devoted.* They have deplored deeply the loss of spiritual earnestness, and the feeling that the Church is 'militant' (and not 'dormant'), among the clergy. They grieved over the deadness, the indifference, which they saw around them, they desired to revive the reverent and feeling worship of God in public and to offer themselves as shepherds to the lost sheep; they have spared themselves in no way: they visited the sick, they taught the ignorant, they

* I might say a great majority: that strict form and observance of there are some who love what is externals would make up the loss. outward, because they have not really the root of the matter in them. Such men there are, but they do not represent the body, nor account for the phenomena, as a whole. Clergymen by profession, yet strangers to true religion, they have hoped

faced boldly the sin, the want, and the misery of the vilest districts in our large cities, they have endeavoured to realize the spirit and to do the works of the Apostles of old ; and when we reflect on the spirit thus shown, we are tempted to ask, are these the men whom you will slaughter with epithets and suppress with the logic of Public Worship Acts ?

No : these men have in many cases, little worldly ambition, no desire of rule, such as might have influenced a Wolsey or a Richelieu. They think only that they see, in the pointed assertion of priestly duty and prerogative, a direct, most powerful, and hitherto neglected, means of working on the most depraved,—the most despairing, of human hearts. They really believe that they *can* forgive a man his sins and thus bring Divine grace home to him in a way which otherwise would be impossible. Some, they feel, cannot attain the blessedness of those “ who have not seen and yet believe,” but to them they will bring the power of touching the Nail Prints and feeling the Wounded Side, through the tangible reality of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and the vicarious presence of the Saviour forgiving sins in the Sacrament of confession.

Surely, in dealing with a belief of this kind, the first requisite is to understand, and to sympathize with what is good in the purpose and action ; and then overcome the error by calmly examining the real nature of the commission which the ordained clergy hold as successors to the Apostles and Elders of the original foundation.

And this necessity for being sure of the real truth about Christ's commission, is one that no human mind can say is superfluous in his case.

It must always be difficult, when a system *seems* so good and so convenient, to admit the uncomfortable question ; ‘Is it altogether on a true basis’ ? Yet there can be no doubt that, however much any system adopted may gratify the highest aspirations of the ministry ; however much it may fall in with the wishes of penitents, however fully it may seem to meet the case of the lost and the despairing, the moment we go beyond the true commission, we may surely anticipate *ultimate*, if not immediate, evil results. The ways that seem right to men are not always those which Divine wisdom approves.

We have the example of the Roman Church, which, while holding a great deal of what is right, has yet allowed error to prevail ; and what is the consequence ? The system that seemed so compact, so powerful for good, so united, is now held together, chiefly by the devices of the order of Jesus, and by such expedients as the Infallibility Council of 1870.

It is not this or that detached doctrine (erroneous as it may be in itself) that constitutes the evil which has enveloped the Roman

communion, it is the *priestly system*, which, being based on a false conception of the true place or dignity of the Christian priest, has resulted in a spiritual tyranny and in a degrading system of confession which cannot fail in time to produce a deadness of the finer moral perceptions in priesthood and people; to this I shall presently have occasion to allude.

But it is not only the ordained ministers of the Church that are liable to a mistaken view of their functions; there is also on the part of the laity a strong feeling,—natural to mankind,—which answers and fits into the ‘priestly idea’ as a tenon into its mortise.

That feeling prompts them to seek a human mediator; some one to come between them and the Divinity they misunderstand—some one to act vicariously for them, to offer an atonement on their behalf, as in the sacrifice of the Mass, to dispense the Divine pardon and secure His favour.*

This makes many eager to fall in with what I may call the ‘extreme’ notions of Priesthood which are characteristic of the advanced Ritualist movement.

Nor is this all; for when these priests encourage confession, and prescribe acts of penance and lay great stress on outward ceremonial, on keeping fast and feast days, and observing the canonical hours of devotion, they meet yet another perverted feeling to which human nature is prone. Stated, indeed, in its bare form and stripped of all that usually disguises it, it may seem too unreasonable to be so eagerly accepted, but still it is true that the ‘natural man’ loves the idea of effecting his salvation by working up a sufficient amount of merit of his own creation, trusting that the Divine mercy will then condone or make up the rest. His sins which he knows are against him on the debtor side, he desires to balance by acts of penance and mortification; the credit side he will secure by prayers and ceremonies, by fasts and by works of charity and mercy.

God forbid, that I should undervalue the need of good works, that I should say that missions, retreats, regular devotions, and the devout observance of seasons of fasting and humiliation, are not right and good if a man use them lawfully: but nowhere is the power of evil more dangerously manifested than where it takes things good in themselves and perverts their use; when it teaches a man that he may fast, not to learn self-control and be more ready to give the spirit power over the flesh, but that he may gain merit in the sight of God; when it whispers that seasons of prayer are not graciously permitted for the benefit of the creature, but are deeds which claim the reward of merit from the Creator.

* I before remarked that the invocation of saints was another direct result of this feeling.

There is no doctrine more displeasing to flesh and blood than that which pervades the New Testament and constitutes its most characteristic feature; namely, that we can do nothing to cause (efficiently) our own salvation; that the work of expiation for sin was done once and for ever on the cross, in the one Sacrifice never to be repeated; that the benefit of that sacrifice is offered 'without money and without price,' to all who will accept it.

No one can have salvation *by* good works, and none can have it *without* good works; for no one who accepts salvation can be without love for and gratitude to the Giver, and no one can grow in that love and gratitude without a diligent use of the means of grace, and without proving the steps of his progress by self-denial and works of love to his fellow men, and for the Glory of his God.

When Ritualism revives the Apostolic spirit of the clergy, kindles into warmth the enthusiasm of the laity for every good work, rebuilds the temple of the most High, multiplies the ordinances of sacramental grace, of prayer, of praise, of hearing the scripture, of self-examination and of humiliation for sin, it is right and is to be supported; but its doctrines must be fully and calmly tested as to their truth, and if the result of such a test shows that it does lead either priest or people to those rocks on which there is an undeniable danger of falling, if it is indeed encouraging false notions of priestly power, false notions of religious merit and the way to gain it, it is from that point firmly to be resisted; not indeed by abuse or legal persecution, but by calling men to open their eyes and study the truth and examine the foundations on which these pretensions really rest.

So far we have endeavoured to explain what it is that has made Ritualism to be promoted by the priest and accepted by the people; but there is one subsidiary point to which, before concluding, I must devote a brief consideration.

It is urged that the Ritualist movement is a revolt against the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and is "immoral;" that is to say, the Ritualist Priest cannot continue in the Church without having deadened his moral sense of equity, his power of discerning between truth and falsehood.

To make such a charge broadly against men, who may be popularly called Ritualists, but the extent of whose action has been the earnest desire to revive the Catholic spirit, and so much of the ancient practice as is not inconsistent with truly scriptural doctrine, is, it is needless to say, grossly unfair. It is a charge that is made truly enough, however, in the case of those who, however conscientiously, hold doctrine which, if they saw fairly, they could not but admit to be at variance with the plain teaching of the English Church.

It is not that the individual may be consciously deceiving, it is rather that he is the victim of a delusion brought on by departing from the truth in the first instance.

If men, as in the unreformed churches, forsake the scripture for their own inventions, and then try to make out that those inventions are scripture or are as good as scripture, if, as in the case of some Ritualists, they have forsaken the plain teaching of the Anglican Church and hold transubstantiation, or any other unreformed doctrine and then try to make out that they are still Anglican in order to retain their place, their persistence in such a course will actually blind them. The deceitfulness of sin will harden them. The fate spoken of in scripture is as much matter of experience as of Revelation. "He will send them a strong delusion that they should *believe* a lie. Observe the expression; not that they should become callous to the guilt of practising known deceit, but that they should lose the power of discerning the difference,—should actually get to *believe*—what is false and contradictory in terms.

This state of delusion cannot be produced without a most degrading effect on both priest and people, and it is feared when Ritualists who have really far transgressed the doctrine of the English Church and consequently their own solemn vows, try to *make out* that black is white, that they are preparing the road already for this delusion of mind.

The Abbé Martin is perfectly well aware that there *are* Ritualists whose views and practice no sane or honest man can reconcile with the doctrines and practice of the Church of England, or with his duty to his Bishop. The Abbé of course confuses all together in one, but to those against whom such a complaint may fairly be made, the Abbé's question. "In whose name do they do these things?" is a very pertinent one. For if the priests can honestly answer:—"I need no other name but that of the Church in which I am a minister, I have found the fabric of the building in which I am called to minister, a shapeless barn, and I have restored its beauty and its ornaments as the Anglican Church always intended them to be; I have restored the true and ancient forms of worship, the proper observation of festival and fast, the reverend expression of devotion, and all that is truly Catholic within the plain meaning of the Prayer-book, the Abbé is then completely answered.

But it cannot be doubted that there are among the Ritualist party some who could make no such answer. It cannot be denied that every Ritualist priest has in the most explicit manner vowed and professed obedience to the doctrine and discipline of Christ "as this Church and Realm have received it." He has with equal

solemnity professed his determination to teach nothing as required for salvation, but what may be concluded and proved by Holy Scripture, and he has agreed that Holy Scripture contains sufficiently all doctrines required for salvation*. Yet some of them have introduced a ritual so overloaded and excessive in detail, as clearly to contravene the rubric; have taught doctrine, and "signified" the same in ceremonies, directly opposed to any honest interpretation of the Prayer-book, and yet these men remain in the Church, and can only do so by trying to make out that all their practices (no matter, however right in themselves, that is not in question) are agreeable to the Prayer-book ritual and doctrine.† Then, of course, an honest and plain man can only rejoin:—"Well, if what you teach and what you do is Church of England doctrine as set forth in the Prayer-book, I can only say that you must have unfortunately lost the sense of discriminating morally between black and white; or must have acquired a power of explaining away the patent meaning of words which cannot co-exist with a healthy moral tone."

This no doubt is what the Bishop of Bath and Wells meant in his Charge to which Mr. BENNETT of Frome replied, in 1873, in a pamphlet called "*A Defence of the Catholic Faith*" (London, J. T. Hayes' 2nd Edition, 1873.)‡

* In other words he has professed (in a way the solemnity of which is awful to contemplate) his acceptance of that which Abbé Martin tells us, "*Ritualists reject as ruin and death!*"

† The objects of the Abbé's question 'In whose name' is of course to urge the Ritualists boldly to give up trying to reconcile opposites and go over to the Church whose head would authorize all they wish.

Extreme Ritualists are not likely to do this. They see a Greek Church with no Pope, and yet presenting nearly or quite all they wish for; and they see no reason why they cannot have the same in England, without the supremacy of a Foreign Bishop. And when they reflect on the transparency of the fallacy about St. Peter, they are less than ever inclined to Roman ideas.

The one and only incentive to Rome, I believe is, the question of orders. This the Abbé has not worked. The Ritualist, taking a very deep view of the priesthood, is of

course very anxious that his order should be beyond all question. Now, though the validity of Anglican orders has been so elaborately vindicated that few, even among Romanists (except before vulgar audiences), venture to dispute them seriously, still the very sensitive priest may imagine the possibility of some flaw; while he supposes that in Rome, he may either find rest as a layman, or perfectly unquestionable ordination as a priest.

‡ I take what the Bishop said from the account which Mr. Bennett himself gives of it; and this for my purpose is obviously sufficient.

It may be perhaps regretted the term "immoral" should be used, because this word has other meanings: and when a word with several bad senses is used in one sense to the exclusion of the others, some of the *opprobrium* of those other senses is apt (though without any intention on the part of the user) to adhere to the word in the sense in which it is used.

Strange to say, by way of defence, Mr. Bennett has written the pamphlet already alluded to, in which he exactly and fully proves the Bishop's case for him.

To take the instance already given (for I cannot here review the whole) it can hardly be denied that the Church of England (rightly or wrongly, that is not in the least the question) teaches in the Prayer-book a well-defined doctrine on the subject of the Holy Eucharist.

The main, if not the only, distinction between the Mass and the Anglican "Holy Communion" is that the former is held to be an unbloody sacrifice offered in virtue of his office by the Priest to God for the people, living and dead. The Church of England in the XXXI Article says, that there is no other satisfaction for sin but the offering of Christ once made, and that the Sacrifice of the Mass in which the Priest offers Christ for the quick and the dead is "a blasphemous fable and a dangerous deceit."

So careful were the framers of the liturgy in this respect also, that not only is there no kind of Sacrificial language or ceremonial prescribed in the office,* but as there is a prayer in which a mention of a "sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving" is made, an alternative prayer is given, so that it might be used should any possible misconception arise.†

The Prayer-book further says that, in the Holy Sacrament, the body of Christ is given, taken and received *only after a heavenly and spiritual manner*; that the Sacrament is *not to be lifted up*, carried about or worshipped: that it is not to be reserved, and this is also expressly provided for in the rubric which directs (without exception) the consumption of the remainder of the sacred elements in the Church.

A declaration also states that the *Sacramental elements remain in their very natural substance*, and that adoration of them were

* Although, be it observed, the rubrical directions are abundant, and the older Prayer-books, contained multitudes of others which might have been reproduced if it had been thought right to retain them.

† The only instance of the word priest as *Sacerdos* (sacrificing priest), is in the *Latin* version of the XXXII Article; and it would certainly be putting a severe strain on reason to ask us to believe that by the retention of a single word in the *Latin* version of one article, and that in a connection in which no possible misconception could arise, the plain meaning of many express passages in the Com-

munion Office, rubric, and articles, is to be set aside. And this is so plain that it is hardly needed to ask whether, in the 32nd article, which condemns that *Roman* doctrine that *Bishops, Priests (Sacerdotes)* and *Deacons* may not marry, there was not probably an especial object in using the word *Sacerdos*, as condemning the *Roman* view, while if the word *presbyter* had been used, it might have been held not to cover the same ground,—or not the whole ground, of the *Roman* prohibition, and so (at the time when the article was written) to leave possible ground for doubt.

idoatory to be abhorred, and that by the act of kneeling no adoration is intended either to the elements or to any Corporal Presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood, which is in Heaven and *not on the Altar*.

It is also notorious that the Prayer-book looks on partaking of the Communion as essential and does not allow of a celebration without partakers.

The Bread and Wine remain in their very natural substance, but believers faithfully receiving them in obedience to the Divine Command do verily, and indeed, take and receive the Body and Blood of Christ, not visibly but spiritually. The Prayer-book condemns the attempt to explain *how* this is, and denies that statement of the *modus operandi* which is called the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

Yet, notwithstanding this very plain and unequivocal exposition of the Church's doctrine regarding the Holy Eucharist, Mr. BENNETT, who is bound to recognize and accept this teaching, tells us that the Prayer-book *does* convey the teaching, of a Real Presence, which is substantially *on the Paten and in the Chalice*, apart from the reception by the believer, the sacrifice and the adoration."—That kneeling in the sacrament is adoration, and that therefore the declaration does not mean that we are not to adore the sacrament. And so, that it is right to adore, and, no doubt, is right to do, as I have seen done at St. Alban's Holborn, *viz.*, when the sacring-bell tolls at the time of the Prayer of Consecration, that the Priest should 'lift up' the consecrated Bread on the Paten above his head, and the other priests, assistants and the congregation (who *are already* kneeling) should further bow down, many of them actually prostrating themselves on the floor, to the Body of Christ *present on the elevated Paten*; and irrespective of their partaking of the elements. If any one really cannot see that this method of celebrating the Holy Eucharist, (even though it should be demonstrably right) is utterly contrary to the plain teaching and practice enjoined in the Book of Common Prayer, and if he cannot see that the two views of the doctrine (no matter which is right) are in themselves directly opposed and irreconcilable, I can only say, that his power of reasoning and justly discriminating between things must be strangely warped. If I could believe that Mr. Bennett's doctrine is Catholic and scriptural, I would cast aside the Prayer-book at once, and fearlessly invoke every rule of logic, and every recognized principle of fairness in the interpretation of plain words, to justify me in doing so.

It is solely on this ground, that I instance Mr. Bennett's defence. There may be argument in favor of a particular view, and it may be attacked and shown to be wrong, without any suspicion that the

argument exhibits any moral blindness. But here any candid Romanist, who would strongly assert the truth, *per se*, of Mr. Bennett's views, while he lies, under no necessity, to make out that they coincide with the Prayer-book, must agree that the attempt is most deplorable.

The direct question is indeed dealt with in seven pages and-a-half in a pamphlet of one hundred and forty-nine pages, so that it would not be difficult in point of space to dispose of the whole of it; I shall, however, confine myself to one illustration, *viz.*, where Mr. Bennett tries to make out that the Catechism supports his view. "That which is on the Paten, says Mr. Bennett, if it be *not* inward or contain anything inward, then it is not the Body of Christ: *then* the receiver, whosoever he be, RECEIVES NOTHING but bread and wine, for he cannot receive what is not there; but the Catechism says he *does* receive the Body of Christ, &c" (page 12, the capitals are mine, the italics are in the original.)

I beg to assure my readers that this extraordinary *non-sequitur* is really correctly quoted. But, obviously, on the facts, *another* conclusion is equally possible, even if it be not the true one.

Either, the bread is changed, so that the receiver, taking the bread, takes also THAT into which it is changed, *or*, the bread not being changed, the receiver taking only bread in his body, nevertheless receives Christ's Body really and truly in his spirit: the union of the two things being a sacramental mystery. There is nothing inherently impossible in the latter; it is, one would think, obviously what the Church teaches when it says that the Body of Christ is received only in a heavenly and spiritual manner. However this may be, the inability to see the absolute absurdity of the argument, as an argument, must be attributed to something different in kind from that mere mistake or prejudice which overlooks a flaw, or takes as a fact what is not proved sufficiently to be such.

It may only be proper to add that the great bulk of the "defence" being taken up with quotations from various authors it seems not to have occurred to Mr. Bennett that a variety of opinion could no doubt be produced by quoting detached passages, or even whole passages, out of a list of authors entirely from the fourth to the seventeenth century. But a million such passages would not take away the plain meaning of the Prayer-book as it stands, not even though the writers were the very men who had most to do with drawing up the Reformed Prayer-book. It would only prove, either that they had been in a minority, or that they had ultimately acquiesced in the view formally expressed in the book as it stands. Nor can it be argued that the doctrine of "this Church and Realm" is to be gathered, not only from the Prayer-book, but from all the writings held in repute

by the Church. For while we may concede that some things *not in* the Prayer-book may be admitted on the ground of their general acceptance *aliunde*, that would not justify the teaching of doctrine directly disallowed by the Book in question.

Nor is Mr. Bennett's "Defence" unfairly selected as a sample. It is by far the most attractive and plausible of the attempts at reconciliation made by men of this extreme school. Earnestly believing themselves the thing that is really *black*, they are yet sensible that, unless they can make it out to be *white*, their position is untenable. To such at once, with the logic I have quoted, *black becomes white!* I can only account for the phenomenon, by recognizing the operation of a fatal delusion which deadens, if it does not destroy, the healthy moral perceptions. Why cannot such men honestly say they accept Roman doctrine, admit that the Anglican doctrine is wrong and put it away?

The real danger, then, in the Ritual movement is apprehended at the moment when the point is reached at which doctrine is held such as no honest, manly and sober explanation can reconcile with the Prayer-book. If men holding those doctrines, however deep their convictions of the intrinsic truth of what they hold, maintain their connection with the Church, then I fear that the fountains of true discernment and spiritual enlightenment (which are the sources of truly appropriate Ritual and a true ideal of practice) will be defiled, if not closed up. Then I shall fear to see the outward form overlay and bury the substance, a superstition of mind take the place of that Godly fear which is the beginning of wisdom. The laity will not, we may be sure, be uninfluenced by the double dealing of these spiritual guides; and losing hold on the truth, they will fall a prey to superstition on the one hand, or to unbelief on the other, according to the bent of mind which happens to characterize each individual.

Such are, I submit, the chief factors of the Ritualist movement, and they must be judged of by true standards. That some are right, that some are wrong, and that some are both mixed, it will be difficult to deny. It may be worth while briefly to recapitulate those we have examined. There is:—

1. The desire to make the worship of God more congenial; to repudiate the divorce of the external from the internal; and to find that becoming and well ordered union of both that is suitable to man who has a body and operations which we call mind, as well as a spirit.

2. The desire to maintain the true Catholicity of the Anglican communion.

3. The desire to rouse the clergy out of the lethargy of the last 50 years, and restore the self-denying and hard-working

Apostolic spirit ; this desire may be exaggerated in some cases by aspirations after spiritual dominion and power, but not necessarily so. It may arise from the purest *human* motives, but, however that may be, it should be scrutinized, as to whether it does not transgress the real gospel ideal of Christian ministry.

4. The desire of men generally to have a human mediator between them and the Divine Being, and to assure them of forgiveness, &c., and,

5. The desire of men generally to gain merit for themselves, so as to *deserve* salvation.

The ways hitherto adopted, of dealing with a movement in which these five ideas are at least prominently involved, to sift its evil from its good, to destroy the one and promote the other, have been chiefly these two :

1. To denounce the whole movement with passionate energy and to cover it with a torrent of rancorous abuse ;

2. To submit the clergy who have headed the movement to a system of legal trial, which for inconvenience and costliness, knows few equals and no rival :—a system under which the real points at issue are studiously kept out of sight. The *doctrines* which underlie the practice of the Ritualists (and which should be decided by the Church, guided by the Holy Spirit and basing its decisions on the prayerful study of the scriptures) these have been instinctively felt to be unfit for lawyers and courts of law ; but instead of reading in this fact, the proof that our Ecclesiastical courts (so-called) and our Public Worship Acts are wholly unfitted for the work ; we have turned to the other expedient of dealing only with the *forms* ; and the technical meaning of rubrics and injunctions.

I do not, of course, forget the fact that there are many cases in which, unlike the Ridsdale case (for instance), doctrinal teaching has been the immediate subject of investigation ; but the same principle has been followed and with the same results ; the real question of doctrine is constantly allowed to remain unsettled, because it is never the question whether the doctrine itself is true or false, but whether the teaching can be explained away by legal ingenuity to come within defensible limits, or whether technical legal rules of interpretation or reference to canons and rubrics do not prevent any distinct condemnation being uttered, or do not give the clerk liable to *criminal penalties*, “the benefit of the doubt.”

I would ask any sane man who thinks that Ritualism ought to be opposed, and who can appreciate the nature and the probable force of the factors engaged in the movement, whether our present procedure in the matter is likely to be successful, or rather

is not directly calculated to suppress what is good and exalt all that is evil?

And lastly, of those who are engaged actively in promoting the movement, or who are acting under its colors in places where it is already established, of such I would ask whether the good which we must thankfully recognize in their work could not be accomplished fairly and truly within the limits laid down by the Catholic Church in its English Congregation? If there is any honest doubt of Ritual or doctrine, let us insist on having it settled, not in a secular law Court, but in an assembly of the "Apostles and Elders,"* guided by the Holy Spirit. If any extreme Ritualist will not submit himself to that, let every honest man gently decline to have anything to do with him. If it is not possible for us to rely on the guidance promised to the Church, the only one that ever has been promised, then it is not possible for the Church to exist at all.

To admit that the Church can only be kept together either by the human expedient of a Pope, or of a State connection, with its Courts and its Acts of Parliament, is to admit that it has fallen already, and the sooner it ceases its spurious existence the better.

I for one do NOT admit it.

B. H. BADEN POWELL, B.C.S., F.R.S.E.

* Acts XV. 6.

ART. VII.—THE TURKS IN HUNGARY.

(Continued from page 47, No. CXXXV).

THE Turkish and Tartar horse spread themselves over the whole land of Austria south of the Danube, ravaging, burning and destroying; killing all the male inhabitants they could find, and making captives of the women and children. Fraud was employed where force failed, to lure the inhabitants into their power. The people of the town of Perchtholstadt capitulated on the faith of a Turkish Páshá being pledged for the safety of their lives; they were then massacred in cold blood, the Páshá setting the example by striking the first blow, cutting down a little girl with his sabre.

The garrison of Vienna consisted of 13,000 regular troops under the command of Count Stahremberg, who afterwards commanded an Anglo-German army during the war of the Succession in Spain. All the inhabitants able to bear arms were also enrolled for the defence. The Turks pushed their approaches with great activity, and by battery and mining made many practicable breaches. They established lodgments on the counterscarp and even took possession of one of the ravelins. All their attempts to storm were, however, repulsed with great slaughter, and after the siege had lasted two months, their operations were interrupted by the approach of a relieving army.

The Janissaries had a superstitious tradition that no siege should last longer than forty days; on the present occasion they volunteered to serve three days more for the sake of the Sultán and the Vazír; but when those days passed also and the city did not fall, they began to murmur mutinously, and Karà Mustafà had much ado to keep them, by bribes and flattery and promises, from abandoning the siege altogether. The city was closely invested, and the garrison was cut off from all communications with the outer world: provisions were getting scarce and the Turks were almost within the works and were delivering assaults and springing mines daily. A grand assault, which nearly succeeded, was given on the 4th September. On the evening of the same day, after the repulse of the enemy, the priests who did duty as sentinals on the Church steeples of the city, saw rockets rise from the Kalemberg hill. It was the first intimation of coming relief.

Sobieski, with the Polish army, consisting chiefly of cavalry, and the electors of Bavaria and Saxony with their troops, Lewis, Margrave of Baden, and many other German princelings, had joined the Duke of Lorraine's army, and their numbers at last amounted

to 70,000 men. They marched on Vienna and occupied the Kalemberg hill before the Turks knew of their approach; and with his myriads of splendid cavalry, Karà Mustafà suffered himself to be surprised. "It is easy to see" said Sobieski "that this Vazir is a novice in the art of war." On the news of the approach of the enemy stormy counsels of war were held in the Turkish camp. Ibrahim Pàshà of Buda and most of the leaders voting for abandoning the siege and concentrating the whole of their strength against the Christian army in the field, while the Vazir was for holding on, observing that if the Janissaries were once allowed to quit the trenches, it would be no easy matter to get them back into them again. He held to his own opinion and left 20,000 Janissaries with the battering guns in the trenches, while, with the rest of his army, he marched out to meet the enemy. The battle took place on the 12th September. The sight of the three plumes fixed at the point of a lance which marked the station of Sobieski, struck terror into the hearts of the Turks. "By Allah, the King is really at their head," exclaimed Khàn Salim Girái, thinking of the day when the turbans were seen floating thick as autumn leaves down the stream of the Dniester. The Vazir lost his head. His troops became panic-struck: the valour of the Poles and the skill of the Germans combined to gain a complete victory. The Turks fled, abandoning their camp to the victors. Before marching out to give battle they had inhumanly massacred 40,000 Christian captives, mostly women and children, who had been collected in their camp. Ample vengeance was now taken on the fugitives; the twenty thousand Janissaries who had been left in the trenches were unable to escape and were all put to the sword. A rich spoil and 200 pieces of cannon with many standards were the trophies of the battle. The news of this great deliverance sent a thrill of triumph throughout Christendom, and Sobieski was hailed as the Saviour of the West from the yoke of Islam.

"Think with what passionate delight
 The tale was told in Christian halls,
 How Sobieski turned to flight
 The Moslem from Vienna's walls,
 How, when his horse triumphant trod
 The burgher's richest robes upon,
 The ancient words rose loud, 'From God
 'A man was sent whose name was John.'"

After the relief of Vienna the victorious army pursued the Turks into Hungary, Karà Mustafà, to screen himself, condemned Ibrahim Pàshà of Buda and many other Pàshàs to death for alleged cowardice and sent lying bulletins to the Sultàn. Meanwhile the greater part of the Turkish army had collected at Buda. A strong corps lay before Barkan, the tête du pont of Grán, to cover that city and

protect the bridge over the Danube. Sobieski pushing forward with 2,000 horse to reconnoitre, his advanced guard became entangled with the Turkish cavalry; he pushed on to extricate them and found himself face to face with an overwhelming force of Turkish horse. Sobieski charged and beat them back; the Turks then charged in their turn and the Poles broke and fled, the Turks following hard upon their heels. It became a mad race for life and death. Two Turks came up with the King; but the devotion of some of his companions saved his life at the expense of their own. Sobieski's son left his cloak in the hand of a Turkish horseman. Nearly all the members of the King's staff perished. He at last reached the shelter of the German cavalry and guns, who were advancing to his support, and throwing himself from his horse, he lay for some minutes exhausted upon the ground. The Turks triumphed greatly in the flight of their most dreaded enemy, and Karà Muhammad Páshá, who commanded at Grán, gave out that he had destroyed the whole Christian army. His success was his ruin, for, imagining his own valour to have been the cause of the victory in the cavalry skirmish, he drew out all his forces and offered battle to the enemy. The Turks were completely routed; taking advantage of their panic, the Germans stormed the tête du pont at Barkan; the bridge broke under the fugitives' weight and many of them were drowned, and, the retreat of the rest being cut off, they were all killed or taken. The allied commanders soon crossed the Danube and laid siege to Grán; and the Turkish garrison capitulated on being granted a safe conduct to Buda.

Meantime the real truth about the siege and defeat at Vienna had leaked out, and the Sultán was bitterly incensed with his former favourite. The loss of Gran filled the cup of his wrath to overflowing. Karà Mustafá was hastening to the presence to excuse himself, when the messenger of death met him at Belgrade. His decapitated head was found there by the Austrians, when they took the city, and sent as a grisly trophy to Vienna. The Turkish poet sang—

Chikdam shámam kápúsindan,
Salám ladum Usturghuni, Beligradi, Budúni.

"I came out from the gate of Damascus, and said farewell to Grán, to Belgrade and to Buda."

For Karà Mustafá was Páshá of Damascus before he was preferred to be Grand Vazır. The Turkish historians declare that Karà Mustafá purposely protracted the siege of Vienna, in the hope of forcing the city to capitulate; fearing, that if it were taken by storm, the treasures believed to be collected in it, would become the spoil of the soldiers: but the Christian accounts of the siege do not bear out this assertion.

When Kará Mustafá was at Belgrade after his defeat, a Jewish banker or merchant there obtained leave from him to visit Belgrade. The Vazír offered him an escort of cavalry to protect him from the attacks of the roving Tartars and other plunderers from the Ottoman army.

The Jew, smiling, showed him a Czapka, or Polish square cap, and said that this was a sufficient protection, for any number of Turks and Tartars would fly far and fast at the sight of it.

The Vazír sighed and said :—" It is indeed a true proverb of ours that 'they whom God hath stricken with panic, fear even the Jews.'

He was succeeded in the Vizárat by Kará Ibrahím Páshá ; and Shaitán Ibrahím Páshá (Ibrahím the Devil), so-called from the stratagems and ruses to deceive the enemy to which he had recourse in war, was named Saraskar of the Ottoman army in Hungary, and Ainaji Sulimán Páshá (Sulimán the deceitful) was sent to command on the borders of Poland, from whence John Sobieski was preparing to invade the Ottoman dominions. The Venetians also, who had some outstanding grievances against the Porte, declared war immediately on the news of the defeat of the Turks at Vienna and vigorously assailed the Musalman in all the coasts of the Adriatic and the Levant. The Russians also joined in the war, so that the Turkish Empire was attacked on all sides.

With its advantages of universal military service, and the martial qualities of its Musalman inhabitants, it might still have borne up against their attacks, but for the changes that had been so recently introduced into the art of war.

The new inventions of the flintlock musket and of cartridges, and of the bayonet, had by this time been generally adopted in the German armies. The field artillery had gained much in precision and in rapidity of movement ; and the alterations in tactics and organization demanded by these new inventions were being rapidly brought to perfection.

To oppose these the Turks had only their old clumsy armament and obsolete tactics. The encounter of German and Ottoman was hereafter to resemble an encounter between a skilled fencer and an untrained club-man.

The Emperor Leopold and his counsellors had but poorly requited the services of Sobieski and his Poles, and when the armies went into winter quarters at the close of the campaign of 1683, the King marched away with his army to his own country. Next spring the Duke of Lorraine opened the campaign with the siege of Vicegrád, which he took, and defeated the Vazír of Buda who came to its assistance, with the loss of fifteen thousand men. The Vazír fled to Buda, and the Germans, following him, took

Pesth by assault after a two day's siege, and then laid siege to Buda. While the siege was in progress, Shaitán Ibráhím arrived with his army, and made every effort to force the Germans to raise the siege: but they repulsed all his attacks. They had won the lower town and carried extensive mines right under the walls of the citadel, when the Turks discovered and destroyed the mines. The siege had lasted four months, and the bad weather was at hand, the Duke therefore raised the siege and retired at his leisure into winter quarters, unmolested by the Turkish army.

Meanwhile, another German army under Count Lesley invaded Slavonia, and in Upper Hungary the Imperialists were victorious over Tekeli and the rebels.

Next year (1685) the Duke of Lorraine opened the campaign with the siege of Neuhausel. Shaitán Ibráhím Páshá, to induce him to raise the siege, himself laid siege to Vicegrád and retook it; he then laid siege to Grán and pressed it so hard that the Duke of Lorraine, fearing for its safety, left a corps to watch Neuhausel and hurried with the rest of his army to engage Ibráhím. The Devil, in his turn, raised the siege of Grán and took up such a strong position between the Danube and a range of hills, that the Duke did not venture to attack him. He feigned to retreat, and, as he expected, the Turks were immediately in hot pursuit, hanging on his skirts as was their custom, and eagerly seizing every opportunity to skirmish. The Duke retreated still until he passed his army by two narrow paths through a wide morass. The Turks heedlessly followed; half of them were allowed to cross on to *terra-firma* before the German army turned, and in order of battle bore down upon them.

The Turks, taken by surprise, fled in terror, and as they jostled each other in the narrow paths through the morass, the Janissaries killed and unhorsed the Sipáhis to obtain their horses, that they might fly with more speed, and it is said that more Turks perished in this battle by the hands of their own comrades than by the fire of the enemy.

The Germans followed hard upon them, and the fugitives communicating their panic to their comrades, the whole army fled in a most disgraceful manner, abandoning their camp, baggage, guns, treasure, and provision and stores to the victors. The Saraskar himself behaved well, but neither his promises nor his threats availed to quell the panic of his men.

This defeat struck such terror into the Turks that they abandoned Vicegrád and many other places, and the Imperialists became masters of the whole country up to the walls of Buda. The Duke of Lorraine resumed the siege of Neuhausel and took it by storm.

Meanwhile Lesley overran Sclavonia, and Tekeli was hard pressed by the Austrians. He sent to the Páshá of Varádin for assistance, and the Páshá invited him to come and confer with him on the state of their affairs, but at the audience he treacherously seized Tekeli and sent him in chains to Constantinople. This purposeless piece of treachery met with its just reward. The Hungarian adherents of Tekeli hastened to make their peace with the Emperor, and then turned their arms against the Turks.

The Vazír Kará Ibráhím put the Saraskar Shaitán Ibráhím to death for losing the battle and the Hungarian fortresses, and sent for Ainaji Sulimán who had been successful against the Poles, to take command in Hungary. But Sulimán the Deceitful, on arriving at Constantinople, succeeded in supplanting Ibráhím in the Sultán's regard: the latter was dismissed and the seals were given to Ainaji Sulimán, who set out for Hungary to relieve Buda, now again besieged by the Duke of Lorraine (1686).

The city was hard pressed and the garrison had already gallantly repulsed two general assaults, blowing numbers of the assailants into the air by springing mines. When Sulimán Páshá arrived to its relief, he found the place so closely invested that it was a most hazardous attempt to throw succours into it, but he resolved to try; he sent two thousand picked Janissaries, escorted by four Páshás with eight thousand horsemen, who were to amuse and engage the enemy while the Janissaries should slip into the fortress. This force was intercepted by the German cavalry, when the Turkish horsemen fled, leaving the Janissaries to be cut to pieces. A second similar attempt was more successful. Two thousand Janissaries broke into the besiegers' trenches in the quarter where the Brandenburgers were stationed. There was a fearful struggle, the Turks fighting more like wild beasts than like men. Three hundred of them only, and those most of them wounded, broke through and got into the city. A third attempt was completely frustrated with great loss to the Turks, and they became so dispirited that their soldiers deserted by thousands, and their camp was soon quite broken up in spite of all the efforts of the Vazír to keep the men to their duty. Buda was soon afterwards stormed, old Abdi Páshá, the Governor, dying in the breach: a general massacre of the Turkish inhabitants followed. The royal city of Hungary had been in the possession of the Musalmans for 145 years.

The Vazír's army having dissolved itself, there was no enemy to meet in the field, and Lorraine divided his forces, sending Lewis of Baden into the Turkish province of Kanisa; and Generals Caraffa and Heister into Varádin. The former reduced the whole country with little trouble. The Turks at Fünfkerchen hung out a black

flag, to intimate their determination to fight to the death, but after a few day's bombardment, they struck the black flag and surrendered at discretion, Heister and Caraffa were equally fortunate. The Turks abandoned all their fortresses and Palankas at the mere terror of the approach of the Germans. Some feeble attempts of the Vazír to interrupt these operations met with severe punishment.

The Turks, all this while, were oppressed and bewildered by the incessant attacks of the Venetians, Poles and Russians, who hardly gave them time to breathe. The treasury was empty, and the Sultán was obliged to coin all his own gold and silver plate for the expenses of the war. Sulimán the Vazír again collected his army and took post on the Danube, to cover the province of Temesvár, the only corner of Hungary that now remained to the Ottomans. The Duke of Lorraine advanced against him, and, after some manœuvring, Sulimán eagerly seized the opportunity to give battle at Mohaez, or Moháj as the Turks call it, the scene of Sultán Sulimán, his glorious namesake's great victory; the omen was joyfully hailed by his soldiery, they attacked furiously, but were completely disconcerted by being received with showers of grape from the German field-pieces. From the accounts of the battle it would seem that the Turks were unacquainted with the use of grape-shot, and its murderous effect struck them with terror.

They fled to their camp and began entrenching it, but, the Germans attacking them again, the usual panic seized them. The horse fled and left the Janissaries and the gunners to the mercy of their foes; camp, stores, guns, all were taken: the Vazír himself escaped to Belgrade.

The Duke of Berwick, natural son of our James II, who afterwards became a famous General, served as a volunteer in this battle.

In Slavonia the Turkish garrison at Essek, hearing that a German force was besieging Walpo, made preparations for flight, laying mines to destroy their fortifications; but, seeing a few of the enemy's horsemen approaching, they abandoned the town in such a hurry that they forgot to set fire to their mines, and the Germans found the walls intact. Walpo soon afterwards fell, and not a Turk remained in Slavonia.

The Duke of Lorraine marched on into Transylvania; Michael Apaffy made a show of resistance, that he might have an excuse ready for the Turks, if they should get the upper hand again. Lorraine soon reduced the country and put his army into winter quarters there.

The Vazír had attempted to interrupt these operations, but the Turkish soldiers refused to quit Belgrade. Sulimán Páshá wrote to Constantinople accusing his officers of incompetence and cow-

ardice, and, this coming to their ears, a furious mutiny broke out in the camp, the officers inciting the Sipáhis and Janissaries to demand their arrears of pay. There was nothing to pay them with, and the Vazír, fearing for his life, fled to Constantinople; one of the Páshás named Siávúsh, a brave ambitious man who had risen from an obscure station to the rank of Páshá, and who now aspired to be Grand Vazír, placed himself at the head of the army, and they marched for Constantinople, demanding the head of the Vazír Sulimán. The helpless Sultán endeavoured to divert them from their purpose by sending them first some money, then the seals of office, to Siávúsh Páshá, and at last the head of Sulimán. Siávúsh, having now got all that he wanted, tried to pacify the mutineers, but they threatened him in his turn and forced him to lead them to the capital. There delegates from the army assembled at the Ortajámá, or garrison mosque, and invited the 'Ulama' to join them in dethroning the Sultán, to whose incapacity they attributed the disasters which had overtaken the Ottoman empire. He was deposed, and his brother Sulimán, a recluse and a devotee, was raised to the vacant throne. The Sipáhis and Janissaries and the other regular troops now demanded the Julús *bakhshish*, or donation on the accession of a new Sultán, and, when Siávúsh Páshá tried to put them off with promises, for the treasury was quite empty, they attacked his house, and he and all his household, after a desperate resistance, were murdered by the armed rabble. After the commotions in the capital had been in some measure appeased, the new Sultán, to gratify the soldiery, set out with the army to Adrianople. He was forced to sell his plate and jewels to provide for the expenses of the army on the march. Rajab Páshá was named Saraskar against the Germans. In the spring of this year (1688) Stuhlweissenburg and Erlau, which had long been blockaded, fell into the hands of the Germans; they were the last fortresses in Hungary except Temesvár that had held out for the crescent. The elector of Bavaria, who had succeeded the Duke of Lorraine in command of the Imperial army, opened the campaign with the siege and capture of Petervaradein: then he crossed the Danube into Servia and laid siege to Belgrade. The town was carried by assault, and the Germans, mingling with the fugitive Turks, got into the citadel also, where a furious fight took place, ending in the triumph of the besiegers; nine thousand Turks perished in the assault.

The Sultan was very much alarmed at the fall of this bulwark of the Empire, and he sent ambassadors to Vienna, ostensibly to announce his accession to the Emperor, but really to sound the German ministers about peace; but no agreement could be come to. The Germans claimed the cession of Servia, Bosnia, and

Bulgaria, in addition to Hungary. The Turks insisted on the restoration at least of Belgrade. The French King, too, Louis XIV, by his ambassador, stirred up the Sultán to withstand the German demands, promising to assail the Emperor in the west, and to thus draw off his forces from the Turkish war; and he was as good as his word. Sulimán II and his advisers resolved to try the fortune of war once more, and the Sultán's camp was moved forward to Sophia in the spring of 1689. There he himself halted and sent on the Saraskar, Rajab Páshà, with the army. This Saraskar made war under the directions of his astrologer, who selected lucky, or, as it turned out, unlucky, days for him to give battle to the Germans; for he was twice totally defeated, and forced to abandon the fortresses of Nish and Widdin, with the whole province of Servia, to the Germans. Lewis of Baden at the same time overran Bosnia and defeated the Páshá, who tried to check his progress. The Sultán retired in alarm, first to Adrianople and then to the capital, and put Rajab Páshá to death for engaging the Germans without orders, and thereby proving the truth of the saying, "Kuli Munajimun Kizábun," "All astrologers are liars."

He was fortunate enough at this time to appoint Mustafá Páshá, the son of Fazil Ahmad Kùprile, to the post of Grand Vazír. The new Vazír was perhaps the only man in Turkey who could have arrested the ruin with which the Empire was imminently threatened. He at once set himself to restore discipline in the army and to replenish the treasury. His energy shamed the slothful, and his probity showed the peculators that their practices would no longer be winked at. His zeal for the faith captivated the Musalmáns, and his justice conciliated even the Christians. He saw one error that his predecessors had fallen into, of imagining numbers to be a passport to victory, and carefully weeded his army of weak and spiritless men. He banished the crowds of women, boys, and useless non-combatants whom he found infesting the camp. He repudiated the proposals that had been made for peace; saying, that a true Turk would never accept a disadvantageous peace from the Giàurs. He succeeded in infusing some of his own spirit into the nation, and early in 1690 he set off with an enthusiastic army from Adrianople, to open the campaign. The time was propitious; for the German armies had been weakened by the withdrawal of their best troops to serve against the French upon the Rhine. There was no army in the field to oppose Mustafá Kùprili. He entered Servia and besieged Shahr Koi a small town garrisoned by 500 Haiduks* or Servian irregular troops.

* Haiduk a robber, or free booter: combined the profession of patriots with the practices of brigands.
the Haiduks were men outlawed by the Turks who like the Greek Klephts

The Servians had gladly joined the German invaders against their Turkish masters; and the flower of their youth were serving as auxiliaries with the German army. After a gallant defence for four days the Haiduks capitulated on honourable terms, engaging not to serve again for the remainder of the war. The Janissaries attempted to violate the capitulation, but Kúpríli restrained them. He next laid siege to Nish; the German garrison, after holding out for twenty-five days, were glad to capitulate on condition of marching out with the honours of war. As the Germans were marching out, the Turks discovered among them some of the Haiduks of Shahr Koi.

The ranks of the garrison were searched, and all the Haiduks of Shahr Koi were found in disguise amongst them. The Vazír hanged some of them upon trees, and condemned the rest to the galleys. A force of some thousand Germans was marching from Belgrade to the relief of Nish; Khán Selím Girái, who had quitted the Polish war to serve under the Vazár in person, intercepted them and routed them after a hard fight. He afterwards left the main army, to join in the invasion of Transylvania, as will be presently related. Widdin and Semendria were abandoned by their German garrisons, and the whole of Servia and Bosnia recovered by the Grand Vazír who now marched on Belgrade. It was defended by eight thousand Germans and as many Servian Haiduks. The Vazír pressed on the siege eagerly, for Lewis of Baden with the German army was advancing to its relief. Mustafá Kúpríli sent half his army to prevent the Germans from crossing the Save while he pressed the siege with the rest. As his good fortune would have it, or, as he said, by a miraculous interposition of Providence, a magazine in the city blew up and made a breach in the ramparts; the Turks immediately gave the assault and in the confusion won their way in. The garrison defended themselves desperately and nearly all fell, a few escaping in boats across the Danube.

The town of Temesvár was still holding out for the Turks. It had resisted a blockade of three years, and the garrison suffered fearfully from hunger, but they were encouraged by the example and exhortations of their brave old Commander, Khoja Ja'fir Páshá. From Belgrade the Vazír despatched five hundred Sipáhis, each horseman leading another horse loaded with a sack of meal, for the relief of Temesvár. By forced marches they reached the town, and, eluding the vigilance of the Germans, who never dreamt of any Turks being in the neighbourhood, they entered it. Some of the garrison had already died of starvation; the Janissaries fell like famished wolves upon the meal sacks; the Sipáhis bade them stand off, till they had delivered their charge

to the Governor ; from words they came to blows, the meal was polluted with the blood of Musalmáns slain upon the meal sacks. After a frantic-struggle, in which many were killed on both sides, the routed Sipáhis fled from the town, leaving the meal to the victorious garrison.

The Vazír crossed the Danube, took Lippa, and laid siege to Essek, but the approach of winter forced him to raise the siege. Lewis of Baden, when he found himself too late to relieve Belgrade, had hurried off into Transylvania to save that province for the Emperor. Michael Apaffy had died, and the Turks, releasing Tekeli, appointed him Prince of Transylvania and sent him to invade the country ; he had ten thousand Turks, and Khán Selím Girii joined him with his Tartars. Pouring through the passes of the mountains between Wallachia and Transylvania, they surprised General Heister and his army. The Germans fought stoutly, but the inconstant Hungarians went over to their old leader during the battle and attacked the Imperialists in flank. A total rout followed : Heister was made prisoner and his whole army killed or taken. Tekeli now made a triumphal progress through Transylvania, but his triumph was short, for Lewis of Baden as soon as he heard of Heister's discomfiture had hurried to revenge it, and to clear his flank from the new enemy. At his approach Tekeli, Turks and Tartars all fled, and Transylvania was recovered as quickly as it had been lost.

Tekeli after this lived long in Turkey, as pensioner of the Sultán. He used to say, that though Muhammad may have been a false prophet in most things, yet he truly prognosticated the fickle character of his followers, when he gave them the crescent for their symbol. Sultán Sulimán II died of dropsy in the midst of the rejoicings over the triumph of the Ottoman arms ; and was succeeded by his younger brother Ahmad II. A Palace intrigue was set on foot by the favourites of the new Sultán, to remove Mustafá Kúprili from the Vizárat ; but the Janissaries and other troops rallied round him and threatened to depose the Sultán rather than that a hair of the head of their invincible Vazír, the defender of the law and the restorer of the Ottoman Empire, should be injured and they swore to stand by him to the death ; he removed the unworthy favourites from about the Sultán's person and then mustered his army at Adrianople for the campaign. Such numbers of Musulman volunteers, attracted by the fame of the successful campaign of the last year, flocked to the rendezvous that Kúprili was fain to decline their services ; but, fearing less he should damp the universal ardour for the war, he reluctantly permitted most of them to accompany the army. These hordes of

undisciplined men, without officers or organization were far more mischievous to their friends than dangerous to their foes.

At Adrianople Kúprili received an ambassador from William III of England, who was anxious to negotiate a peace between the Emperor and the Turks, to allow of his Imperial ally turning his whole strength against the common enemy. Kúprili pretended to listen to the proposals for mediation, but no thought of peace was in his heart. As soon as the whole army was collected, he gave out the route for Buda, and set out "burning with high hope," to recover the capital of Hungary. He crossed the Save at Belgrade and marched forward against the Imperial army, which lay encamped at Salankaman (called by the Turk Islankaman), on the Danube, barring the road to Buda. The Vazír intercepted and destroyed, or made prisoners, five battalions of German infantry who were on their way to reinforce the army. They made a brave defence, but were overpowered by the multitude of their assailants. This partial success, as often happened with the Turks, turned their heads, and brought them to ruin; for the Vazír at once attacked the Margrave Lewis of Baden in his strong entrenched camp at Salankaman. A desperate and confused battle took place; the Germans had the advantage of discipline and position, but the Turks outnumbered them two to one. The Musulmans threw themselves with desperate fury, sword in hand against the enemy's entrenchments :—

"One charge to another succeeds,
Like waves that a hurricane bears."

While the Germans mowed down the rash assailants with grape and musketry. Mustafá Kúprili, seeing the battle failing and his men giving way, himself led forward the Janissaries to a fresh attack. While he was cheering them on, he was shot through the head and killed on the spot. The *Tabalkhana* ceased to play, and the Turks began to fall back; the cry that the Vazír was slain spread through their ranks. Lewis of Baden ordered a general advance and the Turks fled panic-struck, abandoning camp, guns, stores and baggage to the enemy. More than twenty thousand Turks fell in the battle and the pursuit, while of the Germans there were only three thousand put hors de combat. But five thousand of them had been lost in the first encounter, and the Emperor Leopold, when he heard of the battle, said gloomily that it was an easier matter for the Sultán to raise even eighty thousand men than for him to replace the loss of his eight battalions of Germans. The Imperial forces in Hungary were now reduced to the lowest possible number that could be expected to defend the country, and Lewis of Baden after the victory of Salankaman

contented himself with driving the Turks out of Hungary and did not follow them across the Save.

The Turks, during the past two years, had, under Mustafá Kúprili's lieutenants, been successful against the Poles and Russians, but the Venetians continued to have the mastery in the maritime war, and had driven the Turks entirely from the Morea, and they carried on an incessant and harassing warfare in Dalmatia and Albania and in all the coasts of the Archipelago. The next year, 1692, passed without any important military operations on the Danube, both Turks and Germans observing each other only in the neighbourhood of Belgrade, the Germans being too weak in numbers to attempt offensive operations and, the Turks too much cowed by their defeat at Salankaman.

Negotiations for peace were continually carried on through the medium of the English and Dutch ambassadors at the Porte, while the French ambassador was busily bribing the Vazírs and the officers of the Sultán's household to prevent any arrangement being come to.

Next year (1693) the Grand Vazír Buyukli Mustafá Páshá (he was the third who had held that dignity since the death of Mustafá Kúprili) led an army through Walachia for the invasion of Transylvania.

The German General De la Croy, seeing the coast clear, laid siege to Belgrade. He had breached the walls and had hopes of taking the place, when the Vazír, abandoning his design on Transylvania, hurried by forced marches through a most difficult country to its relief. De la Croy whose force was very small, raised the siege and recrossed the Save.

The Vazír's advanced guard took four field pieces from the Germans, and the retreat of De la Croy was trumpeted forth to Islám as a signal victory gained by the arms of the faithful. The Vazír did not cross the Save, but he sent Khán Salím Girái across with his Tartar horse to scour the country. He did infinite mischief, but the German Generals laid a trap for him and caught him, shut up in the defiles of the mountains. The Tartars hamstrung their horses and attempted to escape on foot, and being intercepted by the German infantry, they tried to cut a-way through with their swords. Salím and a few of the foremost got through and escaped; the rest were all killed or taken.

Buyukli Mustafá Páshá had gone back to Adrianople, to be praised for his relief of Belgrade. There the Sultán, however, on some frivolous pretext, took the seals from him and gave them to Shám Tarábulus Ali Páshá (Ali Páshá of Tripoli in Syria). The new Vazír sent the army at Belgrade, under the command of a

Saraskar, into Hungary, but General Caprara met them and drove them back again with little trouble inflicting severe punishment on them.

In the spring of 1695 Sultán Ahmad II died, and was succeeded by his nephew Mustafá II, the son of the deposed Muhámmad IV. He was a young man, full of spirit, and inclined to take an interest in military affairs. He found himself on the throne of a tottering empire, with an empty treasury, a disorganised army, and a shattered fleet; victorious enemies on all the frontiers, and sedition and rebellion rife in all the provinces. The Turks had various theories to account for their recent bad fortune in war; perhaps those most universally credited were the ones that imputed it to the prevalence of wine-taverns in Constantinople, and the general neglect of the five stated times of prayer. Sultán Mustafá was more likely to be right in attributing their military disasters to the apathy and ignorance of his predecessors. He declared that it was the first duty of the Sultán to be the first soldier of the armed nation of the 'Osmánlis, and that he at the head of the army would in person recover from the infidels the kingdom of Hungary, given by God to his ancestors.

The army was, as usual, mustered at Adrianople, where the Sultán joined it. According to the Turkish military regulations, all the feudal militia, and all soldiers, except those of the regular troops, could only be called on to serve for six months at a time; so at the conclusion of a campaign the greater part of the army disbanded itself and did not re-assemble until the following spring. The annual gathering now took place and the young Sultán eagerly inspected the troops and the munitions of war, often going into the camp in disguise and mingling with the men. Happening to find some of the gun-carriages unserviceable, he sent for the Topji Báshi, who laid the blame on the Vazír, saying that he had applied for material to mend them, but the Vazír would not furnish it. Mustafá immediately ordered the Vazír to be put to death, and his body to be exposed for three days in sight of the army; but it was generally believed that the unserviceable gun-carriages had been made a pretext for his death, long ago decided on for other reasons. The Sultán gave the seals to Almás (Diamond) Muhammad Páshá, a young Bosniak who had been page to Muhammad IV and was called the Diamond from his striking beauty. The appointment was looked on with disfavour by the other Páshás, on account of the new Vazír's youth.

The Sultán marched from Adrianople to Belgrade and then crossed the Danube into Hungary. The German army was commanded by Augustus the Strong, Elector of Saxony, whom the Turks called N'al Kyran, the horse-shoe breaker; because

one of his favourite feats of strength was to straighten a horse-shoe with his hands. When he heard of the approach of the Turkish grand army, he sent for General Veterani to join him from Transylvania with seven thousand Germans. The Sultán having got intelligence of this, resolved to intercept Veterani, and used such diligence that he succeeded in coming upon him while he was still a day's march from his friends, who had no information of the proximity of the Turkish army. The Turkish cavalry first came up and surrounded Veterani, preventing him from moving until the infantry and the guns arrived. The Sultán ordered a general attack, the numbers of the Turks enabling them to assail the front and both flanks of the enemy ; but the Germans stood like a stone wall and drove the Turks back with loss. Sultán Mustafá, enraged to see his men flying, himself tried to rally them, and is said to have killed one or two of the fugitives with his own hand : and the Germans, being unable from their scanty numbers to pursue the broken bands, were rallied and driven back to the charge.

This time the Turks broke into Veterani's camp, which was in his rear, but he detached some battalions who recovered it, driving out the Turks again with great slaughter, the Germans fighting shoulder-to-shoulder, their line moving as one man : the Turks struggling in a tumultuous mob, were all again in panic flight. The Sultán met Shahen Muhammad Páshá flying, and cried to him, " Would that they who gave the name of Falcon " (Shahen) could see thee like a crane, drawing after thee a flock " of fugitives ! " Shahen Muhammad stung by this taunt, turned and rallied his men and was killed making a third attack. General Veterani was himself put hors de combat and could no longer issue commands, and the Germans, having repulsed all the attacks of the Turks retreated in good order, carrying off their guns and waggons, but abandoning their camps and leaving two thousand five hundred of their number on the field.

The Turks are said to have lost the incredible number of ten thousand men : among whom were the Begler Beg of Kumlí and many other Páshás. The Sultán was so appalled at the carnage that he would not allow his army to pursue the retreating enemy. However, he boasted of having obtained a victory, and then led his army away through the south of Transylvania, wasting the country and burning the towns, as he passed into Wallachia, and from thence he returned to winter at Adrianople.

Next spring (1696), as soon as the weather permitted, Augustus the Strong assembled his army and laid siege to Temesvár, which all this time had remained in the hands of the Turks ; hoping to take it before the Sultán could arrive to its assistance. Mustafá

when he heard the news, started from Adrianople, and with great expedition crossed the Danube at Belgrade and marched on Temesvár. The Elector, hearing of his approach, raised the siege and came forward to meet him; both armies entrenched themselves in presence of each other; incessant skirmishing went on between the cavalry of both sides, and the plains of Hungary again resounded with the cries of charging Hungarian Hussars and Turkish Sipáhis.

On one side the Turkish camp was bordered by a dense thicket, so close and tangled that a man could with difficulty force his way into it, and no doubt the Turks looked on it as a protection upon that side. But Augustus of Saxony set his men to work at night to cut paths through the thicket, and before morning they had cut twenty-four roads through the briars, close up to the Turkish camp. At day dawn Augustus turned out his army, and, dividing them into twenty-four columns, and taking twenty-four pieces of cannon, one for each column, set out through the thicket for the Turkish camp, surprised the sentinels and entered the camp. But, luckily for the Turks, the Janissaries, and the Egyptian contingent (probably Mamelukes) were encamped at this spot, and they attacked the heads of the columns so vigorously that they could not deploy. The noise of the attack spread a panic through the Turkish camp; the Sultán himself yielded to it, and leaving his tent, betook himself, not to the scene of conflict, but in the opposite direction. None of the other troops attempted to aid the Janissaries and the Egyptians, and the fate of the day hung in the balance. The Germans were striving to beat back the Janissaries, to gain room to open their front; and no doubt, could they but have deployed, they would have carried all before them; but Almás the Vazír who kept his presence of mind, found three thousand of the Bustánjis or Palace guards of the Sultán drawn up at the Imperial Pavilion, and brought them up to reinforce the Turks who were engaged; their arrival decided the battle, and the Germans were driven back into the wood, through which they retreated, leaving their twenty-four guns behind them. The losses on both sides were heavy. Augustus was lucky in escaping so well from his rash enterprise, which he had undertaken counting on the carelessness of the Turks and their liability to panic. After extricating his troops from the wood he drew them up in order of battle on the plain between the camps; but the Sultán would not accept the proffered battle.

After the two armies had remained facing each other for some days, the Sultán broke up his camp and marched away eastward, through Transylvania, into his own dominions.

This battle was the first occasion on which the Sultán's Bústánjis had ever been engaged; and they behaved with great bravery and steadiness.

Meanwhile the war had been carried on with varying fortune in other quarters. The Russians, under Peter the Great, had taken Azoph, and the Turkish Admiral, Mezzomorto, had gained several naval victories and checked the Venetians in their career of conquest; altogether the Sultán was well pleased with the progress of his arms, and was bent on continuing the war. The English and Dutch ambassadors offered him their services as mediators again, and the Emperor had made peace with the most Christian King, and was therefore at leisure to turn his whole strength to the war in Hungary; but Mustafá haughtily rejected all proposals for accommodation, saying, that he did not want the assistance of the King of France to enable him to conquer the Emperor; he could do it very well by himself. He made a grand triumphal entry into Istambúl with as much pomp and parade as if he had really re-conquered Hungary. The twenty-four cannon taken from Augustus, a number of German captives, who had been left wounded on the field by the troops of Veterani in their retreat, were dragged in his train. He employed the whole winter in exercising his troops and augmenting their numbers. Twelve thousand Yamaks were called out to recruit the ranks of the Janissaries; eight thousand new sailors were enrolled to man six-and-thirty ships of war which the Sultán ordered to be built, and all Constantinople resounded with the din of arms, to the astonishment of the inhabitants, accustomed to the slothful habits and peaceable character of their later Sultáns. Among other things Mustafá insisted on musketry, and gun and mortar practice being regularly performed: from which we may infer that these essentials had hitherto been neglected by the Turks.

Early in the spring the Sultán left his capital with great pomp for Adrianople, where he mustered his army and found it to consist of one hundred and thirty-five thousand fighting men, besides many followers. The flower of the army consisted of twenty thousand Janissaries under Dali (mad) Bálda Oghli, their Aghá, so called from his rash bravery; and about four thousand Topjis, Jabajis, and Khumpárajis (gunners, ordnance-train men and bombardiers). Sháhbáz Khán Girái, son of old Salím Khán Girái, led a contingent of Tartar horsemen; and the Vazír Almás Páshá held the Chief Command under the Sultán, having under him all the famous fighting Páshás of the Empire, among whom were the veteran Khoja J'afir, the defender of Temesvár, who had fought through the whole of the long war, and Misrli Oghli (the Egyptian's son) an officer who had been victorious when holding

a Chief Command against the Venetians. To oppose this mighty host the Emperor could only muster forty-six thousand men under the command of a youth as yet unknown to fame, Prince Eugene of Savoy. Augustus the Strong had been elected King of Poland, and had gone to take possession of his new Sovereignty, and the fortunes of the German army had been committed to young Eugene with positive orders from the Emperor to remain on the defensive and not to risk a battle. Eugene knew the Turks and their weak points well; he had himself served at the relief of Vienna, where his elder brother had been killed in a charge of Tartar cavalry. He was well versed in the art of fighting the Turks, which was then looked upon as a separate branch of military science, and was expounded by masters like Montecuculi, who gave the Polish horseman's lance the title of "*La Reine des armes blanches*" when speaking of its effect against the scimitar-wielding Turkish cavalry; and he was now ready and anxious to put his own proficiency to the test.

He commanded an army of stout German footsoldiers, in whose battalions the bravest, stoutest and most active men were kept in separate picked companies of Grenadiers, whose tall mitre-shaped caps were borrowed from the costume of their famous foes. "*Caps with coped crowns like Janissaries*" Evelyn says of them. There were regiments of Dragoons armed with flint-lock musket, bayonet and sword, accoutred like infantry and riding useful hacks, which enabled them to keep up with cavalry on a forced march. The Turks, when they wanted to bring infantry rapidly to the front, used the simpler plan of mounting each Janissary *en croupe* behind a Sipáhi.

Eugene had a few regiments of heavy horse, ponderous cuirassiers who relied on their pistols in fight as much as on their swords; safe to give a good account of the Turkish cavalry if they could only catch them! More useful to him were his Hungarian Hussars, the eyes and ears of his army, who rivalled the Turks in dash and distanced them in discipline:—

Prince Eugene lay with his army at Szegedin on the Theiss, watching to see where the storm of invasion would burst. The Sultán advanced to Belgrade where he called a council of war to decide on the plan of the campaign. Tekeli was present and proposed an invasion of Transylvania, offering to raise the inhabitants in favour of the Turks; he also represented that the German garrisons had been drawn out of Transylvania to strengthen Eugene's army.

The Sultán approved of this advice and crossed the Danube to march on Temesvár. Eugene, meantime had broken up from Szegedin and was coming down the right bank of the Theiss:

The Sultán on his second day's march heard that German troops had been seen at the junction of the Theiss and the Danube, and halted and called another council of war. It was evident that if both armies continued their march, a few days would bring the Germans between the Sultán's army and Belgrade. While Transylvania was being won, service might be lost. Almás the Vazír spoke out at the Council, and said that it was idle to talk of conquering this or that province while the enemy had a large army in the field. They should find him, and beat him, and then they might do as they liked. The enemy's field army should be their object.

The fickle Sultán followed his favourite's advice, and the army headed westwards for the Theiss; they found the passage of the river obstructed by six thousand German horse and dragoons, the advanced guard of Eugene's army. They bravely repulsed several attempts of the Turks to cross the river in boats, until the Turkish flotilla, which had been ordered up by the Sultán from Belgrade on his change of route, arrived upon the scene. The Germans, finding themselves over-matched, fell back upon their main body; and the Turks laid their pontoons and crossed the river. The Vazír caused the dead bodies of 300 Germans killed in the fight, to be exposed to the view of the army.

A third Turkish Council of war now came to the conclusion that a *coup de main* might be attempted on Petervaradein before the German army could arrive to its help. They calculated that crossing the Danube and storming the city would occupy them for two days, and the German army could not possibly come up with them for three days yet; and the Sultán sent Sháhábáz Girái Khán, with his Tartar horse, to lay waste the country and to retard Prince Eugene's advance. Sháhábáz Girái Khán set fire to the long grass with which the great plain between the Theiss and the Danube was covered, and reduced the country to a smoking desert. The Sultán marched on along the northern bank of the Danube, till he came opposite to Petervaradein; there was a bridge connecting the town with the northern or left bank of the river which the Turks thought to seize; but it was commanded by the cannon of the town, and they could not approach it. They therefore began to lay down a pontoon bridge across the stream lower down. But the garrison from an island in the river interrupted the work with their guns, and sank the bridge, after it was almost ready, and, though on the second day the Turkish flotilla, coming up, drove the Christians from the island, yet the bridge was not finished till late in the third day; and lo! as the Muazzins in the Turk's camp proclaim the hour of sunset prayer, they are answered by the strains of martial music, and the army of Prince Eugene marches

by in beautiful order, with drums beating and colours flying ; and passing by the Turkish camp, takes up its station at the bridge-head of Peterraradein. They had marched for nine consecutive hours harrassed by the attacks of Shâhbâz Girâri's twelve thousand Tartars, and without food or water ; but now their wants were supplied from the Danube, and from the town.

The Sultân immediately called a fresh council of war to deliberate on what was to be done, and at the same time sent a message to Shâhbâz Girâi to take him some German prisoners from whom he might learn the strength of the enemy's army. The Germans standing in order of battle on the plain near the bridge-head, the Tartars could find no stragglers, and were forced to try to dash in upon them and carry a man off from the midst of his comrades. After many failures and losing many of their own lives, three of them getting into the rear of the German army succeeded in picking up and carrying off a private foot-soldier. From him the Turks learned that Prince Eugene's whole army was present and that Szegedin, where the Prince's magazines were, had been left but slenderly guarded.

The Sultân had called a council of war ; he himself attended it but sat behind a *purda*, so that he could hear what was being said, without being himself seen ; Almâs, the Grand Vazîr, spoke first and advocated giving battle to the Germans on the morrow. If a hundred and thirty thousand Ottomans could not face forty thousand Germans in the field he said, they had better give up the war altogether ; the soldiery were now most eager and impatient for a battle, and if they were restrained, their ardour would evaporate, and they would become dispirited. They might as well be beaten as confess themselves afraid to meet the enemy.

Old Khoja Ja'fir Pâshâ spoke next. He differed from the Vazîr and advised that the Ottoman army should remain in its entrenchments and await the German attack. He said that he had been in all the battles against the Germans and had seen that if they only had room to manœuvre they could always secure the victory. He knew from experience that the Turks could not fight them in the field, whatever odds they had on their side. All the other Pâshâs agreed with Ja'fir Pâshâ. The Vazîr lost his temper and said that men who confessed themselves inferior to Giaurs were no true Musalmâns. Khoja Ja'fir begged the Sultân to draw the curtain behind which he was sitting, and hear what he had to say. "Let me be found here," he said, "and let the Vazîr lead out the army to fight the Germans ; if he returns victorious, nay, if he does not within the space of two hours betake himself to a shameful flight, let me die the death of a dog ; but if he is beaten, let me be set at liberty."

The Sultán approved of the decision of the majority of the council and ordered the troops to be kept in the camp.

Next morning Prince Eugene drew up his whole army in battle array before the Turkish camp. Many of the Turks took the field without orders and the Sultán ordered the Cháushes to beat them back to their tents. The Ottoman soldiery complained loudly of the disgrace of being braved by the Christians, and began railing at the cowardice of their Generals. The Vazír again strongly urged the Sultán to fight, but he refused; the Vazír then declared that the army would break out into mutiny if it was kept inactive, and as there was no longer any hope of taking Peterwaradein, he proposed to make an attack on Szegedin about sixty miles distant where Eugene's magazines were. It was possible that in the meantime the Germans might advance on Belgrade, but that city was well munitioned and had a garrison of eighteen thousand men. However, it might be as well to send Khoja Ja'fir Páshá to command there, as he had great experience of sieges and had already defended Temesvár so well. Almás' object in giving this advice was to separate Khoja Ja'fir from the Sultán, that his own advice might prevail, but the Sultán divining his purpose said that old Ja'fir should stay with the army where his advice was most useful; but he thought the surprise of Szegedin was a good plan, and would adopt it. Accordingly orders were given for the army to march next morning, and at break of day they set out for Szegedin by the very route along which Eugene had come two days before. They encamped that evening, near a lake, and in the morning the Sultán bethought himself of leaving Kúchik Ja'fir Páshá (Little Ja'fir Páshá), with five hundred chosen horsemen, to observe the movements of the German army and to send him any intelligence of them. He then marched on, making the castle of Zenta on the banks of the Theiss, his next stage. Meanwhile Eugene had heard the Turks' *tabal khána* sounding on the morning that they marched off, and concluded that they were getting in motion to fight him at last. He drew out his army and waited patiently, but no enemy appeared, and the Turkish camp had vanished. His Hungarian scouts soon brought word that the Turks were marching towards Zenta.

Eugene believed that the Turks were running away. Their refusal to fight, followed by their decamping so suddenly, convinced him that they were demoralized and were seeking to escape across the Theiss, and he did not doubt but that he should catch them in the act of crossing the river. Having made all preparations he set out next morning in their track, but found Kuchik Ja'fir's party in his path; he waited till nightfall and then sent on his Hungarian Hussars, who completely surprised the Turks, taking prisoners

Ja'fir Páshá and a few others, and killing most of them ; one or two only escaped by flight ; one of them was the Secretary of Ja'fir, who was the first to arrive at the Sultán's camp at Zenta with the news. He went straight to the Vazír, who, for fear of the bad news spreading, cut his head off on the spot. This precaution was not of much use, however, for presently more fugitives arrived, and then some Tartars who said that they had seen the whole German army on the march. The Sultán at once gave orders to recall the advanced guard which had already started on the road to Szegedin : and to throw a pontoon bridge immediately across the Theiss, intending to lose no time in putting the river between himself and the enemy.

The bridge was ready by noon, and the craven Sultán was the first to pass over. As he mounted to cross the bridge, the Vazír Almás came to kiss his stirrup, but the Sultán sternly repulsing him, desired him to send the rest of the army and especially the artillery and baggage over with all diligence, for if a single waggon fell into the hands of the enemy, his head should answer for it. The Vazír knowing the Germans would soon be upon him, determined to keep the Janissaries and artillery by him to the last to defend the passage ; but as the Sultán was peremptory that the artillery should pass, he sent over eight guns, pretending that the rest would follow ; then he made the Cavalry pass over and the camp followers and baggage after them. Though these continued passing all that afternoon and all through the night, they were not nearly all across by morning. Nearly all the Páshás had crossed with their body-guards and retainers, when the patrols brought word to the Vazír that the Germans were at hand. He, knowing that it was impossible to get the infantry and guns across the river without fighting, ordered the Janissaries to entrench the camp, and sent across the river for all the Páshás to return to him. Not daring to disobey, they all came back on foot with a few attendants, for the bridge was so blocked with the baggage that it was impossible for a horse to pass. The Janissaries seized the waggons which had not yet crossed to make a barricade of them inside their trench. And the waggoners seeing the Germans approaching, in a panic, drove their cattle altogether upon the bridge and the struggling crowd of oxen broke down the structure ; three of the boats were sunk, but it was still possible for men on foot to pass over on planks laid across.

The Vazír Almás knew well what would be the issue of the battle and that his own fate was sealed. He had dreamt during that troubled night when he was snatching a few minutes' hasty repose that he saw his predecessor Mustafá Kúprili holding out to him the cup of martyrdom ; and he felt that he was destined

to quaff it in this day's battle. He assembled the other Pâshás and bitterly reproached them, telling them, that they had obstinately refused to fight before, and now they saw themselves obliged to fight at a disadvantage whether they liked it or not. As they had brought him into this scrape he was determined they should see him through it. He then bade them join the troops in the trenches.

Some of them now discovered that the extent of the entrenchment was too large to be conveniently held, and it was resolved to make another entrenchment within the first one; though the latter was almost completed. The German army was now in full sight, darkening the distant plain, and drawing rapidly nearer. The Sultán saw them from the other side and sent messenger after messenger and letter after letter, commanding the Vazír, under the usual penalty of losing his head, to send over the Janissaries' guns, and ammunition train at once, and to leave everything else to its fate. But the Vazír concealed these orders from the Pâshás and told the messengers that he would rather die fighting sword in hand than survive to be shamefully put to death by the Sultán; and, indeed, the accident to the bridge had made the execution of the orders impossible, nor was there time to carry them out. The German guns were now opening fire, and their foremost brigades, coming up, marched straight to the assault of the Turkish entrenchments. The Janissaries were labouring away at the inner line of trench, complaining and reproaching the Vazír to his face with their imminent danger; but they saw the Germans advancing, they seized their arms and rushing to the outer entrenchment manned it and bravely beat the Germans back. The assailants disconcerted by such a stout resistance fell back to wait for reinforcements.

Prince Eugene after a hurried reconnaissance of the ground, found that the waters of the Theiss, subsiding in the summer heats had left a reach of sand about thirty paces wide between the water and the foot of the high banks. He got some field pieces down on to this strip of sand by cutting away the bank, and with them fired on the bridge. The Sultán had the eight guns which the Vazír had sent across the day before, planted against the German battery; but the Austrian gunners silenced the Turkish guns with a few rounds, and again turning their attention to the bridge, soon smashed it up and sent the shattered pontoons whirling down the stream. Eugene at the same time marched columns of infantry along the sandy reach under the bank to take the Turks in rear, while he led forward the rest of his army to renew the attack on the trenches. The Janissaries, in spite of the threats and entreaties of the Vazír and the Pâshás

abandoned the outer trench without waiting for the assault and retired to the unfinished inner one. The Vazír and Páshás continuing to urge them by threats and blows to return to the first entrenchment; the infuriated soldiery rose upon them and massacred them all on the spot. The Vazír, Khoja' Ja'fir Páshá and Misrli Oghli and every Turkish officer of rank present, except one were thus slain by their own men before the fight had fairly begun. Dali Báta Oghli, the Janissary Aghá, was the only one who escaped the weapons of the mutineers to fall a few minutes later by the hand of the Germans. The battle now commenced to rage furiously, the Germans occupying the outer line of trenches, and coming up from the river side upon the Turkish rear. The Turks fought like madmen and the Germans gave no quarter.

The Sultán and all his cavalry from the other bank looked on as men amazed and stupified at the horrid scene, hearing the incessant roar and rattle of the cannon and musketry, the hoarse shouts of the charging Germans, the savage yells of the Turkish soldiery, and the despairing shrieks of the camp followers. The sun went down on the last struggles of the surviving Musalmáns; "lingering on the horizon," said Prince Eugene in his despatch, "to gild with his last rays the victorious standards of Austria." Many of the Turks cut their way through the ranks of their enemies only to be drowned in the Theiss: one man Mahamúd Beg, son of the Beglerbeg of Rumílí, who had been killed in the battle with Veterani, was saved by his stout horse swimming the river. The Grand Vazír, fifteen Páshás of three tails, and twenty-seven Páshás of two tails or one tail had perished; with more than fourteen thousand Janissaries, three thousand seven hundred Topji, and Jabaji, seven thousand Arnáuts or Albanians, and a mixed multitude of irregular infantry, and camp followers; in all, probably, thirty thousand Turks were killed and drowned in the river. The Germans had six thousand men put hors de combat during the three hours for which the fighting had lasted.

A chronogram composed on the Vazír Almás Páshá's death ran thus:—*Namcha kurshunila fildi Almási*; "The German hath cleaned the diamond with lead;" an allusion to a popular belief that lead corrodes diamonds.

No sooner had the tragedy of the destruction of the Turkish infantry and artillery and the capture of their carriages and camp been accomplished, than the Sultán and his cavalry fled from the banks of the Theiss, as if the Germans had been pursuing them, and in the darkness and confusion took the direction of Temesvár. They lost their way and floundered among morasses in which many were drowned and engulfed. Next morning the Sultán disguised himself and with a few attendants hurried in to Temesvár, leaving his

troops to shift for themselves. After a few days they all re-assembled at Temesvár, and the Sultán led them back to Belgrade.

Prince Eugene, after the battle of Zenta, crossed the river and plundered the Sultán's camp, which had been left standing ; but, hearing that the Turks had fled as far as Belgrade, he did not pursue them. The Germans after this invaded Bosnia and at first over-ran the country and plundered and burnt Bosnia Sarái ; but the Turks of the province elected Daltabán Mustafá, who had been banished thither by the jealousy of Almás, the late Vazír, to be their Saraskar, and by his bravery and his popularity with his men he succeeded in turning the tables on the Germans, and driving them back across the Save.

The war had now lasted fifteen years, and the Turks were at last thoroughly cowed by their successive and disastrous reverses. It was with difficulty that soldiers could be procured for a new campaign. Volunteers there were none. They said openly that God was on the side of the Giaurs. The Sultán had discovered that he was not born to be a General, or even a soldier. The Emperor, on his side, expected a renewal of hostilities with France and was therefore anxious for peace. By the exertions of the English and Dutch ambassadors, who acted as mediators, a congress was assembled at Karlowitz in Hungary near Petervaradein. The proceedings were interrupted and delayed by a quarrel for precedence between the German and Turkish representatives, while the Russian refused to sit below the Pole. It was accommodated by the sittings being held at a round table placed in a round pavilion. Meanwhile no hostilities were carried on between the Germans and the Turks, and the year 1698 passed away without any military event of importance. The treaty of Carlowitz was not finally signed until the year 1699. The treaty between the Sultán and the Germans was arranged on the basis of *uti possidetis*, the Turks resigning all Hungary, Sclavonia, and Transylvania, except the city of Temesvár.

The Russians, by a similar arrangement, kept Azoph, and the Venetians the Morea and part of Dalmatia. The Turks yielded up to the Poles the province of Podolia and the strong fortress of Kaminick. This peace proved the ruin of Sultán Mustafá II ; it was the first occasion on which the Ottomans had resigned any of their conquests again to their enemies ; and that Dárul Islám should become Dár ul Harb,* and masjids be converted into churches, seemed horrible sacrilege in the eyes of all true believers ;

* Dár ul Islám, land of Islám, all other countries are included in or of peace, comprises all countries Dár ul Harb, Land of War. governed by the Muhammadan Law :

the Sultán became unpopular and was finally deposed and his brother, Ahmad III, made Sultán in his stead.

The Turks never ceased to long for the recovery of Hungary and of the Morea. It was impossible, they said, that it should be the will of God that places like Buda and the other cities of Hungary where the Azán had been proclaimed for so many years and the Khutba regularly read, could remain long in the possession of infidels. The most ardent adherent of the policy which aimed at the recovery of the lost provinces was Dámád Ali Kumurji (Son-in-law, Ali the charcoal burner), so-called because he was the Sultan's son-in-law, and a charcoal burner's son. The Sultán Ahmad III, when riding in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, had seen the little Ali playing near a charcoal burner's hut, and, struck by the beauty of the child, he took him into the seraglio and made him one of his pages; he rose rapidly from one dignity to another, until he married a daughter of his patron and became Grand Vazír. His heart was set on the recovery of Hungary, and he thwarted the policy of Charles XII of Sweden, then at Bandar, and who had a strong party in the Divan, anxious to assist him against Russia.

Dámád Ali secretly made vast preparations, and in 1714, on some frivolous pretext, the Sultán declared war against Venice, and the Ottoman forces suddenly covered the shores of the Adriatic and Archipelago. Then Dámád Ali took the field at the head of a large army and reduced the Morea in one campaign, the Venetians being utterly unprepared and taken unawares. One episode of this campaign was the siege of Corinth, which Byron has made famous. It was no secret that Hungary was to be the next object of attack, and when the Venetians applied for aid to the Emperor, he granted it to them on the ground that the Sultán had violated the Treaty of Carlowitz. An army of fifty thousand men, a large army for those days, was assembled in Hungary under the command of Prince Eugene, who had, since the day of Zenta, gained many laurels in western wars, as the adversary of Villars and the associate of Marlborough.

Dámád Ali was told that he was to match himself with a great General. "Ah!" he replied, "I shall become a greater one, and at his expense." In 1716 he sent a large army with the fleet to drive the Venetians from Corfu, while he led one hundred and fifty thousand men to the conquest of Hungary, and advanced on Petervaradein, which Eugene covered. Reconnaissances by the cavalry on both sides brought on an engagement, in which the Austrian and Hungarian horse were routed with great slaughter and many prisoners taken; and the Turks looked on this as a presage of success to come. They had forgotten the lessons of the

last war and Dámád Ali had no hesitation in accepting the battle offered by Eugene. It was fought on the plain before Peterwaradein. The ball was opened by a furious cannonade, after which both sides advanced to the attack. The Austrian infantry of the right wing was overthrown by the desperate charge of the Janissaries, who fell on it in a confused swarm, sword in hand. A dreadful slaughter was made of the broken German foot-soldiers by the Turkish scimitars. Generals Lanken and Wallenstein, who commanded the Divisions of that wing, were both killed. Prince Eugene sent his Hungarian horse to the rescue, and the hussars came down on the flank of the Janissaries, *ventre a terre*, rolling them up and treading them under their hoofs like stubble. The Turks passed from one extreme to the other; and an unreasoning panic took the place of their blind fury.

“Fast, fast,

“ In many a broken and billowy rank,

“ The bewildered rear of their battle fled.

The Vazír threw himself among the fugitives to stop the rout and was struck down by an Austrian bullet. His officers succeeded in carrying him from the field. On the other wing, the Germans had carried all before them, and the whole Turkish army was now in panic flight, leaving its camps, stored with rich booty, 250 guns, and numerous standards and other trophies, to the victors.

Dámád Ali died of his wounds a few days after the battle; his last words were an order to kill all the German prisoners in the hands of the Turks, and he added:—“ Oh, that I could thus serve all the Christian dogs! ” *

After the victory Eugene took Temeswar and expelled the Turks entirely from Hungary. The celebrated Field Marshal Schulemberg had meanwhile completely foiled them at Corfu. Next year Eugene opened the campaign with the siege of Belgrade. The fame of the battle of Peterwaradin and the hope of gaining fresh laurels under so distinguished a commander, caused troops of volunteers from the nobility of all the countries in Europe to flock to join his army; and he said:—“ I might have had squadrons of princes if I had chosen.” Prince George of Hanover, afterwards George II of England, served in these campaigns.

* Byron refers to this last dying speech of Dámád Ali where he says:—

Coumourgi, he whose closing scene,
Adorned the triumph of Eugene;
When on Carlowitz, bloody plain
The last and mightiest of the slain:
He sank, regretting not to die,
But cursed the Christian's victory.”

Siege of Corinth.

As Prince Eugene was reconnoitring the city of Belgrade, he was suddenly attacked by a squadron of Turkish Sipáhis who sallied from the city, and only saved himself from death or capture by shooting with his pistol a Turk who attacked him. There were thirty thousand Turks in the place, and they continued to make desperate sorties; but the siege operations were steadily pushed on and the walls began to crumble before the battering cannon, when the new Grand Vazír appeared, leading to its relief an army of one hundred and eighty thousand men. Finding that Eugene would not give over the siege and that his camp was too strongly entrenched to be attacked, the Grand Vazír sat down before it in form, investing Eugene's camp, as Eugene was investing Belgrade. Never had such an extraordinary scene been beheld by the world since Cæsar, besieging Alesia, and besieged by the Gauls from without, had surrounded his camp with lines of circumvallation and contravallation. The Vazír pushed regular approaches against Eugene's camp, until he had got within pistol-shot of it, and German soldiers were daily killed in their camp by the enemy's musketry. Eugene thought he had given the Turks quite rope enough: and when he was informed by spies that the Vazír had fixed a day for a general assault on the German camp from without, while the garrison of Belgrade were to sally out and attack it from within, he determined to anticipate him. In the early dawn of an August morn, under cover of a thick fog, he led his army to the attack of the Vazír's camp. The soldiers carried plank bridges on which they passed the Turkish trenches. The Turks taken by surprise fled on all sides; but Eugene, having left 20,000 men to guard the trenches against a sortie of the garrison, had only 40,000 with him against 180,000 Turks, and some of the latter had time to rally, and dispute the possession of the camp with the Germans. Some desperate charges were made by the Turkish horse, and Prince Eugene was himself wounded by a sabre cut, for the thirteenth time. Two Austrian battalions standing in line were ridden down and sabred by a body of Turkish cavalry, only two or three men escaping from the carnage. Maurice, Count Saxe, then a youth, acting Aide-de-Camp to Prince Eugene, saw this charge, and relates how a volley, fired point blank by the two battalions in line into the mass of Turkish horsemen dashing in upon them, only brought down twelve Turks. "A circumstance," says he, "which gave me a very poor opinion of the effect of musketry fire."

These brilliant charges of the Turks were, however, only isolated efforts; the Vazír never attempted to give any orders, and it was entirely a soldier's battle on the part of the Osmanlis. The Germans turned the cannon they found mounted in the Vazír's trenches, upon the camp, and the mighty host dissolved like snow after a

thaw. By eleven o'clock the whole camp was in the possession of the victors, the garrison of Belgrade were so terror-struck that they capitulated the next day.

These wonderful victories of Eugene excited the greatest admiration and enthusiasm throughout Europe, and allusions to them are rife in all contemporary literature. Smollett has introduced episodes taken from them into his novel of *Ferdinand, Count Fathom*. Sir Roger de Coverley, in the *Spectator*, wonders whether Eugene is a greater man than Scanderbeg. Pope was evidently picturing to himself a Turkish army in flight from an Hungarian battlefield, when he wrote the lines in the *Rape of the Lock* commencing—

“So when in flight a routed army runs,
“Of Asia's troops and Afric's sable sons.”

The custom of keeping black boys as pages and dressing them up in Turkish costume probably arose from the number of negro boys captured in the Turkish camps after these victories. George II was, we know, attended by negro servants whom he had won in Turkish wars. Many other things besides negroes became common in western Europe from the wholesale plunder of Turkish camps. The first coffee shop was started in Vienna with the coffee looted in Kara Mustafá's camp. Captured Arab and Turkoman horses improved the European breeds. Jewels, brocades and rich stuffs of all kinds were plentiful in these Turkish camps, for the Páshás, true to the instincts of their nomad ancestry, generally carried all their possessions with them into the field. Even a common Turk was worth plundering, for he was an adept at plundering himself, and the coins and trinkets of which he had eased the inhabitants of his line of march, would be a safe find in his *Kamarband* for the German soldier who had slain or captured him. These campaigns against the infidel, affording a certainty of victory and booty, were consequently very popular with the Imperialists, and the doggrel songs of the German soldiery contain many allusions to the glories of Eugene : such as—

“At Belgrade there was booty worth the showing,
Long life to Prince Eugene :
Like grass, you might have seen us mowing
The Turkish ranks down clean.
That day as our brave Hussars, all merry
Hard on the foe's rear pressed,
A blundering rascal of a Janissary
Shot through our Captain's breast.”

After the fall of Belgrade the Germans overran Serbia, and the Sultán sued for peace. The Emperor granted it to him, again on the basis of *uti possidetis*, thus obtaining Temesvár and Serbia for

himself, while the Turks retained the Morea, and the Venetians were left out in the cold.

This peace of Passarowitz confirmed the possession of Hungary to the Christian Kaiser ; and the Ottomans from thenceforth abandoned the hope of its recovery. Twenty years afterwards, when Eugene was dead and his genius had ceased to guide and inspire the military councils of Austria, the Turks recovered Servia and Belgrade ; but as the scene of these campaigns was not laid in Hungary, we are not called upon to narrate that discreditable chapter in Austrian military history . It seemed, in the Emperor's own words, that the good fortune of the Empire had departed with Eugene ; nor, in their subsequent wars with the Ottomans, did the Imperialists ever again gain a triumph like those of Zenta, Petervaradin and Belgrade.

" Now of all the glory that gilt that day,
Not a gleam yet glows in these after ages.

All that glittered hath faded away ;

All, save the name of the Prince ; in her pages

By History written, though seldom read.

All else is dead."

F. H. TYRRELL.

ART. VIII.—IRRIGATION AND RAILWAY COMMUNICATION IN SARUN.

AFTER the late disclosures before a Committee of the House of Commons of the essentially uncommercial principles on which the greater part of the irrigation works of the Lower Provinces have been carried out, it is pleasant to have to record the inception of a scheme the cardinal feature of which is that the guarantee of a substantial interest on the capital to be expended formed the initial preliminary of the undertaking. In an out-of-the-way corner of one of the five hundred pages that constitute the last Administration Report of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal it is declared that "the Sarun Irrigation Scheme is one of exceptional interest owing to its having been brought forward on the financial basis of a local guarantee of the interest of the Capital outlay," and one almost wonders that such a phenomenal circumstance was not set forth at greater length.

We cannot in these pages do more than briefly and popularly describe the particulars of the scheme, and even this much we would scarcely have attempted, hackneyed as irrigation topics are in the present year, were it not that we regard it as a matter deserving the attention of the public, as a noteworthy instance of natural advantages, ably, simply, and cheaply employed, and that we believe that in the vast extent of these provinces there are not wanting similar or parallel conditions which need only a little local effort, tact and foresight to develope and make subservient to the public advantage.

A fact of even greater interest also characterises the Sarun Irrigation Scheme. It is being carried out, and has been nearly brought to completion, with an economy almost without precedent in the history of any branch of the Public Works Department. Leaving aside a show estimate of the Sone and Orissa Project type, of some 25 lakhs of Rupees, we come to the period of the scheme first being sanctioned on an estimated outlay of $6\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, which gave place at the end of the official year 1877-78 to one of 6 lakhs. It was, however, apparent that the solvent and certain part of the guaranteed interest at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent would only cover 5 lakhs, and within this limit the cost was reduced. As the work progressed, it was found that, with the low rate of labour wages in Behar, even this figure would not be reached. A new estimate of $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs resulted from a later computation, and it is now confidently hoped that Rs. 3,70,000 will cover the total expenditure.

This result, to give credit where credit is due, is chiefly owing to careful local economy and supervision, and this fact will hardly be forgotten of the Engineer in charge when Government comes to recognize the value of his work.

The District of Sarun consists of a great plain of unusual fertility, and, owing to its dense population, is very highly cultivated. Its physical configuration differs very little from that of most deltaic tracts except in that it has a more regular and more marked declination of surface from north to south than is to be observed in the districts which lie in nearer neighbourhood to the Bay of Bengal. Almost triangular in shape, its two sides are bounded by two great Rivers, the Gandak to the north and the Gogra to the south, from the former of which it used to receive a plentiful, though at times too abundant, irrigation. The peculiarity of the Gandak, then, was that instead of tributaries, it was provided along its southern or right bank with a number of distributaries of large size. The great mass of detritus that it yearly brought down from the Himalaya had largely accumulated in its bed, which was thereby raised above the level of the surrounding country. In times of flood, the natural fall of the country being from north to south, the spill of its waters discharged them over the Sarun District. These floods, after over-spreading and devastating very many miles inland from the bank in their passage south-ward to the Gogra and the Ganges, cut out for themselves courses, which, though simulating rivers, properly so-called, were really only the drainage channels of the periodical overflows of the great northern river. There can be little doubt that much of the fertility of the middle and south of the district was due to this system of wide-reaching irrigation. This richness of soil, however, gave birth to an ever-increasing population, which in time began to look with longing eyes on the hundred square miles of most fertile land that the river yearly laid waste before conferring those blessings of plenty it brought elsewhere, and more than a hundred years ago the Zemindars of Sarun, each on his own property, began to embank the Gandak.

This system of protective embanking took regular shape under British rule, and before the beginning of this century a regular European establishment was employed for its maintenance. In 1798 the charges for this great work rose as high as Rs. 1,28,000, in a single year, an expenditure that was followed in 1815 by an outlay of Rs. 62,000, and in 1829 of Rs. 80,000. Once the country within the embankment began to be regularly cultivated, its proper supervision became a matter of the greatest importance, and many cases have occurred within the past 50 years of damage to the extent of lakhs of rupees resulting from a single breach. At the

same time these advantages were not gained without a loss, which many have regarded as more than counter-balancing them. The water-supply of the District was cut off. The old flood channels rapidly silted up, and Sarun became dependent for irrigation on the local rainfall alone. Moreover, as the last Administration Report tells us, "the almost total failure of the water-supply in the different *nalas* of the district was especially felt in the unhealthiness caused by the exhalation from the stagnant pools in their beds." Referring to the same subject, Mr. Mackie, in his Statistical Account of the Sarun District, states, "It cannot be maintained that the shutting out of the Gandak water has been attended with unmixed benefits and the evils that now exist will probably increase, unless something is done to remedy them. Before the embankment was erected, the various *nalas* and *nadis* which intersect the District, received each year a large volume of pure fresh water, which they ultimately conveyed to the Ganges. Now, however, this, no longer happens, and the little water that they contain during the cold and hot weathers, is stagnant and malarious. In years of drought, irrigation is no longer feasible from these sources, as it once was, and the banks of some of these streams have become so unhealthy that no one will live near them."

It is not recorded when the necessity of some remedy for this state of things began first to press itself on local attention, but it is certain that the evil was an admitted one before the famine of 1865-66 and that M. F. R. Cockerell, when investigating the causes of that calamity, found that "the need of irrigation, though not appreciated by the cultivators generally, is recognized by most of the land-holders." Mr. Cockerell's report, it is known, bore almost immediate fruit, and an engineer officer of experience, Major Jeffreys, was deputed to Sarun to study its irrigative capabilities. The result of his enquires was the great scheme of the Sone and Orissa Canals-type we have mentioned before. As an engineering work it was complete, but suffered from the disadvantage, so common then and since, of presenting the most meagre hopes of being a repaying speculation. Though the perennial poverty that has settled down on this country forbade, and still forbids their present entertainment, it must be conceded that Major Jeffreys's proposals had the advantage of being thorough in their line, and it is stated they were so favourably looked on that nothing but the fact of the Sone project, with its vast outlay, having been recently undertaken by Government prevented the sanctioning of the Gandak Scheme nearly ten years ago. Major Jeffreys proposed that an anicut should be formed across the Gandak high up in its course, where it has hardly yet

lost all the characteristics of a hill stream, and the uncertain banks of shifting sand that mark its lower reaches, might be avoided; that from this point a double series of canals should branch out into the districts of Sarun and Gorakhpur on its right bank and Champarun on its left, and do for those districts what is now sought to be done for Sarun alone,—supply their river systems with a continuous current of water. This scheme certainly contained the elements of a great success, and it is understood that the Chief engineers connected with the present undertaking scarcely conceal their belief that such a system of works can alone give completeness to the scheme and render available for irrigation the vast water-supply that pours down the Gandak. This river, indeed, is peculiarly fitted for this purpose, as, having its sources in the Himalaya, it is fed from a thousand everflowing springs and can never suffer from the depletion which occasionally, in seasons of great drought, affects all Indian rivers which do not take their rise in the snowy ranges. The Gandak is, in fact, formed from several considerable streams which, rising in southern Thibet, are known as the Gandi, Dorcandi, Marsundi, Seveli, Gandaki and Salgrami rivers, and which all share this characteristic of a perennial water-supply. Its discharge never falls below 5,000 cubic feet a second, whilst the Sone has been known to shrink to a narrow bed, discharging only 600 cubic feet in that time.

The Government of Bengal warmly approved Major Jeffrey's scheme and forwarded it to the Government of India for sanction, a decision, which was neither obtained nor refused. The latter authority satisfied itself by recording a minute which, for guarded caution of language, deserves at least a partial record. "On the whole," it wrote, "it was disposed to consider that there is sufficient evidence to indicate that the proposed works are of a nature to hold out such promise of eventual success as will justify their sanction subject to the further favourable expression of local intelligent opinion." In the meantime the Orissa canals began to be denounced as a fiasco, and the days of P. W. D. retrenchment under Lord Mayo had arrived. The Gandak project was shelved, and Sarun, unprotected by irrigation, was left to face the extraordinary drought which for nearly five years, that is, from 1873 down to the present instant, has oppressed it.

The famine of 1874 gave a fresh impetus to engineering ingenuity in Behar, and a new, and, as we know, a cheap and workable irrigation project for Sarun was one of the results. It was the production of a young local officer, employed on the embankments; and since then "Mr. Oldham's scheme" has been again and again before Government till last year, when it was finally sanctioned.

Its chief feature is the avoidance of the heavy expense that must accompany the construction of an anicut across a great river, the advantage of the head of water, which would thus be provided, being in large part secured by the inlet of the Gandak at its normal depths along a canal, led through a gradually falling country, the levels of which had been previously carefully studied. The embankments have also been employed to form the outer or north bank of the canal, whose stream is thus protected by it and by regulating works at the head cut from the action of excessive floods in the Gandak. Passing inside the embankments, the canal traverses the upper portions of the old drainage channels already described. These, where they had silted up, have been deepened, and their influence on the irrigation of the country may be judged from the fact that they are supposed to command an area of over 1,800 square miles. They seem to have undergone the same process of gradual raising of their beds by deposit of silt as the main river, and over considerable portions of their course, at times of even half flood, would spread out over the surrounding low country, but that they are restrained by high banks, which have grown up with the rise of level of the beds and from the same cause. These rivers, which only want weirs and sluices to change them into high level canals, are five in number. The Daha, some 75 miles in length, and capable of irrigating 620 square miles of country; the Gandaki, 120 miles in length to its confluence with the Gandak at Hajipore, opposite Patna, and similarly commanding 623 square miles; the Dhanai, 50 miles in length, to its union with the Gandaki, and commanding 261 square miles; the Gangni, 90 miles in length, to its union with the Gandaki, and capable of irrigating 189 square miles; and the Katsár, 35 miles in length, to its union with the Gangni, and capable of irrigating 134 square miles of country. They have also the advantage of considerable falls, varying from 30 to 50 feet.

The presence in the district of a large number of Indigo planters, with their European enterprize, suggested the possibility of obtaining a guarantee. Their factories are, almost without exception, situated on the banks of the rivers to be canalized, and are also dependent on them for the water used in their manufacture. The continuous drought, as we have said, and particularly that in the autumn of 1876 gave urgency to the proposal, and, when Sir Ashly Eden visited Chuprah in the later part of 1877, a number of planters and zemindars pressed on him the necessity of doing something, whilst they pledged themselves to the payment of

fixed annual contributions to cover the interest of the outlay, which was then estimated at six lakhs of Rupees. Since that time the project has been rapidly pushed on, and it is hoped that, with the rising of the river in consequence of the melting of the Himalayan snows in the middle of next June, if not at an earlier date, feeder-channels will have been completed, to supply all the five before-mentioned rivers with a considerable and continuous stream. It is also calculated that, besides enabling the Indigo planters to begin manufacturing early in the year, to them a gain they highly prize, an area of 60,000 acres of winter rice and 80,000 of cold weather crops, such as poppy, wheat, barley, rahar, and other peas, will be abundantly irrigated in the ensuing year.

It will be seen that at present the scheme satisfies itself with restoring the old order of things before the embankments were made, by pouring into the channels of the district, along some 400 miles of river bed, a fresh and healthy stream of pure water. Regarded only as a sanitary benefit, the estimated cost—and it certainly will not be exceeded—is a very easy price to pay.

In describing irrigation in Sarun, we should have very incompletely treated the subject were we to overlook the work in this direction of a single official whose department offers no future to his ambition, but whose steady hard work and sense of duty has conferred on North-Western Sarun benefits of a marked character, which have resulted in a profit to Government of tens of lakhs of Rupees. A system of well-making has been carried out by the sub-Deputy Opium Agent of Sewan which it will repay every one interested in Indian Agriculture to carefully study. The Government of the North Western Provinces has just deputed a District officer of large experience to enquire into the question of well-irrigation in the neighbourhood of Cawnpore. The authorities of Bengal will find it already thoroughly worked out for them in the District of Sarun. It is known that rules have from long past existed in the Behar opium agency, empowering and directing the officials of that department to encourage the making of wells within their respective jurisdictions and to aid ryots willing to undertake this work by means of money advances. These rules have generally had little effect and were perfunctorily carried out, or entirely neglected, at the choice of the local officers. The Sewan sub-Agency, formed no exception to this rule, but, for many years back the whole influence of the sub-Deputy Agent, Mr. Tytler, has been directed to the extension of well irrigation. The table given on next page shows succinctly what has been done in this way, and with what results.

CULTIVATION AND PRODUCE.

Season.	New masonry wells constructed.	Old wells repaired.	Annual cost.	Number of bighas cultivated with Poppy.	Opium produced each year in Maunds.	Average produce per Bigha.	
1871-72	8	6	409	50,071	4,429	Seer.	Ch.
1872-73	31	18	1,540	47,743	4,873	3	8½
1873-74	303	88	16,400	46,915	5,567	4	11½
1874-75	442	88	24,100	45,668	6,504	5	11
1875-76	376	54	19,019	45,483	6,749	5	14½
1876-77	172	22	7,297	45,536	7,202	6	5
1877-78	176	14	8,325	Great failure through blight.			
Total ...	1,508	290	77,090				

The year 1871-72 may be taken as representing the normal state of affairs in regard to well-making in a Behar sub-Agency, whilst the figures for 1872-73 show Mr. Tytler feeling his way towards an improved condition of things. In the following year he had resolutely set to work, and in each succeeding year has gone on adding greatly to the number of his wells. The result is shown in the last column. The produce per *bigha* steadily rose in each successive year, from 3 *Seers* 8½ *Chattaks* to 6 *Seers* 5 *Chattaks*, or was nearly doubled in seven years. This increase, valued in money at Rs. 4-8 per seer, the price paid by the Opium Department to the cultivator, means that the latter now obtains Rs. 28-4 where he formerly received only Rs. 15-4, whilst in the year 1876-77 fourteen lakhs of Rupees were distributed in such payments in the sub-Agency, or a sum exceeding very considerably the total land revenue of the District. The gain to Government has not been less marked, as in the same year its profit at Rs. 600 per maund, the ordinary rate, was Rs. 43,00,000 from the Sewan sub-Agency alone, or very much more than is expected to be derived from the license tax throughout the length and breadth of Bengal. Taking the average area of opium cultivation at 45,000 bighas, and 5 to 6 bighas as the area irrigable from one good well, Mr. Tytler's 1,800 wells have ensured more than one-fourth of this important source of revenue from the danger of destruction by drought.

The procedure adopted by Mr. Tytler, has the great advantage of simplicity, and mainly depends for its success on his individual influence, which, however, is of such a kind as every zealous officer may hope to obtain. The amount of the Government advance for

each well is about Rs. 50. Two-thirds of this sum is given to the ryot or ryots in the month of January, the remaining third being reserved to the following April. The former amount covers the expense of the moulding of the bricks, the collecting of firewood, the building and burning of the kiln, the digging of the shaft, the making of the curb and placing it in the well, and perhaps the building of a small portion of the cylinder. The sub-Deputy Agent, who has selected the best sites for wells during the first two months of his cold weather tour, November and December, devotes the three later ones of January, February and March to seeing that the first advance is properly employed. About the end of May, or the beginning of June, when the spring level is lowest in the earth, the excavation within the curb is completed, and the cylinder leisurely built up to the surface between then and September, so as to be ready for the October sowings of poppy. The advances are recovered in three instalments, the first being paid in the following April, when the opium of the season is brought in and weighed, the second in September, when the accounts of the year are balanced and cleared up, and the third in the following April; so that the whole transaction covers a period of about two years and three months. The total cost of the 1,508 new masonry wells and the repairing of 290 old ones has been Rs. 77,090, a very considerable sum, which, however, has been entirely recovered with only the loss of the interest, which, at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum, represents an expenditure by Government for each well of about Rs. 3- $\frac{3}{4}$. It should be added that this important work has been carried out without any increase of the ordinary opium establishment within the sub-Agency.

The following is a plain, almost rough, statement of the advantages Mr. Tytler claims for his method. It was never intended for publication, but for this reason, perhaps, puts all the more simply and tellingly what it has to state. "What I have effected has been to do away with the pernicious custom that prevailed, of always taking an increase of cultivation at the rate of four *bighas* for every hundred rupees advanced for wells. There seemed to be a greed for more and more land in the department. No real benefit came to Government from this procedure. The policy was short-sighted and arose from not thoroughly understanding the condition of the district, which in general had no more lands to give fit for poppy cultivation and worth the having. My method now seems a matter of course, but when I began it, it was so opposed to the then routine that I was considered to be throwing away great advantages. I insisted that the real way to get more opium was to improve the cultivation and not extend the area. In fact,

not only did I not extend, but, as you have seen, I reduced the area very considerably and raised the produce immensely. Many experiments have been tried at great cost in order to increase the produce per bigha, principally by means of an expert in agriculture and manures, but with doubtful success. Wells were made at an average rate of 10 per year before I came, judging by the records from the time the sub-division has existed and the number made prior to my arrival. The want of tenures has been a large difficulty in my path. Men naturally have not cared to spend money in improving their lands when the only result would be the raising of their rents or ejectment. By mixing intimately with the people, I induced them to trust to my interference in their behalf, and gaining their confidence I induced them to make wells individually and collectively. By collectively, I mean, when no one man was able or willing to make a well, I got all the community, who would be benefited, to agree to give their share according to the area of their fields, and though I deal principally with two or more representative men, I got a "razinama" (deed of agreement) from all, stating that they were willing to pay their share, and, in case of subsequent disputes, arrange repayments to the representative men from the other ryots benefited, according to it. This method has enabled me to make hundreds of wells, which owing to the want of tenures and the poverty of the asáms I could never have got made otherwise. Perhaps two per cent. of my wells are badly built, and owing to the treacherous quick-sandy sub-soil so common in many parts of this Sub-division, some wells built during a rainy year have proved, in a season like the present, very short of water or almost useless. Including all such, however, I think eight per cent. will cover the bad ones, and even these, after a rainy year, will all be serviceable again. All my wells have cost more, and some far more, than I advance. On principle I advance about three-fifths of what I think the well will cost. I endeavour to get the village proprietor to give the wood, and, as in the case of the Hathwa Raj, have always succeeded. Many other zemindars are very good in this respect, but some, mostly the minor ones, and in many cases the Muhammadan ones to the south of the district, will not even give the wood, so shortsighted and grasping are they. The men give their labour, and about fifteen or twenty rupees besides towards each well. Many, too, seeking to perpetuate their names (a trait I work on often), spend as much as fifty, sixty and seventy rupees of their own; a large proportion of my wells would cost the Government at least Rs. 120 each, many more and some less. Making them through the people, who will benefit by them, ensures their being good, but the whole matter requires, from the day the money is first given to the day

the last rupee is recovered, my constant supervision and attention. The native nature is to neglect, and in hundreds of cases the possession of hard cash is so captivating that incessant supervision is required to see that it is really spent, that the bricks are well burnt and the wells well sunk. The wells are all made of dry masonry, no mortar being used and a large proportion will last over a hundred years, and nearly all at least fifty. Another 1,500 are wanted, or perhaps two thousand in this sub-Agency. I am making 420 new and repairing 45 old ones this year at a cost of Rs. 22,000."

When it is remembered that poppy lands require irrigation only for four months, and that 90 per cent. of masonry wells have water in them for at least eleven months of the year, their capability of irrigating other crops will be appreciated. Poppy is nearly always succeeded by a grain crop, such as *chíná*, in the hot weather, or Indian corn in the months of August and September. The former crop is almost entirely dependent on irrigation, whilst the latter can be made safe against almost any vicissitude of season by the same means. Poppy is also frequently rotated with sugarcane, a most paying crop to the ryot, and here again a good water-supply is indispensable. Even during the period that the poppy is on the ground, it frequently happens that all the well-water is not consumed in irrigating it alone, and a large area of wheat, barley, or peas in its neighbourhood shares in the benefits of the opium officer's well.

In conclusion, we may notice that Mr. Tytler fears a great enhancement of rent on the land he has supplied with well irrigation, if at any time he is transferred from Sewan. He is at present able to restrain this tendency, but, judging by the history of Zemindari management in Behar, his apprehension that the profit of the improvement made almost entirely with ryots' capital, will ultimately pass into the hands of the land-owner, is, we regret to say, well-founded, unless the new rent law which is now under the consideration of Government, contains some stringent provisions protective of the tenants' interest in such undertakings.

Next to the imperative need of insurance against famine by means of canal and well irrigation, there is no want more pressing in the District of Sarun than the extension to it of the system of railways which is beginning to centre around the executive and commercial capital of Behar and Patna. According to every principle, except perhaps that of military necessity, that the Government of India has recognized, as justifying the introduction of the means of rapid communication, there is hardly any tract in the Peninsula, or Upper India, that has stronger claims on this regard than the districts that lie between the

Gandak and the Gogra, Sarun and Gorakhpur. Both are isolated in a large degree and both have been the scenes of famine in late years, and now for four or five continuous seasons have been standing on the very brink of such a calamity. Confining our attention to the former district, to which this article is chiefly devoted, we find that it is crowded with a population that is without parallel in India except in the outskirts of a few great cities, and, in the lower Provinces, in the suburban police circles that lie northward of Calcutta along the East Indian line. Sarun is also conspicuously well fitted for the construction of a railway through its most populous tracts and chief places of trade and government.

Immediately opposite Patna, on the north bank of the Ganges, is situated Sonpur, the locality of one of the greatest and oldest fairs in India and also a place of exceptional holiness, which is visited by tens of thousands of traders and pilgrims from every part of Behar. The proposed railway which has already been strongly recommended to the attention of Government, would start from its neighbourhood. Fortunately, also, the banks of the Ganges on both sides at this point are high and firm; the bed is also unusually narrow and little interrupted by sandbanks, so that steamer communication could be successfully established between a short branch of the East Indian Railway at Bankipore and the proposed terminus. It is intended, then, to run the line due west along the north bank of the Ganges to Chaprah, one of the largest emporia of commerce in Behar. When Major Jeffreys was deputed, soon after the famine of 1866, to this district, he found Chaprah to be the centre of five well-marked streams of trade, which set in from Champarun, Muzafferpur, Nepal, Gorakhpur, and a river borne import from Faizabad, Azimgarh, Basti and Gondah in the North Western Provinces. This trade has within the past ten years largely increased. To take a single staple of commerce which, wherever it is practicable, is invariably carried by rail, piece-goods and cotton, it is estimated that more than 60 lakhs worth of these articles are yearly brought by the East Indian line to Chaprah and are thence distributed over Sarun, Champarun, Gorakhpur and Nepal.

From Chaprah the railway would pass on, still keeping to the river bank, as far as Revelganj, which next to Patna is the largest mart in Behar for grain and oil seeds. It is also the great changing station where the boats from lower Bengal tranship their cargoes of rice and salt to the Faizabad and Gorakhpur boats, receiving in exchange wheat, barley, oilseeds, and pulses of various sorts. The trade between Revelganj and Patna is so great that the establishment of steam communication between them barely failed of success some years ago. According to Mr. Mackie's report

on Sarun, the Revelganj trade was estimated as follows:—"Sent down to Patna and Calcutta—Linseed 5,00,000 maunds; Mustard-seed 3,00,000; Poppyseed 1,00,000; Castor Oilseed 50,000; Wheat 1,00,000; other cereals 50,000; Saltpetre 1,00,000; Sugar, refined, 10,000; total 12,10,000 maunds. Sent up the Ganges to Revelganj—Salt 3,00,000 maunds; Rice 6,00,000; Iron 10,000; Jute 25,000; Miscellaneous 1,00,000; total 1,035,000 maunds." It is not expected that the whole, or even the greater part, of this traffic could be diverted to the new line, but experience has shown in India that where a railway has been constructed through important commercial cities and centres, its tendency is to continuously attract to itself larger and larger portions of the trade previously carried by road or by river. The Tirhoot State Railway already gives promise of being one of the most paying of the minor railways in India; the prospects of the Gaya Railway are believed to be not less good, and neither has on the first forty miles of its line three places of such importance as Sonpur, Chaprah and Revelganj.

From Revelganj the new line would pass to Mánjhi and thence to Maharájganj, the second largest bazar in the District, and which is described in the following manner by Mr. Mackie: "Grain is brought principally from the north of Sarun, from Champarun, and even from the *taráí*, by *beparis*, who return with salt, piece-goods and iron. Both English iron from Patna and the native product from Chutia Nagpore, are to be obtained. None of the grain merchants do business beyond Revelganj and Patna. Maharajganj was formerly a large saltpetre depôt, but that branch of industry has very much decayed. During the rains the grain traffic is almost entirely suspended owing to the want of river carriage and the absence of suitable roads." It may be considered the commercial centre of the Sewan sub-division, with its population of nearly a million and-a-quarter inhabitants. The next station would be Sewan itself, a large and thriving town. Beyond this point the direction of the railway has not been definitely aligned, but it should pass near Hatwa, the residence of a wealthy Maharaja of that title, and thence to Gorakhpur on the Gogra, where that river could be easily crossed. Thence the most natural extension would be through Basti and Gondah to meet the line running north from Cawnpore through Lucknow at Byramghât.

The length of the line from Sonpur to Sewan, which is the section that would naturally be first undertaken, is seventy miles, and is already a wide and well-made road. It moreover passes along an unusually high run of country. Our readers will remember the brief description given of the district in a previous page, in connection with canal irrigation, and its high river banks, a characteristic that is most strongly marked between

Sonpur and Revelganj. It will also have been remarked that nearly all the river courses, the Gandak, Dhawai, Gangri, and Katsár ultimately join into one stream, called after the first of these rivers, and which, being turned back from confluence with the Ganges by this elevated bank, falls into the great Gandak opposite Hajipur, or at its union with the Ganges. In fact the railway along these seventy miles would first meet with a river requiring a considerable bridge at its western extremity, where Sewan is situated, on the Doha, whilst culverts would span the few petty water-courses it would cross further east.

The question of expense and the raising of capital has been considered by the District officials, and it is believed that the first section should be constructed for 40 lakhs of rupees, of which amount 20 lakhs would be forthcoming in the District. The Maharaja of Hathwa is credited with the intention of supplying 10 lakhs, and other zemindars may be expected to contribute a like sum. The wealthy merchants of Revelganj and Patna might also be induced to yield their quotas, and a portion, such as Rs. 50,000, of the Road Cess income might be expended as yearly interest in raising 10 or 12 lakhs more, while the Government itself, threatened as it has been continuously for years by the danger of famine in Sarun, might be expected to act liberally. It is hardly too much to say that in no portion of Bengal is it more bound to supply the means of rapidly supplementing the local food-supply when endangered by dearth and drought. The average population of the whole of Sarun is 778 souls to the square mile, whilst in the *thanas*, or police circles of Dighwára, Mánjhi and Sewan, through which the proposed railway would pass, it reaches the enormous figures of 925, 901 and 830 persons to the square mile. The relief of the famine of 1874 in Sarun cost the State 60 lakhs, or, including charges incurred outside the District, 80 lakhs of rupees in a single year. Even in the most prosperous years Sarun is hardly able to feed itself. To it applies with special force the remark of Mr. A. P. MacDonnell in his report on the food-supply of Behar. "Population in north Behar is now pressing so close on the means of subsistence that every slight deficiency in the rainfall causes a failure in the food-supply, and every failure in the food-supply becomes inevitably an occasion for invoking the aid of Government," and it is hoped that the responsible authorities will not wait for a repetition of disasters like those of 1866 and 1874 before supplying Sarun with the best insurance against such a state of things."

There is one objection raised to railway extension in Sarun, and that is, that it would have to compete with river carriage on the Gandak and Gogra. The former river may be left out of account, as the railway would affect the tracts whose traffic it carries, only

in a minor degree, and moreover it is so rapid and dangerous that for its size it is one of the rivers least used by trading boats in India. It is true the railway would pass for many miles along the Gogra, but similar conditions on the East Indian line for two hundred miles in the Districts of Shahabad, Patna, Monghyr and Bhagulpur have been found to feed rather than diminish the railway traffic.

The presence of a railway in the District might also induce a movement of the people to other scenes of labour, such as is already noticeable in Shahabad, and which is nowhere more needed than in Sarun. Passenger traffic on the proposed line could hardly fail to be large. As a direct continuation of the Gaya line it would convey thousands of Nepal pilgrims, whose favourite shrine is Vishnupad, or Gayaji, and who now all pass down southwards from Tribeni, viâ Sewan and Chaprah. Sonpur, about Kartik, or October, is attended by fully a hundred thousand persons, chiefly from Sarun and Champarun, whilst nearly every zemindar and merchant in Sarun has direct and frequent communication with principals or bankers in Patna.

It is known that an extension of the Tirhoot State Railway from Muzaffarpur to Motihari and Bettiah has not only been contemplated but almost sanctioned. This system must necessarily in time come to be connected with the proposed railway in Sarun and Gorakhpur, and also with the Oude and Rohilkhand line. For this purpose the Gandak must be bridged somewhere in its upper course. To an unscientific enquirer the question presents itself whether it would not be possible to do so by means of a causeway, which might also become the anicut of the Sarun and Champarun system of river canals, which it is acknowledged only require such a work to render them efficient irrigators of the whole area commanded by them during the twelve months of the year, as suggested by Major Jeffreys in the comprehensive scheme which bears his name and which we have already described. The Sone has been traversed by both a causeway for the Grand Trunk road and an anicut for the irrigation project, which are also only half a mile apart. In the interests of economy would it not be possible to effect both purposes by a single construction in the case of the Gandak and at a cost not exceeding the Sone anicut estimated at 14 lakhs of rupees.

ART. IX.—THE KABUL CAMPAIGN.

PROBABLY few subjects in modern history afford a more curious study than the policy of India towards the countries of Central Asia. After proceeding far beyond its then frontier to seek and to counteract a danger which was more theoretical than anything else, the Indian Government persisted for more than a generation in denying the existence of any danger at all. A policy of impulse was followed by a policy of masterly inactivity. The Government which invented a peril, welcomed that very peril in later years as an advance of civilisation. Indian troops marched to the Helmand to defend Herat from Persia, on the ground that Persia was but the advance-guard of Russia; yet when Russia converted Samarcand into a military depôt and pushed her out-posts to the Pamir itself, the Indian Government, so far from foreseeing cause for alarm, actually congratulated itself upon an opportunity for reducing its forces. Nothing more curious is to be found in modern history. If Russia had not lost temper at being baulked of her will in Turkey, the Indian Government would have certainly continued to reduce the Indian armies, and would certainly have persisted in its denial of all cause for alarm. If Russia is now exposed, if hereafter she finds herself checkmated, she has only to thank the impatience which hurried her to demonstrate the vulnerability of India, in return for the display of an Indian brigade in the Mediterranean. She has, however, at the expense of showing her hand, proved conclusively that Indian troops can be found ample employment, without going so far as Asia Minor to seek laurels. Her embassy to the Amir Shere Ali was a most effective reply to the review at Malta. It was a reply which would have been conclusive if the battalions of Lomakin and Abramoff had been near enough to the Afghan border to justify diplomatic interference. In such a case an advance from the East and South would have been followed by a corresponding movement from the North and West, and Prince Gortchakoff would then have claimed as a right, flowing from the position of the Czar's forces, the power to intervene and negotiate on behalf of the Amir. England, in fact, would have found in Shere Ali her Prince Nikita, in the protected Afghans her Montenegrins.

We are not bold enough to say that the game has been yet wholly lost. That the diplomatic action of Stolietoff was in advance of the military operations of Kauffmann in 1878, does not prove that the whole plan has broken down and been accepted as a failure. Russia has gained two important advantages; she has

taught the Afghans to look northward for aid against India, and she has so opened the door for negotiation, as to make her future diplomatic interference, if not, indeed, her military intervention, a matter of absolute certainty. From the day Stolietoff entered Cabul, she became a principal factor in Indian politics. It is necessary to realise this as a matter of simple fact in order to understand the wide difference between the last Afghan war and the campaign of 1878-79. Our war in favour of Shah Soojah was on a par, as a political move, with Peroffski's expedition against Khiva; our present war, like the occupation of the valley of the Zerefshan, is a turning point in history. If our forces were to retire to-morrow within our own borders, and even if such retirement were followed by the most improbable of consequences,—peace on the frontier,—our position and our armies would never again be the same as they were before the 21st November last.

We have received and accepted a challenge from Russia as the neighbour of our immediate neighbour. The buffer theory has been blown to pieces. Afghanistan has been presented to us as a State which must of necessity exist as a military kingdom, if it exist at all; and more than this, and chiefly, we have been made to understand that the question of war or peace has passed from the control of the Indian Government, unless, indeed, we can secure some new and altogether overwhelming advantages. Even in our domestic affairs we have reached a new point of departure. Who will deny that the now admitted necessity of reviewing the military relations of the Indian Chiefs to the Paramount Power is not a direct consequence of the state of things beyond the Khyber and the Bolan? The only true base for a wise policy is a frank and loyal acceptance of facts. To do otherwise is to put off the evil day, not to avoid it; to intensify the change, not escape from it. We are not then alarmists when we say we have reached a turning point in Indian history. We look to the Government to deal with the crisis in the large and wise spirit which will accept the altered conditions upon which alone we can frame our policy, instead of dealing with it in a half-hearted spirit of compromise, which can have but one result,—doubtings and discontents within, and new wars without. A spirit of compromise is a spirit of weakness; the plain duty of the Government is to make a display of strength.

From the moment the Government resolved to take action in consequence of the reception of General Stolietoff at Cabul, a collision with the Amir Shere Ali was a foregone conclusion. His refusal to accept the mission headed by Sir Neville Chamberlain did but anticipate the quarrel which was certain to arise whenever the terms of any new agreement should have come to be discussed.

The Amir may have seen more in the Russian mission than General Kauffmann intended to be conveyed, and may have placed too much reliance upon the amenability of his new friends to the logic of circumstances; but still, his position towards India had become so false and so perilous, as to make it a matter of doubt whether he could have extricated himself without incurring the penalty of war. The delay caused by the presentation of an ultimatum was but a tribute to the new and semi-European character of the question. It was an overwhelming testimony to the removal of the Afghan question from the region of purely Indian politics; testimony afforded, moreover, at a considerable sacrifice. When the army was held back for the first three weeks of November, it was made to lose valuable time, and to incur the almost certain risk of a new campaign.

No doubt, as things have turned out, an exceptionally mild winter would have permitted an advance to Cabul; but in war mild winters are contingencies which generals and statesmen have no right to expect. Strenuous efforts, a decided purpose, and promptness to seize the advantages to be derived from Afghan disorganisation, would have carried Sir Samuel Browne to Cabul in the time he required to reach Jellalabad; or, having secured Jellalabad, in time to effectually nullify the plans of defence projected by Yakub Khan. But the last thing thought of was such a display of energy. The fact stands out prominently in any consideration, even the most superficial, of the campaign, that political reasons unconnected with India have acted as a drag upon the action of the Government of India and have enfeebled its conduct of the operations. This phase of the question is not without evil augury for the future. The influences which slackened the efforts of the Indian Government and restricted the sphere of its military movements, may in a second campaign introduce new combatants and extend the area of conflict. We see then that the mere yielding to them was an act fraught with injurious consequences. Politics always spoil war. They limit and yet multiply the objects of operations. They compress military plans, and divert the aim of commanders from the strictly military results of a campaign. Hence campaigns fought for political objects are nearly always disastrous, and nearly always productive of a prolonged contest. There is abundant reason for the opinion that the recent Afghan campaign was controlled by other than merely military considerations, and there is, too, as a consequence, reason to fear it has left undone that which must still be done, and done, too, under wholly altered conditions; whether regard be had to the way in which it affects the soldier, or the manner in which it presents itself to the statesman. For it is

quite clear that Russia must of necessity occupy an incomparably more advantageous position at the beginning of a spring campaign in Central Asia than at the beginning of winter operations. In the one case her columns have long months before them to turn to good account ; in the other, they must chiefly be concerned with the necessity for finding suitable quarters in which to protect themselves against the rigour of a climate, Siberian in its stern severity.

The strength of an enemy, the physical features of the country he holds, the prospect of his securing allies, and the character of these allies, ought to be the governing reasons in all offensive movements. A General, too, must measure the value of his successes by the moral impression they convey. The vividness of the impression caused by a victory is, in the majority of cases, the exact measure of its value in a political sense. A series of impressions, following swiftly on the heels of each other, are more apt to convey an idea of irresistible strength and overpowering vigour, than a single success, no matter how complete. This is a rule which holds good everywhere. It has been illustrated in Europe by such leaders as Napoleon, Wellington and Von Moltke. In India it broke down Maharatta fortitude when a Lake was in the field, and more recently paralysed a rebellion by the blows dealt with truest skill, by a Havelock. In dealing with a native ruler of Cabul the Indian Government had an antagonist whose power was not only badly organised, but badly consolidated. He ruled over men individually brave, with a fierce, cruel disregard of life, but brave as savages, that is, with a valor at once ill-regulated and impulsive, subject to alternate fits of the wildest devotion and the most abject panic, and dependent upon success for its main stimulus ;—a canny courage, so to speak, capable of hurrying men out of conflict quite as quickly as the veriest cowards, and which instinctively sought its most appropriate field in a guerilla combat. Now add to this quality hereditary admiration for highway robbery ; a profound, ineradicable admiration for displayed strength, and the picture presented is that of a people peculiarly open to be impressed by success, peculiarly ready to attempt to profit by presumed weakness. As are the subjects of the ruler of Cabul, so are his possible native allies. The occupation of his capital would strike the imagination of an Afridi, Waziri, Mohmand, and Shinwari, when the mere occupation of Jellalabad would be felt as an aggravating interference with their ordinary circumstances of life. *Frappey vite frappey fort* is the only true rule of war in the opinion of an Afghau ; it is therefore the only rule capable of being converted into an effective appeal to his appreciation of strength. What are the refinements of military policy to a man

who, provided he asserts his superiority, is almost indifferent to the way in which it asserted, and who bestows as much praise upon him who slays his enemy from the shelter of a covert as upon him who meets his foe hand to hand? Such men worship only the rising sun. To them success is the only true proof of worthiness to rule; manifest strength the only true claim to their obedience. To hesitate is to band them together; to retire is to fill them with a reckless valor; to receive their attack is the only certain way of making them formidable adversaries.

The Afghan prince rules directly over part only of the Afghan tribes. The tribes peopling the valleys of the Eastern slopes of the Suleimans owe him an allegiance so attenuated as to be undeserving of the term nominal. They belong to his principality in the sense that he is our next neighbour in that direction. There is a connection in race, language and manners between them and the tribes directly under his sway, but the border clans do not pay him tribute, do not, except in Khost or Kurrum, receive his officers. On the contrary, in the case of the Afridis, they receive from him allowances for keeping open the passes, just as they do from the Government of India. With Western and North-Western Afghanistan we have not now to do. The seat of the Afghan power is the long depression on the west of the Suleimans dominated by the fortresses of Kandahar, Khelat-i-Ghilzai, Ghuzneen and Cabul. From India this territory is reached by the line of country traversed by the Cabul river. Three passes the Khaiber, Tatara and Abkhana, lead from Peshawur to Dhaka. Then follows the plain country about Jellalabad, divided from Cabul itself by the imposing defiles of the Khoord Khyber. The ridge of the Spin Garh, or Sufed Koh, separates this route from the more open valley of Kurrum, which again leads by the double ascent of the Peywar Kothul and the Shuturgurdun to the Logar valley on the west side of the mountains. The upper portion of the sister valley of Khost has not been explored, but it should present no insuperable difficulties to an advance on Ghuzneen. On the south a variety of routes converge on Quetta, whence again they diverge, and after crossing the Kojuk range, unite at Kandahar. The distance to be covered, no matter which line is selected, is very great.

Peshawur to Cabul...	...	... 194 miles.
Thull viâ Kurrum to Cabul	...	... 225 "
Bunnu via Khost to Ghuzni	...	... 150 "
Shikarpur to Quetta	...	... 227 "
Shikarpur to Kandahar	...	... 402 "
Quetta to Kandahar, caravan route	...	... 175 "

Quetta to Kandahar by Kojuk pass	...	147	miles
Kandahar, to Cabul	...	315	"
Kandahar to Girishk	...	75	"
Kandahar to Khelat-i-Ghilzai	...	87	"
Kandahar to Ghuzni	...	227	"

Amir Shere Ali, waiting at Kabul the advance of an army coming from India, would direct his principal attention to the Khaibar route, where his troops held the eastern gorge of the passes by their possession of Ali Musjid, and were linked to him by such places as Dhaka and Jellalabad. Cabul is the strategical centre of his kingdom, and the key of any plan of defence he might conceive. For at Cabul he can communicate with Farrah and Herat by the valley of the Helmand for the defence of Kandahar; or in case Kandahar be lost, he can still draw supplies and men by the mountain route of Deh-Zingeh. At Cabul, moreover, he could maintain his relations with Turkestan, and if need be retire to that province, where he would still be able to gather round him a considerable body of troops, and maintain his authority at Herat through Maimanah. At the same time he would be in easy communication with his Russian friends, and by maintaining a show of resistance, would render it possible for them ultimately to give him effectual countenance and support. For the purposes he had in view, Cabul was the most important position; hence he gathered his inchoate army at that point; and directed his whole attention to the defence of the passages leading to his capital. The possession of Kandahar might no doubt be of great moral advantage to the English, but so long as he or his sons or generals could hold Cabul and keep open a secure asylum north of the Paropamisus he possessed the power of involving his enemies in a lingering contest, or of compelling them to advance to a point where Russia for her own sake, would have to risk much to stop their progress.

The Indian Government recognised from the outset the character of the Amir's defence, and concentrated its main strength against the direct route on Cabul through the Khaibar. It possessed already, from its recent convention with Khelat, an admirable point d'appui for a campaign in south Afghanistan at Quetta, and towards this point, whilst the Khaibar and Kurrum columns were waiting the result of the ultimatum, General Biddulph was pressing on at the head of a fine division. We give the orders constituting the different forces below.

FIELD OPERATIONS—KABUL.

The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council having been pleased to direct the assembly of a force for service in the field, the corps hereinafter specified will move from their respective Cantonments under instructions which will be issued by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India.

2 For the Staff Duties of this Force the following appointments are made, and will have effect from the date on which the officers named may enter upon the duties thereof:—

I.—For a Column to be assembled in the Koorum Valley.

Major General F S Roberts, C B, V C, Royal Artillery, Commanding

Lieut G T Pretymann, R A, Aide-de-camp

Major W Galbraith, 85th Foot, Assistant Adjutant General

Major H Collett, Bengal Staff Corps, Assistant Quarter-Master General

Captain R G Kennedy, B S C

Captain F S Carr, General List, Infantry } Deputy Assistants Quarter-

Medical Department

Deputy Surgeon-General F F Allen, C B, Indian Medical Service,
Principal Medical Officer.

Commissariat Department.

Captain A. R. Badcock, Deputy Assistant Commissary General

Engineer Department.

Lieut Col Æ Perkins, R E, Commanding Engineer

Lieut F T N Spratt, R E

Lieut S Grant, R E

... } Assistant Field Engineers

Captain A S Wynne, 51st Foot, Superintendent of Field Telegraphs

7th Company Bengal Sappers and Miners

Engineer Field Park

Artillery.

Lieut-Col A H Lindsay, R A, Commanding

Lieut E. G. Osborne, R A, Adjutant

Captain J. A. S Colquhoun Royal Artillery, Commissary of Ordnance
in charge of the Ordnance Field Park

F Battery, A Brigade, Royal Horse Artillery

No 1 Mountain Battery, P F F

No 2 Mountain Battery, P F F

Ordnance Field Park

Cavalry.

12th Bengal Cavalry, 10th Hussars, (one squadron)

1st Infantry Brigade.

Col A H Cobbe, 1-17th Foot, Commanding

Captain A Scott, V C, Bengal Staff Corps, Brigade Major

2nd Battalion 8th Foot

29th Bengal Native Infantry

5th Punjab Infantry

2nd Infantry Brigade.

Col J B Thelwall, C B, Bengal Staff Corps, Commanding

Captain G de C Morton, 1st Battalion, 6th Foot, Brigade Major

21st Native Infantry

2nd Punjab Infantry

5th Goorkha Regiment

23rd Bengal Native Infantry (Pioneers)

II.—For a Division to be assembled at Mooltan.

Lieut-Genl D M Stewart, C B, Bengal Staff Corps, Commanding

Lieut N R Stewart, 68th Foot, Aide-de-camp

Captain E Molloy, B S C, Interpreter

Col J Hills, R A, C B, V C, Assistant Adjutant General

Major E F Chapman, R A, Assistant Quarter-Master General

Major G U Prior, 100th Foot

Captain A Gasslee, Bengal Staff Corps } Deputy Assistant Quarter-

Captain R F C A Tytler, General List, Infantry, Deputy Judge Advocate

Medical Department.

Deputy Surgeon-General A Smith, M D, A M D, Principal Medical Officer
Commissariat Department.

Colonel Sibley, Deputy Commissary General

Colonel M J Brander, B S C, Assistant Commissary General, Chief Commissariat Officer.

Engineer Department.

Colonel R H Sankey, R E, Commanding Engineer

Major A Le Mesurier, R E, Brigade Major

Lieut C F Call, R E

Lieut E S E Childers, R E ... } Assistant Field Engineers

Lieut G R R Savage, R E, Superintendent of Field Telegraphs

Three Companies of Sappers and Miners

Engineer Field Park

Artillery.

Brigadier-Genl C G Arbutnot, C B, R A, Commanding

Captain A D Anderson, R A, Brigade Major

Col E J Bruce, R A, Commanding the Siege Train

Major W H Noble, R A, Staff Officer of the Siege Train

Captain R A Lanning, R A, Adjutant

Major C Cowie, Royal Artillery, Commissary of Ordnance, in charge of Ordnance Field Park

A-B, Royal Horse Artillery

1-1 Royal Artillery

D

G-4 " "

13-8 " "

16-8 " " } With Siege Train

8-11 " "

5-11 " " } Heavy

6-11 " "

11-11 " " Mountain Battery

Ordnance Field Park.

Cavalry Brigade.

Colonel W Fane, C B, M S C, Commanding

Captain H H Gifford, 13th Hussars, Brigade Major

15th Hussars

8th Bengal Cavalry

19th Bengal Lancers

1st Infantry Brigade.

Colonel R Barter, Bengal Staff Corps, Commanding

Captain C M Stockley, 2-9th Foot, Brigade Major

2nd Battalion 60th Rifles

15th Bengal Native Infantry

25th Bengal Native Infantry

2nd Infantry Brigade.

Colonel R J Hughes, 63rd Foot, Commanding

Captain A G Handcock, Bengal Staff Corps, Brigade Major

59th Foot

1st Goorkha Regiment Light Infantry

3rd Goorkha Regiment

Attached to Division.

12th (Kelat-i-Ghilzie) Regiment, Bengal Native Infantry

III.—For a Force to be assembled at Quetta.

Major-Genl M A S Biddulph, C B, R A, Commanding

2nd Lieut S F Biddulph, 24th Foot, Aide-de-camp
Major J B Wolseley, 65th Foot, Assistant Adjutant General
Captain R McG Stewart, R A, Assistant Quarter-Master General
Captain H B Hanna, Bengal Staff Corps, Deputy Assistant Quarter-Master General
Colonel H Moore, C I E, Bombay Staff Corps, Assistant Quarter-Master General for special duty

Medical Department.

Deputy Surgeon-General J Hendley, Army Medical Department, Principal Medical Officer

Commissariat Department.

Lieutenant-Colonel C S Lane, Bengal Staff Corps, Officiating Assistant Commissary General

Engineer Department.

Lieutenant-Colonel W Hichens, R E, Commanding Engineer
Captain W S S Bisset, R E } Field Engineers
Captain W G Nicholson, R E }
5th Company Bengal Sappers and Miners
Engineer Field Park

Artillery.

Lieut-Col C B Le Mesurier, R A, Commanding
Lieut F H G Cruickshank, R H A, Adjutant
Major F V Eyre, R A, Commissary of Ordnance, in charge of Ordnance Field Work
E Battery, 4th Brigade, Royal Artillery
No. 3 Mountain Battery, Punjab Frontier Force
No. 2 Bombay Mountain Battery
Ordnance Field Park

Cavalry.

Colonel C H Palliser, C B, B S C, Commanding
Captain H R Abadie, 9th Lancers, Brigade Major
1st Punjab Cavalry
2nd " "
3rd Sind Horse

1st Infantry Brigade.

Colonel R Lacy, 59th Foot, Commanding
Captain M H Nicholson, General List, Bombay Infantry, Brigade Major
70th Foot
19th Bengal Native Infantry
38th Bombay Native Infantry

2nd Infantry Brigade.

Col T Nuthall, Bombay Staff Corps, Commanding
Capt W W Haywood, 1st Battalion, 14th Foot, Brigade Major
26th Bengal Native Infantry
1st Punjab Infantry
29th Bombay Native Infantry
32nd Bengal Native Infantry, (Pioneers)

IV—For a Force to be assembled in the Peshawur Valley.

First Division.

Lt-Genl Sir S J Browne, K C S I, C B, V C, B S C, Commanding
Lt G T Campbell, 4th Batn, 60th Rifles, A-D-C
Major G W Smith, 85th Foot, Asst Adjt-Genl
Major G F L S Sanford, R E, Asst Q-M Genl
Major A A A Kinloch, 4th Batn, 60th Rifles, Dy Asst Q-M G
Capt J Davidson, B S Corps, Dy. Asst Q-M Genl

Medical Department.

Dy Surgeon-Genl J Gibbons, A M D, Principal Medical Officer

Commissariat Department.

Lt-Col J V Hunt, B S C, Offg Ass Comy Genl

Engineer Department.

Col F R Maunsel, C B, R E, Commanding Engineer

Captain B Lovett, C S I, R E, Brigade Major

Major H F Blair, R E, Field Engineer

Lieut W Peacocke, R E, Asst Field Engineer, Supdt of Field Telegraph

Head-Quarters and 4 Companies Sappers and Miners

Engineer Field Park

Artillery.

Col W J Williams, C B, R A, Commanding

Capt G W C Rothe, R H A, Adjutant

1 Bty, C Brg, Royal Horse Artillery

E 3rd Royal Artillery

No 11 9th Brg do (Mountain)

No 13 9th „ do (with heavy Battery)

No 4 Mountain Battery, P F F

Ordnance Field Park

Cavalry Brigade.

Col C J S Gough, C B., V C., B C, Commanding

Capt B A Combe, 10th Hussars, Brigade Major

10th Hussars, 2 Squadrons

11th Bengal Lancers

Cavalry of the Corps of Guides

1st Infantry Brigade.

Bri-Genl H T Macpherson, C B, V C, B S C, Commanding

Major H T Jones, 81st Foot, Brigade Major

4th Battalion Rifle Brigade

20th Bengal Native Infantry

4th Goorkha Regiment

2nd Infantry Brigade.

Col J A Tytler, C B, V C, B S C, Commanding

Major A H A Gordon, 65th Foot, Brigade Major

1 Batn. 17th Foot

The Infantry of the Corps of Guides

1st Sikh Infantry

3rd Infantry Brigade.

Col F E Applecard, C B, 85th Foot, Commanding

Capt. W C Farwell, Genl List, Infy, Brigade Major

81st Foot

14th Bengal Native Infantry

27th do

4th Infantry Brigade.

Col W B Browne, 81st Foot, Commanding

Capt A P Browne, General List, Infy, Brigade Major

51st Foot

6th Bengal Native Infantry

45th do. do.

2nd. Division.

Major-General F F Maude, C B, V C, H M.'s Service, Commanding
(with the Staff of the Rawal Pindi Division)

Commissariat Department.

Col W C R Mylne, Asst Commy Genl.

Artillery.

D Baty A Brg. Royal Horse, Artillery

H " C " do

C " 3rd " Royal Artillery

Cavalry Brigade.

Br-Genl J E Michell, C B, R A, Commanding

Captain M G Gerard, B S C, Brigade Major

9th Royal Lancers

10th Bengal Lancers

13th " "

1st Infantry Brigade.

Colonel F S Blyth, 40th Foot, Commanding

Captain H W Shoubridge, B S C, Brigade Major

1st Battalion 25th Foot

24th Bengal Native Infantry

The Bhopal Battalion

2nd Infantry Brigade.

Colonel J Doran, C B, B S C, Commanding

Major N X Gwynne, 63rd Foot, Brigade Major

1st Battalion 5th Foot

2nd Sirmoor Goorkha Regiment

The Mhairwarra Battalion.

The first thing that attracts us in these orders, is the exceptional strength of the Mooltan Division in Artillery. Either the Government intended to arm certain points, or this division was expected to engage in serious siege operations. In the first supposition Quetta and Kandahar were both to be fortified; in the latter an advance was intended from Kandahar against Cabul, the force reducing Khelat-i-Ghilzai and Gaznin on the way.

We have now to concern ourselves with the operations of the three columns. From the moment they crossed the frontier, they ceased to exhibit any concert. Each general pushed on, or halted entirely, on his own responsibility. With the Kandahar column this was almost inevitable, but the Kurrum and Khaibar columns were operating in the same theatre and with the same object and might have shown signs of acting on a common plan, instead of affording to all India the spectacle of the contrast between injudicious dash and injudicious doubt.

In all the columns from the very outset of preparations for war it was made manifest that the Indian army had no trains ready to the hand of its commanders. The Commissariat, kept down to the lowest peace level, was ludicrously undermanned for the purposes of an Indian war which, for the first time since the mutiny, rose beyond the proportions of a frontier expedition. Transport officers were in as urgent request as transport animals. Instead of watching a systemdogging the march of the brigades with supplies and stores, and developing magazines at suitable defensible points, the public were left in bewildered indignation to puzzle over a lack of camels, an insufficient supply of water bottles, and the urgent necessity of

supplementing Commissariat efforts by the exertions of the civil administration. Now the Government had ample warning of what was coming. All through the summer and autumn it had been drifting its troops together on the frontier, yet it had not organised so necessary an adjunct as a transport service, and had not provided for reserves of transport. Nay, more ; although Quetta is 227 miles beyond its base, Shikarpur, and although it had been in English possession for over a year, no attempt had been made to link it with Shikarpur by an intermediate base. Yet to retain a post so far advanced beyond our frontier, 160 miles, without connecting supports is opposed to the most elementary rules of the military art. Quetta held by English troops is something more than a mere post of observation. The first occupation of its garrison should have been to convert it into a magazine ; the second to have improved its communications with the rear ; and the third to have prepared a military survey of the country between them and their base, and in their immediate vicinity. When, however, war appeared imminent, there was no accumulation of stores at Quetta, and consequently the sudden heavy demand for supplies at the beginning of winter, was more than the neighbouring country could bear. Then again the old routes were found to be objectionable from the consequences of the Indus floods. General Biddulph with the advanced division was therefore ordered to march by a new route, from Mithankote, viâ Rajanpore, which has been thus described :—

“The present road, after leaving Rajanpore, runs for about 50 miles parallel to the Indus, in the Jacobabad direction, through our own territory and across arid plains with scanty supplies of water. It then turns from Bundawalla at right angles to the river, and crosses the mountains to Dera, leading from thence across the Kutchee plain to Lehri, Mittri, and Dadur, after which it enters the Bolan, having been joined by the road from Jacobabad. Its advantages are that it leads through a friendly country, so that our camels may proceed with a sowar or two as escort. Its disadvantages, that water and forage are hardly obtainable, that other supplies are scarce, and that all plain camels must be changed at the foot of the pass, or the risk of their dying in the defile must be run. Further, in the rains, roads crossing the Kutchee plains are almost rendered impassible. Our communications are thus liable to interruption both by this and by the Jacobabad routes.”

The reports which came back from the troops marching over this new route were so discouraging, and revealed a state of things entailing so many hardships upon both soldiers and camp-followers, that by the time, November 3rd, that General Biddulph had reached Mittri, it was decided that Stewart's division should move by the old line. It began therefore to concentrate at Sukkur, the artillery moving from Multan by rail, about the time that Biddulph entered Quetta, November 10th. By great exertions this officer completed his concentration at Quetta by November 19th, and

then stood ready to make a forward movement as soon as the period of grace should expire. But although General Biddulph, in common with Generals Browne and Roberts, received orders to advance, his movements were confined to an occupation of Pishin, where he captured a large quantity of grain, and to pushing reconnoitering parties to the foot of the Khojak range. This General was in sufficient strength to have made war for his own hand. Behind him were long columns of reinforcements, so that he was assured of plenty of support. He might then have pushed on and threatened Kandahar, or even carried it by a *coup de main*. His leading regiment, the 32nd Pioneers, crossed the frontier on the 23rd November; four days later Pishin was *en pleine* possession of the British, and then began such a sacrifice of precious time as is seldom witnessed. On the day the frontier was crossed General Stewart's division was scattered over all the country between the frontier and the base, Multan.

The 15th Hussars had just left Mithankote and were to be followed by the 12th Khelat-i-Ghilzai's on the 28th, and the 8th Bengal Cavalry on the 30th November. On that same 23rd November, the 59th Foot and the 10th Company of Sappers, marched for Jacobabad; they were to be followed the next day by 9-4 R.A., half a battalion of Sikhs, and 3 companies of the 60th Rifles; while on the 25th, the head-quarters of the rifles, with the staff of the 1st infantry brigade were to follow. The G-4 R. A. reached Shikarpur on the 26th November at which date the 3rd Goorkhas were still at Multan. General Stewart began to cross the Bolan on 2nd December, when the Kurrum force was driving the enemy from the Peywar Kothal and General Maude with the 2nd Khaibar division had begun to move up from Hussan Abdal to Peshawar in support of General Browne. On the 5th December Brigadiers Nuttall, Palliser, LeMesurier, and Lacy marched into Quetta, and two days later General Stewart himself assumed command at Quetta of all the forces in this theatre. About the time when he marched into Quetta, orders were given to General Primrose to move from Puna to assume command of a third, or reserve division, to be composed of a brigade of Bombay and a brigade of Madras troops. It was not till the 8th December that Major Sandeman reached the west of the Khojak, and not till the 12th that the pass was occupied. Three days later a regiment of infantry the 1st P. N. I., and one of cavalry the 2nd P. C., passed the mountains and encamped at Chaman. Kandahar is only 142 miles from Quetta, yet it took General Stewart 1 month and 1 day, from 7th December to the 8th January, to march that distance, through a country hostile indeed, but barren of the

enemy. Even admitting that he was delayed by the necessity for constructing a road for his heavy guns across the Pass, and by short supplies and insufficient carriage, the time occupied was little calculated to impress the Afghans with a notion of the General's vigor. On the 6th January the defeat of a scouting party of the Amir's cavalry was followed by the flight of Mir Afzal Khan, maternal uncle of the late Abdoolah Jan, the Amir's heir, from Kandahar, and an invitation from the principal men for the English General to take possession. On the 8th January, a British force once more marched through the city, and occupied the fort. The key of southern Afghanistan then passed into English possession, and the first act in the campaign in this direction had been completed.

Major St. John was appointed superintendent, and Nawab Gholam Hossein the Governor. No precautions were taken as when forty years before Major Rawlinson held the reins of authority. Ghazis were not forbidden to enter the city, and no step was taken towards disarming the population. The proclamation of the Viceroy that India did not make war with the Afghans but with their ruler, was carried into effect with stupid literalness, since, in order to observe it, the most ordinary precautions were neglected. The result of this mildness was that, two days after the entry of the troops, Major St. John was fired at in the bazar, and a series of outrages commenced which must have given the Afghans ample reason to respect our patience, if the capacity to respect such a quality were not unfortunately absent from their nature. The army made no long halt at Kandahar. General Stewart pushed on with a strong force to Khelat-Ghilzai, which he found deserted on the 21st January, while General Biddulph marched westward to Girishk, and reconnoitered the whole country in its neighbourhood, pushing his excursions as far as Kalah-i-Bist on the Helmand. The garrison of Kandahar was left under the command of Brigadier Nuttall. By the 27th January the hills about Khelat-i-Ghilzai were covered with snow, and grave consideration began to be paid to the question of supplies. But just as Biddulph had marched into Girishk, and General Primrose had arrived at Kandahar to assume command of the 1st Division, the whole aspect of affairs was changed by the receipt of orders directing the return of one division to India. General Primrose simply turned on his footsteps and hurried back to Sind and thence to Puna. The columns in the field evacuated their positions and turned their faces towards Kandahar.

General Biddulph saw no special signs of hostility. Certain chiefs held aloof from him, and others gave him clearly to understand that they felt bound to consider what might happen after his

departure, rather than what they might gain from his fleeting countenance and friendship. But on 26th February, his rear guard of 90 sabres of the 3rd Sind Horse and 2 companies of the 2nd Biluchis was attacked by a powerful body of men from the direction of Zemindawar, and, though they were driven off, the success was purchased dearly in the loss of Major Reynolds and 5 sowars killed, and Colonel Malcolmson and 20 sowars wounded.

In retiring from Khelat-i-Ghilzai, General Stewart took advantage of no enemy being in the field, to divide his force and so explore the valleys of the Argand-ab and Arghasan rivers; the former runs to the West of the main road and the latter to the East. On the 10th February the Arghasan column was threatened by, a body of Ghazis, supported by clansmen on the hills. One man showed the reckless and desperate bravery which in India has come to be associated with the Afghan name. Dismounting he cast loose his horse, and then, with his *tulwar* between his teeth, advanced firing on our picquets until a bullet put an end to his career. A mere show of delivering an attack sufficed to disperse the clansmen. The chief of the valley had been summoned to visit the camp, but he disobeyed the summons, and the subsequent attack was probably due to his treachery, yet, although the troops passed in sight of his fort, he was allowed to remain unpunished!

Almost before the army had again concentrated at Kandahar there was a movement towards India. The garrison selected to remain at Kandahar was comprised of the following troops:—A. B. R. H. A.; 5-11, G-4, D-2, 6-11, 2 mountain batteries, R. A., 1st Punjab Cavalry, 3rd Sind Horse, 19th Bengal Cavalry, 2nd Sikhs, 15th Sikhs, 3rd Goorkhas, 19th and 25th P. N. I. and 2nd Biluchis, 59th Foot, and No. 9 Company Sappers. The rest of the force was to return to India, part by the Quetta route, but the major portion by a new route debouching from the hills on Dehra Ghazi Khan. This is now known as the Tull-Chotiali route from the point to which Major Sandeman, Political Agent at Quetta, penetrated in 1875. The column using this route would, if successful, open up a new and shorter line with Pishin and Kandahar, and one less liable to interruption from the floods of the Indus. If Kandahar is to be held, it is obviously a matter of the utmost importance that the Government should possess the advantage of being able to reinforce it by various lines. At the beginning of March Colonel Prendergast marched out of Dehra Ghazi Khan, at the head of Detachments of the 21st and 30th Madras Native Infantry and the 15th Bengal Cavalry, to endeavour to open communications with the advance of the force coming from Pishin. On the 6th he reached the Vatakri plain, having traversed the Charkar Pass 32 miles long, and the Bhor

and Sham plains. Vatakri is a point a little west of Chotiali. The following troops were ordered to concentrate at Khushdil Khan-ki-killā, in Pishin, under General Biddulph. An advance guard under Major Keene, 1st P. N. I., consisting of the 1st P. N. I., a wing of the 8th Bengal Cavalry, 2 guns of the Jacobabad mountain battery and 1 company of Sappers. With this advance was Major Sandeman. The centre under Brigadier Nuttall, the 15th Hussars, 1st Goorkahs, 2 guns Peshawar mountain battery. The main body under General Biddulph consisted of a wing 8th Cavalry, 70th Foot, 32nd Pioneers, the remainder of the Peshawar mountain battery and a company of Sappers.

Major Sandeman left the rendezvous on the 15th March and was followed on the 18th by General Nuttall. General Biddulph crossed the Khojak Pass on the 16th and the column was then fairly committed to the exploration of a route which has not been traversed by an army for more than two centuries. On the 24th March, the leading column had crossed the Chirimoman heights at an elevation of from 7,000 to 8,000 feet, and had penetrated 62 miles on its way. The people were friendly, as a rule. A section of the Duman Pathans showed fight, but submitted on 52 of their number being surrounded and taken prisoners. The main body was to start on the 24th from Bulozai. The progress has been slow in consequence of the way in which the country has been reconnoitered. Parties have been pushed towards the Zhob valley, and to Amadun in the Panazai Kakar country. The men of the Zhob valley, under their chief, Shah Jehan, attacked the advance column on the 24th March, but were signally routed after about ten minutes' fighting. They renewed the conflict a week later with the same result. Major Sandeman reached Thull on the 27th March having had the good fortune to open up a new military road, the importance of which cannot be over estimated. The campaign in Southern Afghanistan may be said to have closed with the return, on the 22nd March, of the 12th Khelat-i-Ghilzai regiment to Sukker *en route* to form part of the garrison at Agra.

General Roberts in the Kurrum Valley had what seemed the first chance of distinction. He was in a position at one time to threaten Cabul, and yet the policy which gave him command of the weakest column of the three employed, held him back from turning to account, not only the disasters our advance inflicted, but also the disorganisation caused by the political divisions in the Amir's capital. From the 21st November when the Kurrum Field Force crossed the frontier and found the petty fort of Kapyān abandoned by the Afghans, till the 28th, there were no signs of opposition. The fort of Mahommed Azim Khan was

occupied by a strong flying column on the 25th, and it was only on the afternoon of the 28th that the enemy were found in position at the Peiwar Kotal. Here the General committed his first blunder, by advancing his camp to difficult ground within cannon shot of the heights held by the Afghans. Four days elapsed before the position was attacked, and then the treachery of some trans-frontier men on the 29th P. N. I., would, with a different enemy, have imperilled the success of the undertaking. We give below the dispatch of General Roberts.

(Dated Camp Zabardast Kila, the 5th December 1878.)

In continuation of my telegram of the 3rd instant, I have now the honor to submit for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and of the Government of India, a detailed account of the military operations which have led to the capture of the Peiwar Pass by the troops under my command.

Right Column.

Brigadier-General Thelwall, C. B.
Squadron 12th Bengal Cavalry.
2 Guns No. 1 Mountain Battery.
5th Goorkhas.
72nd Highlanders (Wing.)
2nd Punjab Infantry.
2 Guns F.A. Royal Horse Artillery, on elephants.

Left Column.

Brigadier-General Cobbe.
Squadron 12th Bengal Cavalry.
2 Guns No. 1 Mountain Battery.
2-8th Foot.
5th Punjab Infantry.
23rd Pioneers
29th Punjab Native Infantry.
2 Guns F.A. Royal Horse Artillery, on elephants.

* No. 1 Mountain Battery
2-8th Foot.
29th Punjab Native Infantry.
5th Punjab Infantry.
23rd Pioneers.
Subsequently reinforced by 5th Goorkhas.

some shells into the middle of this ground, it was abandoned, and the camp removed to a more secure site.

4. This reconnaissance was not accomplished without loss; and I have to regret the occurrence of the following casualties—

29th Punjab Native Infantry—One officer (Lieutenant Reid) severely wounded.

Four sepoy wounded (one severely.)

5th Punjab Infantry—Subadar-Major Aziz Khan severely wounded.

Three sepoy slightly wounded.

No. 1 Mountain Battery—One driver killed.

One mule wounded.

5th Goorkhas—One sepoy dangerously wounded.

5. By the evening of this day I had seen sufficient of the enemy's position to convince me that it could not be carried by an attack in front without incurring very heavy loss.

6. I resolved therefore to halt for a few days; first, with the view of recruiting the men's strength, which had been severely taxed by several days' continuous marching over extremely difficult roads; and secondly, to

gain time to ascertain by reconnoitring whether the position could not be turned, or failing that, in what manner it could be most easily attacked in front.

7. It will be convenient for me here to give a short and necessarily imperfect description of the Peiwar Kotal position. I have issued instructions for detailed topographical reports to be prepared; but as these will necessarily take some time to complete, a written description will be better than none.

8. The enemy's position extended from the Spin Gawai Kotal, on their left, to some commanding heights about a mile south of the Peiwar Kotal. It thus had a front of about four miles, facing due east, the Peiwar Kotal being about the enemy's right centre. From right to left the position ran along a lofty and rugged range of mountains, mostly covered with dense pine forests. The range was precipitous towards the eastern side, but was known to descend on the western by a succession of upland meadows towards the valley of the Hariab.

9. The position, as thus described, was crossed by only two regular roads, viz., the Peiwar and Spin Gawai Kotal roads or *cols*. At two or three other points the range was crossed by paths, but these were too narrow and precipitous for the passage of troops.

10. An important military feature in the position was that the successive ridges or peaks, into which it was broken, dominated each other from the left to the right: that is, a force placed on the height to the south of the Spin Gawai *col* would have a command over each succeeding eminence as it advanced along the ridge towards the Peiwar Kotal.

11. The Peiwar Kotal is a narrow depression in the ridge commanded on each side by high pine-clad mountains. The approach to it from the Kurum Valley, or east, is up a steep narrow zig-zag path, entirely commanded throughout its length from the adjacent heights, and difficult to ascend by reason of the extreme roughness of the road, which was covered with large fragments of rock and boulders. Every point of the ascent was exposed to fire from both guns and rifles, securely placed behind breastworks constructed of pine logs and stones. At the top of the Pass was a narrow plateau, which was again commanded from the thickly wooded heights, which rose to an elevation of 500 feet on each side of the valley. On the western side the road passed by a gentle descent through a narrow valley with pine-clad sides for about one and a half miles, when it reached the open valley of the Hariab near the hamlet of Zabardast Kila.

12. The Spin Gawai Kotal, which formed the extreme left of the enemy's line, is a position far less capable of defence, and of an altogether different character from that of the Peiwar. The approach to it is through a comparatively open valley; the ascent is not steep except when close to the summit; and the valley is of sufficient width to admit of the movement of troops. The position does not, in short, possess the natural military advantages which are so remarkable at the Peiwar Kotal.

13. On the 29th November, the approaches to the Peiwar Kotal from both the north and south sides were thoroughly reconnoitered, and plans were drawn up for a direct assault on the enemy's position. A reconnaissance was also pushed through the hills to obtain a view of the Spin Gawai Kotal, and of the upper part of the road leading thereto.

14. The result of these reconnaissances convinced me that a front attack, though it might be successful, would certainly entail great loss, and I formed a design for a secret night march on the Spin Gawai, by which I hoped the enemy's position in our front might be turned.

15. On the 30th I ordered the three guns of G-3rd, Royal Artillery, and two guns of F-A, Royal Horse Artillery, to move up to my camp from the

Kurrum fort. The 12th Bengal Cavalry were also ordered up from Habibkila. On this day reconnoitering parties were again employed at the Peiwar Kotal, and every means adopted to induce the enemy to believe that we intended to attack him in front, and to withdraw his attention from his left. A secret reconnaissance, unaccompanied by troops, was also made from the village of Peiwar up the regular road to the Spin Gawai, and the two officers making it (Major Collett, Assistant Quartermaster-General, and Captain Carr, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General) succeeded in reaching a point about one and-a-half miles distant from the Kotal, and getting a fairly good view of the approaches thereto. On the evening of the 30th I made up my mind to abandon any attempt at attacking the Peiwar Kotal in front, and to undertake the flank turning movement by the Spin Gawai.

16. To render the success of this enterprise possible, it was necessary to maintain the utmost secrecy, and to adopt every means to divert the enemy's attention from my intended attack on his left.

17. On the 1st December ostentatious reconnoitring parties were sent to both flanks of the Peiwar Kotal, and batteries were marked out on the small plain near the hamlet of Turri. These proceedings seemed to have the desired effect; the enemy shelled the working party employed at the battery; placed fresh guns in position on the south side of the pass; and paraded their troops and showed every sign of expecting an attack. In the evening of this day, the half battery G-3rd, Royal Artillery, and the 12th Bengal Cavalry arrived from the rear. I had them marched up in full view of the enemy, and made as great a parade as possible of their arrival. At this time every officer and soldier in camp, and certainly all the natives, were fully persuaded that I intended to attack the Peiwar Kotal the next morning.

18. The general plan of the intended operations, which was explained to Commanding Officers at 4 P. M. on Sunday, the 1st instant, was briefly as follows :—

The following troops were detailed to form the turning force under my immediate command, and were instructed to march at 10 P. M. that night, without noise or bugle sound, in the order mentioned below. No orders of any sort for the march to be given before 9 P. M.

29th Punjab Native Infantry	} Under Colonel J. J. H. Gordon, 29th Punjab Native Infantry.
5th Goorkhas	
No. 1 Mountain Battery	
72nd Highlanders	} Under Brigadier-General Thelwall, c. B.
2nd Punjab Infantry	
23rd Pioneers	
4 guns F-A, R. H. A., on elephants, with two companies of Pioneers as escort.	

Each of the above corps was directed to leave their camp standing, with a party of 30 men as a camp guard.

The following troops under the command of Brigadier-General Cobbe were directed to remain in camp :—

2-8th Foot.
5th Punjab Infantry.
12th Bengal Cavalry.
2 Guns F-A, Royal Horse Artillery.
3 Guns G-3rd, Royal Artillery.

The Turri and other levies, under command of Major Palmer, 9th Bengal Cavalry.

Brigadier-General Cobbe received general instructions to open fire upon the enemy about 6 A. M.; to get his troops into position in front of the

Peiwar Kotal by half-past eight, and to storm the place when the flank attack should have become sufficiently developed to shake the enemy's defence.

19. The troops marched at 10 P. M. on Sunday night to the village of Peiwar, where they entered the bed of the *nullah* which forms the road to the Spin Gawai. This was extremely difficult marching for infantry, as the *nullah* was nothing but a mass of stones, heaped into ridges and furrowed into deep hollows by the action of the water. The night was fine, but bitterly cold; and we did not get the advantage of the moon after midnight. While on the march I found it expedient to change the order of the leading brigade, which became as follows:—

5th Goorkhas.

1 Company, 72nd Highlanders.

29th Punjab Native Infantry.

I had intended to halt the column for an hour or two during the night to rest the men; but owing to the slowness of our progress, and to the distance being greater than was anticipated, the intention had to be abandoned.

20. At a little before six o'clock on the morning of the 2nd December, the head of the column reached the foot of the Spin Gawai Kotal. Day was just breaking; and as the enemy had neglected to place a picquet down the bed of the *nullah*, our approach had so far been unobserved.

21. At this moment, two shots from the enemy's look-out sentries alarmed his picquet on the Kotal. The advance party of the 5th Goorkhas immediately formed up from column of fours into a company line, and, led by Major Fitzhugh and Captain Cook, rushed straight at a barricade which now became apparent about 50 yards in their front. The remainder of the regiment extended and swarmed round the flanks of the obstacle, which was carried in very brilliant style, the enemy firing a volley into the Goorkhas as they came up, and being nearly all killed at their posts.

22. At this time the enemy's guns from the stockades or *sungas* just above us commenced firing shells into our column, but without doing much damage.

23. The Goorkhas and 72nd Highlanders continued to advance rapidly up the steep side of the Kotal, and captured three stockades in quick succession, the enemy defending them in a very obstinate manner, and being mostly killed by the bayonet as our men jumped over the barricades.

24. No. 1 Mountain Battery was of the greatest assistance during this advance, and the guns were fought in the most determined manner, well up in the advanced line. Its gallant commander, Captain Kelso, was shot through the head whilst bringing his guns into action, just beyond the first stockade.

25. I brought up the remainder of the 72nd Highlanders as soon as the firing commenced, and I cannot praise too highly the gallant conduct of this splendid regiment, and the brilliant style in which the men were led by Lieutenant-Colonel Brownlow, and the other officers of the corps.

26. Of the admirable conduct of the 5th Goorkhas, I have already spoken. They were not one whit behind their brethren of the 72nd in their eager desire to close with the enemy.

27. The 29th Punjab Native Infantry acted as a support throughout this advance, and successfully repelled an attempted attack by the enemy on our right flank.

28. By half-past six o'clock the whole of the Spin Gawai barricades and stockades were in our possession, and the line of the enemy's defence was completely turned.

29. At half-past seven o'clock, Captain Wynne established communication with Brigadier-General Cobbe by visual signalling, when I informed him of our progress and instructed him to co-operate vigorously from below in attacking the Kotal.

30. The 23rd Pioneers and 2nd Punjab Infantry having now come up, I continued to press the enemy and hoped to have taken the Peiwar Kotal by a direct advance upon its left flank.

31. But in this I was disappointed, for we found the enemy very numerous in our front, and our progress was slow, owing to the densely-wooded hills through which the line of our advance lay, and the determined resistance which we met. During this period of the engagement the fire of the four guns of F.-A., Royal Horse Artillery, which had been brought up on elephants, was found very effective. They were brought into action with great judgment by Colonel Stirling, commanding the battery.

32. About noon, under the direction of Colonel Perkins, R. E., Commanding Engineer, two guns of No. 1 Mountain Battery gained a position from which they could see the enemy's camp at Peiwar Kotal. This was shelled with such success that the tents were set on fire, and a regular flight of the enemy from its neighbourhood was witnessed.

33. Having ascertained, at one o'clock, from a reconnaissance, that the Peiwar Kotal was practically inaccessible from the northern side, on which I was operating, I resolved to withdraw the troops from this line of attack altogether, and ordered the following disposition:—

2nd Punjab Infantry to hold the hill on the north of the Kotal, which formed our present most advanced position.

29th Punjab Native Infantry to hold the hill overlooking the Spin Gawai, and protect the field hospital which had been established there.

A column, formed as follows, to march under my command in the Zabardast Kila direction, so as to threaten the enemy's line of retreat, viz:—

5th Goorkhas.

5th Punjab Infantry (this regiment had joined us during the day.)

No. 1 Mountain Battery

72nd Highlanders

23rd Pioneers

4 Guns F.-A., R. H. A., on elephants

} Under Brigadier-General Thellwall, C. B.

34. The effect of this movement was almost immediately apparent, for as soon as the march of the troops was perceived, the fire in front of the hill occupied by the 2nd Punjab Infantry slackened, and the enemy on the Peiwar Kotal became so disturbed that, Colonel Barrey Drew, of the 8th King's Regiment, who then commanded the troops on that side, determined to deliver his attack.

35. This was most gallantly executed, and at 2-30 p. m. the Peiwar Kotal was in our possession, and the enemy in full flight along the Ali Kheyl road, which for some distance was found strewn with abandoned guns, limber boxes, &c.

36. Brigadier-General Cobbe was, I extremely regret to say, wounded during the advance on the Peiwar Kotal, but the particulars of the attack will be found in the accompanying despatch from Colonel Drew of the 8th King's Regiment, who assumed the command of the troops when Brigadier-General Cobbe had to leave the field.

37. The Peiwar Kotal was garrisoned for the night by the 8th Foot.

38. The troops under my immediate command could not get up in time to fall on the retreating enemy, and bivouacked near the village of Zabardast Kila.

39. I annex a report from Major A. Palmer, 9th Bengal Cavalry, who commanded the Native levies during the day, in which his movements are

detailed. The levies were detached to operate on the enemy's right flank with the design of diverting his attention and of committing the Turris and other tribes to the British cause. Major Palmer's observations on the nature of the approaches to the Kotal from the south are very valuable, as entirely confirming the intelligence which I had gained from reconnaissance and information regarding the difficulties which would attend an attack from that direction.

40. An examination of the Peiwar Kotal defences proved it to be a place of enormous natural strength, and that the enemy's dispositions for repelling any attack on it from the front were very complete and judicious. It is also evident, from the enormous stores of ammunition and supplies which have been captured, that it was the intention of the Affghan Government that their troops should remain here for the winter, and that they fully expected to be able to maintain their position against the British forces. Their defeat and expulsion by a force of inferior strength from a position of their own choosing and of unusual natural advantages, may, I presume, be expected to have a very beneficial effect upon the population of the Hariab, Kurrum, and Khost valleys. It is at all events quite certain that, had the Affghan troops succeeded in holding their position on the Peiwar Kotal, we should never have been regarded as having full possession of the Kurrum Valley.

41. The enemy's strength on the Peiwar Kotal position, on the 2nd December, has been ascertained to be nearly as follows:—About 3,500 Infantry, including 3 regiments which arrived from Kushi on the afternoon of the 1st December; 18 guns; and a large number of Jagis, Ghilzais, and other tribes whose exact strength cannot of course be ascertained. There was also a mule battery of six guns which was coming up to reinforce, but did not get further than Ali Kheyl. A battery of horse artillery and a regiment of infantry had been left on the Shutar Gardan, having been unable to cross that pass; a regiment of cavalry was at Kushi. The total strength of the British force employed was as follows:—

Turning force, under my command	43 officers ..	2,220 men.
Co-operating column, under Brigadier-General Cobbe	30 " "	838 "
Total	73 " "	3,058 "

42. I may be permitted to point out that no similarity exists between the Affghan army of the former war and that which has now been put into the field. The men are now armed with excellent rifles, and provided with abundance of ammunition, bundles of cartridges having been found placed behind trees, &c., in positions intended to be held. Their shooting is good; their men are of large stature and great physical strength and courage, and are well clothed. The Affghan artillery is also well served and efficiently equipped.

43. I enclose a list of casualties, which I deeply regret should be so heavy. Of Captain Kelso I have already written; the other officer killed, Major Anderson of the 23rd Pioneers, fell at the head of his men whilst gallantly charging up the hill side to attack the enemy. The death of these officers is mourned by the whole force, for both were well known as brave and excellent soldiers. The loss of the enemy cannot be estimated with any accuracy, but it is believed to have been large. About 70 dead were counted in the Spin Gawai breastworks, and many more must have been killed in the subsequent fighting, which for the most part took place over thickly wooded hill sides. The inhabitants of the country believe the loss of the Affghans to have been heavy.

44. I enclose a list of the ordnance captured, which has been prepared by the Commissary of Ordnance attached to this column.

45. It now only remains for me to bring to the notice of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and of the Government of India, the excellent services which have been rendered since the formation of the column by the departmental and staff officers attached to this force.

Brigadier-General Cobbe, of whose services I have unfortunately been temporarily deprived, has invariably carried out to my satisfaction the orders he has received.

Brigadier-General Thelwall, C. B., has conducted the command of the 2nd Brigade with energy and judgment.

Colonel Drew, 8th Foot, who assumed command of the left column on Brigadier-General Cobbe being wounded, conducted the attack on the Kotal with spirit, and my acknowledgments are due to him.

Major Galbraith, Assistant Adjutant-General, is most indefatigable in the discharge of his duties. On the 2nd December Major Galbraith was most forward, and proved himself a cool and gallant soldier.

Major Collett, Assistant Quartermaster-General, is all that could be wished for in a staff officer. It is a great pleasure to me to have this opportunity of acknowledging the able assistance I have received from Major Collett on many occasions.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lindsay, Commanding the Royal Artillery, has endeavoured in every way to secure the efficiency of the important arm under his special charge. He much distinguished himself on the 2nd December by selecting good positions for the guns.

I am under great obligation to Lieutenant-Colonel Perkins, R. E., Commanding Royal Engineers, for the advice and assistance which he has rendered to me. His services were specially valuable during the operations in front of the Peiwar Kotal, *viz.*, from the 28th November to the 2nd instant. He conducted reconnaissances with great energy and intelligence, and was most forward during the attack. He has been zealously assisted by Lieutenant Spratt, R. E.

I requested Colonel Hugh Gough, C. B. and V. C., Commandant of Cavalry to remain with Brigadier-General Cobbe on the 2nd December, as the only possibility of the cavalry being employed was after a direct attack on the Kotal. Brigadier-General Cobbe has expressed to me his great satisfaction with Colonel Gough, and I am glad to have an opportunity of commending this distinguished officer to notice.

Dr. Allen, C. B., Deputy Surgeon-General, has bestowed great attention on the arrangements for the proper care and treatment of our sick and wounded. His exertions have been successful, and I am much indebted to him for the efficient condition in which the hospitals have been maintained.

The duties of Captain Badcock, Principal Commissariat Officer, have been unusually onerous. The bad roads and the almost entire absence of local resources have rendered the task of keeping the troops adequately supplied of great difficulty, but this has been satisfactorily accomplished, and great credit is due to Captain Badcock and his assistants for the results obtained.

Captain Woodthorpe, R. E., in charge of the Survey Department, has not only performed the duties required of him by the Surveyor-General, but has been most useful to me in reconnoitring, and I am glad to acknowledge the valuable services always willingly rendered by him. He was attached to my staff during the operations of 2nd December.

The Rev. J. W. Adams has performed his duties as Chaplain to the field force with self-denying zeal, to the great benefit and comfort of the soldiers. He was also kind enough to volunteer to act as Orderly Officer to

me on the 2nd December, and was most useful in carrying messages, on several occasions, under a heavy fire.

Captain Wynne has been in charge of the army signalling since the commencement of the operations, and has invariably established communications wherever it has been possible. Captain Wynne is most zealous in the discharge of his duties. I also desire to bring to special notice the name of Major McQueen, commanding the 5th Punjab Infantry. This officer has passed his life on the frontier, and has great experience of Pathans, and of the best method of dealing with them. I have on many occasions found his assistance most valuable.

The officers of my personal staff, Captain Pretyma, R. A., A. D. C., and Lieutenant Neville Chamberlain, Central India Horse, Orderly Officer, have been of the greatest service to me, and I am much indebted to them for their able and willing assistance.

Since the troops have been brigaded together Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon'ble George Villiers, Grenadier Guards, has had general charge of the outposts, under my personal superintendence, and has aided me materially.

Lieutenant-Colonel Waterfield, the Political Officer with the column, affords me every assistance, and is endeavouring in every way to administer the country the column has passed through since crossing the Kurram river at Thull. This is no easy task after years of misrule.

46. In conclusion, I wish to bear testimony to the excellent military spirit which animates all the officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers of this force. All ranks have had to submit to privations and to undergo great fatigues which have been borne with the cheerful spirit of true soldiers.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) FRED. S. ROBERTS, *Major-Genl.,*
Comdg. the Kurram Valley Column.

Following up his advantage, General Roberts reached the Shuturgurdun, or Camel's Neck Pass on the 9th December, a week after the fight at Peiwar. Here he found fresh proofs of the disorganisation of the Amir's regular troops, by their abandonment of 6 field gun carriages and 4 gun limbers. The pass proved to be 11,200 feet above the sea level instead of 13,000 feet as had been reported, and from its crest a fine view was obtained of the Logar Valley through which runs the road to Cabul. Turning back, as he was not in force to march to Cabul, a feat which 5,000 more men at his disposal would have made easy, he determined to explore the country in the neighbourhood, and for that purpose made a detour through the outskirts of the lands of the Mangal tribe. On the 12th he was warned that an attack was imminent but took no precautions, and on the 13th owed the safety of his column to the bravery of the 5th Goorkhas. This affair cost him 2 officers, Captains Goad and Powell, and 11 men killed and wounded. Every yard of the way from Chapri to Koriah was under fire. A bad impression was created, so that the Mangiar Pass quite robbed the affair at the Peiwar of its effect. The first duty of the General on his return to camp was the vindication of discipline amongst the men of the 29th Punjab Native Infantry. A court-martial

was held to try no less than 18 Pathans, all trans-frontier men, for treachery and desertion on the 2nd December; the day of the action at Peiwar. On the 24th the whole force was turned out to witness a spectacle, sad always, but full of gravest cause for thought to a nation which must employ mercenaries to fight its battles. One man, Huzrut Shah, convicted of having fired his rifle during the advance, with intent to warn the enemy, was hanged. A native officer, Jemadar Rajani Shah, was sentenced to 14 years' penal servitude, and 18 Pathans to various sentences from 2 years' imprisonment to 14 years' penal servitude. Such an event was calculated to throw a gloom over the force, which had already found itself involved in a series of murderous attacks. The slaughter of stragglers and camp followers had taught every man that he was in an enemy's country. Such a crime as that for which the men of the 29th suffered, struck at the root of all confidence within the force and was all the more effectual that it came as a surprise.

The guerilla attacks grew bolder until our outposts were not safe, and then on the 30th December General Roberts made a stern example. Four hill-men, caught red-handed, were hanged, whilst two others were well lashed and then sent about their business. This severity had a good effect. But although General Roberts had with him a political officer, and although he had but a subordinate part assigned him, he called a *darbar* on the 26th December, at which he announced to the Chiefs the annexation of Kurrum, and called upon them to render obedience henceforth to the representatives of the Empress of India. Whether this was wise or not, we do not stop here to enquire. It will be sufficient to notice that the action of the General has been productive of embarrassment, by furnishing matter for inconvenient questions to troublesome members of the opposition in the House of Commons.

The affair at the Peiwar, the retirement from the Shuturgurdun, the unavenged attack in the Mangiar Pass, had all demonstrated the weakness of the Field Force employed in the Kurrum Valley, but had failed to cure the General of his anxiety to do something. The new year had scarcely opened ere he was on his way to Khost, a neighbouring valley of considerable strategical importance, since its possession would enable a force holding Kurrum in strength to threaten Ghuzneen, and at the same time to draw supplies from Bannu as well as Kohat. On the 2nd January, he marched with a heavy convoy containing 15 days' provisions, and the following force: 1 squadron 10th Hussars, 5th Punjab Cavalry, 3 guns, Royal Horse Artillery, 2 Mountain Batteries, the left wing 72nd Foot, and the 21st and 28th Punjab Native Infantry. Khost is the appanage of Wali Mahommed Khan, half brother of the Amir, and was held for him by Mahommed Akram

Khan and a small garrison. On the 5th January, this officer visited the camp and made his submission, and on the 6th the General entered the fort of Matum. The next day it was clear the Maugals had come to seek the General, as he had omitted to seek them. Bodies of tribesmen, aggregating, it is supposed, some 4,000 men, assembled on the hills and in the villages near the Camp, and after a desultory skirmish were dispersed with the loss of about 100 men and 83 prisoners. Ten villages were burnt and about 500 head of cattle captured. This action read the hill-men a lesson severe enough to make them keep their distance, but not severe enough to induce them to abandon hostilities altogether.

To the Maliks of Khost the General made an address, which every dispassionate reader will think out of place. To these men, full of ignorance and suspicion, he reviewed the whole relations of Afghanistan to India, touched upon the bad faith of Russia, spoke of her losses in men and her lack of money, and then told them that although Sahebzadah Sultan Jan had been selected to take charge of the administration of their valley, the British troops would be withdrawn, and added—"What form of government will be eventually decided upon, I am not now in a position to inform you. The present arrangements will be only temporary." This is a singular way to win confidence. That it failed is shown by the fact that when only two short marches from Khost, on the return to Kurrum, General Roberts had to hurry back with part of the 72nd Foot, a squadron of the 10th Hussars, the 5th Punjab Cavalry, the 28th Punjab Native Infantry, and No. 2 Mountain Battery. He reached Matum about 10 A. M., on the 29th January just in time to save the fort from falling into the hands of the infuriated hill-men. No sooner was the garrison withdrawn than the fort was set on fire, the stores which could not be carried off were destroyed, and a rapid retreat made out of the valley. The enemy followed the column back to its camp, and that night succeeded in cutting up 10 camels close to the camp itself. With this most sorry ending to the conquest of Khost the warlike exploits of the Kurrum force came to an end.

Early in February Sirdar Wali Mahomed Khan surrendered to General Roberts and was sent under escort to Jellalabad, and on the 6th February the General dismissed Mr. Macpherson, correspondent of the *Standard*, in a way which was certainly not calculated to remove the feeling of distrust in his judgment, which had seized upon the public mind. Since then he has received some reinforcements, notably a brigade of about 4000 irregulars, supplied by the Punjab chiefs, and consisting of about 2500 infantry, 1000 cavalry and 15 guns. This force was reviewed at Lahore by the Viceroy on the 17th December, and was subsequently armed with

the Enfield rifles, and moved up to act as a reserve to the Kurrum force. The command was given to Colonel Watson, V. C. of the Central India Horse.

What must strike every one as most strange in any review of the campaign, is the extraordinary topographical ignorance displayed by the English Generals. Forty years ago English brigades marched over the same ground, and since then, one would have thought that the labors of successive political officers, of various travellers, European and native, and the knowledge of many trans-frontier men in our native regiments, would have supplied information sufficient to guide the commanders to a fair calculation of the character of the terrain before them. The puzzle is the more puzzling in that many of the leaders were men who had spent long years of service on the frontier, and were probably selected for their presumed special acquaintance with the country to be invaded. As far as the Peshawar column was concerned, everything was ready for a move on the 31st October. The ground had been reconnoitered by Colonel Jenkins and his guides, and had not the ultimatum paralysed the ardour of our warriors, a forward movement at the beginning of November would have impressed the tribes with our readiness to accept war, and our ability to wage it, as it ought to be waged, with strength, swiftness, decision, and purpose. But three weeks granted to Sher Ali crept slowly by, and it was not till the night of the 20th November that Sir Samuel Browne moved on Ali Musjid, a wretched fort in the throat of the Khaibar, held by some battalions of Afghan infantry and defended by some 25 pieces of cannon. To the amazement of all India an elaborate plan of battle failed in the execution. An accidental success proved that the bravest officers are often the poorest generals, and that strategy is a science which is capable of being burlesqued. The screen of resistance at Ali Musjid brushed away, there was nothing between the General and Cabul. Of the fight itself we shall speak hereafter. We now give below the despatch of the Commander :—

My message from Ali Musjid on the 22nd instant communicated, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the capture of that place. I now have the honor to submit a detailed account of the operations.

On the receipt at Jumrood of orders to advance the force under my command, it moved in the following order :—

The 2nd Brigade, under Brigadier-General Tytler, C. B., V. C., consisting of Her Majesty's 17th foot, the Guide Infantry and the 1st Sikhs, at 6 P. M. on the 20th instant; followed at 12-30 A. M. of the 21st by the 1st Brigade, under Brigadier-General Mac-Pherson, C. B., V. C., consisting of the 4th Battalion Rifle Brigade, the 4th Goorkhs, the 20th Regiment Punjab Infantry, and No. 4 (Hazara) Mountain Battery. Both these brigades took the same route, *via* Gudur Lashora to Sapri, the 1st Brigade being ordered to detach a party of 400 men, under Major Gordon from Torbai, for the Rotas ridge.

Brigadier-General Tytler was directed to diverge from Sapri to Kata Koosta, a spot two miles behind Ali Musjid, where the defile begins to open, and which is here about 100 yards wide.

The 1st Brigade was ordered from Sapri to make for the continuation of the Rotas ridge and crown the heights above and a little in rear of Ali Musjid.

The route as far as Sapri, which lies through a glen separating the Rotas mountain from the main Tartara range, had been reconnoitred previously by the Corps of Guides; but beyond that I was altogether guided by native information. It was a trying and most fatiguing march to Sapri, and the ground beyond proved to be more difficult still.

In my direct attack on Ali Musjid by the ordinary pass road I relied on the co-operation of the 1st Brigade by about 1 p. m. of the 21st, but as it turned out it could not reach its destination by the appointed time, owing to the very difficult nature of the hill it had to traverse. The Guides and 1st Sikh Infantry, however, occupied Kata Koosta about 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

Counting on the co-operation above alluded to, I marched from Jumrood at 7 a. m. on the 21st with the remainder of the force in the following order:—

The advanced guard, under Brigadier-General Appleyard, C.B.—

250	... 14th Sikhs
250	... 81st Foot
2nd and 3rd Companies	... Sappers and Miners
40 Sabres	... 11th Bengal Lancers
I Battery C Brigade Royal Horse Artillery.	
No 11 Battery 9th Brigade Royal Artillery,	

and remainder of the 14th Sikhs, followed by the Engineer Park; and at half a mile distant the remainder of the 81st Foot, the 27th Regiment Punjab Infantry, E-3rd and 13-9th Royal Artillery. Lastly, the 4th Infantry Brigade, with the Cavalry Brigade bringing up the rear.

No baggage was to leave Jumrood until the following day.

Three days' rations were taken by the troops.

On arrival at the commencement of the road which was made by us in the Afghan war of 1839-42 and which is known as the Mackeson Road, the Mountain Battery (11-9th Royal Artillery), with 200 infantry, diverged to the right taking a course parallel to the column between it and the high Rotas range.

Some little delay was occasioned owing to the bad state of the road just beyond Mackeson Bridge; and here a picquet of the enemy's cavalry was seen on the low hills in front of us. This picquet gradually retired as we advanced.

At 11 a. m. the head of the advanced guard reached the Shagai ridge; and as a large body of the enemy were now visible on the Rotas ridge to my right, a part of the 4th Brigade was detached to occupy the intervening ridges.

The advanced guard threw out parties to its right and left, and one of 100 rifles was sent on in advance to occupy a rocky ridge some 200 yards in front, and to cover the working party employed in making passable for guns the descent between it and the Shagai ridge into the Khyber stream.

We had occupied the Shagai ridge half-an-hour or more, and had made our dispositions without opposition, when the enemy opened fire simultaneously from the fort, from a gun on a peak to the right of Ali Musjid and overlooking it, and from three other guns below the fort, but invisible to us.

The practice was excellent, shot after shot hitting the ridge; but our little force in the front was well sheltered, and only suffered slightly. The fire continued about an hour without our replying to it.

In the meantime I-C. Royal Horse Artillery had come up and taken up a position to our right out the line of fire; and shortly after I ordered up two

guns from that battery on to the ridge and opened fire. The other four guns subsequently came into action: and the fire was continued till the heavy battery came up at 1-30 P. M. and opened fire at 2,800 yards. Our firing was good, and was kept up all day.

The fire from the 40-pounders seemed at first to cause the enemy's fire to slacken; but after a short respite it recommenced as warmly as ever.

Hoping that my detached brigades might be nearing their destination, I, at 2-30 P. M., ordered an advance. Brigadier-General Appleyard was to descend and cross the Khyber stream at Lalls China, and, under shelter of a spur, to work round towards the line of the enemy's intrenchments to our left; our right to advance on to the ridge in front of Shagai; 11-9th Royal Artillery (Mountain Battery) to take up a position there also and open fire; and I-C. Royal Horse Artillery, with the escort of the 10th Hussars, to descend into the Khyber stream and take up the most suitable position to aid in silencing the enemy's fire.

About 3-30 P. M. my right was in sharp conflict with the enemy's left, which occupied an inaccessible position along the face of a precipitous cliff, and on one point of which they had a gun in position. No further advance could be made on this side, beyond pushing on a small party in the right centre, which from the nature of the ground, was well protected.

In the meantime the heavy battery and E-3rd Royal Artillery, taking the place of the Horse Artillery, kept up a constant fire on the enemy's position, and I-C Royal Horse Artillery, having descended and advanced to the bend of the stream, came into action there at 1,000 yards.

As the day was closing in, I sent word to Brigadier-General Appleyard not to advance beyond an indicated ridge; but before my orderly officer could reach him to deliver the order, his skirmishers had advanced and had arrived close on the enemy's position, when a sharp fire was exchanged within a very short distance. At this point Major Birch and Lieutenant FitzGerald, of the 27th Punjab Infantry, met their death whilst gallantly leading their men. Here also Captain Maclean was wounded, and many casualties took place in the 14th Sikhs and 27th Punjab Infantry.

Darkness now stopped further operations; and Brigadier-General Appleyard withdrew his men to the ridge I had previously selected for him to hold.

In these positions we bivouacked for the night: and up to this time I had failed to receive any intelligence of the movements of my two brigades which, as has been previously indicated, had been detached to turn the enemy's flank.

During the night I decided to reinforce Brigadier-General Appleyard with the mountain battery and some infantry from my right, so as to attack the enemy's right defences the following morning after the artillery had shelled the position well for half an hour.

When it was daylight, I observed the mountain battery, which was on its way to join Brigadier-General Appleyard, crossing the stream unmolested, where, on the previous evening, I-C, Royal Horse Artillery had been under a sharp fire; and there being also no reply to the three guns which then opened on the fort, I concluded it was abandoned. Further firing was therefore stopped; an advance was ordered; and as, supposed, the fort and entrenchments were found to be abandoned. The camp was standing, and there was evidence of a hurried flight, nothing whatever having been carried away. Twenty-four guns and large quantities of ammunition, both ordnance and rifle, fell into our possession.

The prisoners, of whom a number were captured by the turning brigade, stated that the cavalry, at about 5 P. M., first attempted to escape, but were checked at Kata Koosta by the Guides and the 1st Sikhs, and that they were followed by a portion of the infantry, who laid down their arms after receiv-

ing a volley. The main body of the garrison, finding the direct line of retreat cut off, fled by the Pesh Bolak track, which lay through their right entrenchments. The flight appears to have commenced when it became dark, but the Pass Afridis, who had been watching the combat during the day from the neighbouring heights, were soon in pursuit, and robbed the enemy of all they possessed, securing a great number of rifles.

The Mir Akhor and other Sirdars, it is stated, escaped by this route.

I remained during the 22nd at Ali Musjid, and opened communication with my two advanced brigades. On the 23rd I marched for Lundi Khana with I-C Royal Horse Artillery, the 10th Hussars, the Guide Cavalry, and the 14th Sikhs, arriving there at 3-30 P.M. The Guide Cavalry, accompanied by Major Cavagnari, C. S. I., I ordered on to Daka, ten miles further on, and which place they reached and occupied at 6 P. M.

Brigadier-General Appleyard followed the next day with the 3rd Brigade and 11-9th Royal Artillery to Lundi Khana Kotal, where they have remained. The 1st and 2nd Brigade came on to Daka.

The 4th Brigade, under Brigadier-General Browne, with 3rd Royal Artillery and the Heavy Battery, I left at Ali Musjid, the 11th Bengal Lancers remaining also in the vicinity, in view to keeping open my communication at the lower end of the pass.

The above is a general report of the proceedings of the force under my command from the time of leaving Jumrood to the occupation of Daka. Subsidiary reports will be submitted when I am in receipt of them from the officers commanding brigades.

I trust the result of the operations will be deemed satisfactory.

I can now only further add that the whole of the troops, officers and men, did their duty in a manner meriting the warmest approval of Government, and upheld the character of the British and Native Army of Her Majesty.

I have &c.,

(Signed) S. J. BROWNE, *Lieut.-Genl.,*
Comdg. the 1st Division, Peshawar Field Force.

The failure of the movement on the rear of the Afghans delayed the advance through the pass, so that it was not until the 23rd November that Major Cavagnari, with the Guides, rode into Dhaka and found the place plundered by the Mohmands and Khaibaris.

The Afridis appear to have collected in order to watch the fight and turn it to account. The irrepressible instinct of robbing which possesses these clans led them to fall upon the Amir's fugitive troops and strip them of their arms and clothing. It did not take them long to bestow their spoil in the recesses of their hills, and then, with the impartiality begotten by long impunity, they devoted themselves to the task of waging a brigand war with the English. Four days after the affair at Ali Masjid the Zukki Kheyls commenced hostilities by firing into the camp, and by murdering some Kahars. Two days later, 27th November, they attacked a signal station, and by the 30th, the 4th Brigade, left to garrison Ali Masjid and Jamrud, found their communications with the army at Dhaka seriously threatened.

From this time till the 27th March, Sir Samuel Browne has been so involved in warfare with Afridis, Mohmands and Shinwaris, as almost to make one forget the actual object of his advance. By

the end of November the retreat of a convoy for the army led to the calling up of the 2nd Division under General Maude from Hassan Abdal to Peshawur. On the 4th December this officer was at Hari Singh-ke-burj. The first attempt to punish the tribesmen was made by Major Cavagnari, with 2 Mountain guns and detachments of the 9th Foot and 45th Native Infantry. He attacked and burnt Kadam, and in a second raid destroyed Chiari, a fort of the Miyan Kheyl. After occupying Dhaka Sir Samuel Browne pushed Macpherson's brigade on to Bhosawal, with orders to reconnoitre in advance as far as Peshbolak. But although Dhaka is only 39 miles from Jellalabad, it was not until the afternoon of the 20th December that the British advanced guard entered the town made illustrious by the defence of the gallant Sale. It took General Browne exactly one month to advance 93 miles. This slowness is the more remarkable when the events which occurred at Cabul are considered. Sher Ali heard of the trumpery resistance of his soldiers at Ali Masjid with dismay. He at once began preparations for a retreat, and early in December sent off his family to Tashkurghan in Afghani Turkistan. The report of the fugitives from Peiwar convinced him of the hopelessness of defence with the means he himself could command, and he therefore, about the 10th or 12th December, abandoned Cabul, after releasing his son Yakub Khan, and investing him with a sort of Regency, and himself followed his family. This news led to the advance on Jellalabad, but, just when a gallant push would have finished the war, the army was halted.

In order to secure his rear General Browne organised an expedition against Bazaar, a village 10 miles South-west of Ali Masjid, consisting of 1,200 men from Jamrud, and 1,000 from Lundi Khana, the station at the crest of the Khaibar pass. The columns entered the Bazaar valley on the 20th December, the day the General reached Jellalabad, and remained till the 22nd, when they retired after blowing up eleven towers. But the Afridis were far from being cowed. During the retreat the rear guard had four hours' hard fighting, and the column was followed by dropping shots quite up to the camp at Ali Masjid. So wearisome and so constant was the irritation kept up by the Afridis that Colonel C. M. Macgregor, C.S.I., C.I.E., was detached on the special service of maintaining the communications. A small raid on Sherghash by Colonel Jenkins in the middle of December was followed by a temporary lull. But a month later a really formidable attack was organised against the Afridis, and it was hoped that, as the force would take 10 days provisions with it, the inviolability of their main fastness, Terah, would be proved to be a myth. That a serious example was inteded is shown by the force employed, and

by the way in which a concentric movement was attempted. Four columns were directed to converge on Bazaar and were composed as follows :—

From Bhosawal.	From Ali Masjid.	From Lundi	From Jamrud,
Brigadier Tytler.	Brigadier Appleyard.	Khana.	General Maude,
		Col. Thompson.	in command of
200 Picked Rifle Brigade.	2 Guns 11-9th R.A.	300, 6th Bengal N. I	full force.
200, 4th Goorkhas.	200 51st Foot.		Brigadier Blyth,
98 Marksmen, 4th Goorkhas.	300 2nd Goorkhas.		D.A. R.H.A.,
	300 Mhairwarra Battalion.		(2 Guns on Elephants),
300 Picked, 17th Foot.			2 Guns 11-9th R.A.,
300 45th Sikhs.			1 Squadron 13th Lancers.
300 27th Punjab N. I.			300 5th Fusiliers.
2 Guns 11-9th R.A.			300 25th Foot,
50 Guides Cavalry.			350 24th P. N. I.
1 Squadron 11th Bengal Lancers.			50 Sappers,

Two survey parties accompanied this force, and the objects to be accomplished were to obtain information, to punish villagers harbouring marauders, and to convince the Afridis of our power. The movement began on 24th January, and on the evening of 3rd February General Maude rode back into Jamrud; by the 7th February the last of the detachments had joined their regiments at Jellalabad and the expedition was over. It is far easier to say what it had not done than what it had done. It did not penetrate the Barah valley, it did not even threaten Terah. It had some slight skirmishes with the enemy in which it lost 4 killed and 19 wounded, and after two days negotiation terms were arranged on the 31st January, and the different columns retired with anything but a conviction of their success. It was said their return was hastened by the attitude of the Mohmands, but it would rather seem to have been due to an interference on the part of the Government of India with the plans of the Generals. The Mohmands were quieted by a demonstration against Kamah and by a reconnaissance of Lughman valley, completed between the 22nd and the 25th February by Colonel Jenkins and a flying column of—

2 Mountain guns,
1 Troop 10th Hussars.
1 Squadron Guides.
250 Infantry Guides.
200 Rifle Brigade.
250 1st Sikhs.

Yet on March 2nd a party of the Halimzai Mohmands attacked a survey party under Mr. Scott, a little in advance of Michni,

and would have succeeded in destroying it but for the gallantry of its leader. Ever since the British had occupied Jellalabad the powerful tribe of Shinwaris had shewn a suspicious coolness. They were known too to have listened to the preachings of the Moollahs, but it was not thought they would proceed to open hostilities. However, their jealousy appears to have been stirred into a fierce flame by a survey party under Major Leech, who was exploring the country about Mazum, south of Peshbolak. On the 17th March they attacked his party, and, having once broken ground, showed fight with considerable spirit. A week later Brigadier Tytler caught them, and succeeded in pushing a charge of his cavalry home; the bodies of more than 200 of the enemy made this almost the most important skirmish of the campaign. The Shinwaris, though checked, were not cowed, and at the time of our writing were evidently determined to try conclusions once more. The most successful engagement of the war hitherto is that fought by Brigadier Gough against 5,000 Khagianis, at Fatehabad 18 miles west of Jellalabad on the 2nd April. A gallant charge of cavalry inflicted a loss of 400 killed and 100 wounded on the enemy. Our troops suffered slightly but lost Major Wigram Battye, of the Guides, an officer worth a regiment, and Lieutenant Wiseman, 17th Foot.

This brings the military narratives to an end. Before passing the movements in brief review we will glance for a moment at the political changes which took place subsequent to our occupation of Jellalabad. On the 16th February Sirdar Wali Mahomed Khan rode into the town. He was met by General Browne, Brigadiers Gough and Macpherson, and by Major Cavagnari, and treated in a manner which gave rise to the suspicion that the Government intended to put him forward as its nominee. Four days later he summoned a conference of Moollahs, at which it was decided that the flight of Sher Ali in order to seek aid of the Russians rendered a religious war in his favor an unlawful undertaking. Murderous acts, the result of religious fanaticism were also condemned. A prompt and significant comment on the results of this conference was afforded the same afternoon, by the murder of two camp-followers, just outside the Peshawar gate of the city. That the Sirdar thought he was about to be called upon to play a great part, is beyond question. He not only assumed what he thought state, but went further, and, with the sanction or connivance of the English authorities, began to enlist a set of ragamuffins, beside whom even Falstaff's recruits would have appeared a promising set of soldiers.

The Commander-in-Chief, Sir P. F. Haines, arrived at Jamrud on the 24th February, and rode through to Jellalabad, which he

reached on the 28th February. The most careful precautions were taken to prevent the fractious clansmen from interrupting his journey. Strange to say, as he arrived from the East, Shahghasi Shah Surwar Khan, son of the late Shahghasi Sher Dil Khan, rode in from Cabul as the messenger of Yakub Khan. He was the bearer of a letter announcing the death on 21st February of the Amir Sher Ali. He died at Mazar-i-Shereef, of gangrene. In his illness he was attended by Dr. Yavorski, the Medical Attaché of the Russian mission, who, however, found his treatment considerably modified by the jealousy of the Afghan hugeems. Brave beyond the bravest of his countrymen, able, astute and far-seeing, Sher Ali had all the qualities needed to justify his father's selection of him as heir ; but from his youth, when he shared his father's captivity at Ludianah, he was emphatically ill-starred, and his last act was to stake his throne in a quarrel in which he had no concern, and which he had every inducement to avoid. If Russia and England quarrel about Afghanistan, the quarrel can have but one result, either Russia will govern Cabul as she governs Bokhara, or England will absorb it. The Amir might have had a chance if he had made sure that Russia was near enough to aid him, but his misfortune was that he chose the wrong side at the wrong moment, and fell, like king Theodore, a victim to his inability to understand the stern purpose which underlies the philanthropical refinements of English policy. The messenger of Sirdar Yakub Khan marked the opinion entertained of the English army by his countrymen, in assuming an attitude of studied insolence ; that he soon changed his tone seems to have been due more to a keen apprehension for his own personal safety than to any change in his estimate of our strength. It flashed upon him that he had gone too far, so far as to provoke an anger of which he could be the only possible victim, but though his demeanour betrayed his personal terror it did not betray any fear for the cause of his employer.

The death of the Amir altered none of the conditions of the dispute with Afghanistan. If England had not interfered before, the immediate results of his death must have compelled her to seriously revise her policy towards the Chief of Cabul. So far, then, from being the removal of an obstacle to peace, the death of Sher Ali has, in point of fact, intensified the causes for war. The immediate cause of the English attack was the refusal of Sher Ali to receive an English embassy, but this again was but his acceptance of an alliance with Russia. In attacking Sher Ali, then, England attacked that alliance, and asserted a right of limiting the political actions of the ruler of Cabul. In other words, and stripped of disguises, England declared to the world, that the circumstances of the hour made it impossible for the Amir to retain

his independence intact, and therefore in the interests of India she would allow him to become dependent upon the Viceroy of India only. The flight of the Amir to Turkestan was dictated by sound policy, and, if he had lived, would have borne fruit in a great war between England and Russia; a contest which both dread, which both foresee, and which year by year becomes more and more inevitable. Fate is mightier than diplomacy. A Russian military mission is but a Russian advanced guard. Where one general has pleaded as an envoy, another general will dictate as an armed ally. Russia does not retire, save to make a surer and stronger bound forwards. Having led Sher Ali to the verge of ruin she would have continued to recognise him so long as he held possession of the title of Amir. His presence on the borders of his kingdom would have made him an excellent tool in Russian hands, whilst at the same time it would have been a reproach, the force of which even Russian statesmen would have had at some time to acknowledge. By his residence at Mazar-i-Shereef, moreover, the Amir rendered it almost impossible for England to compel him into a peace; certainly into no peace which his Russian friends had not first approved. When he died, then, he left Russia morally pledged to support whoever might rule at Cabul.

His death led at once to a general stir, and to the appearance of many pretenders. The first of these, Sirdar Abdurrahman Khan, the wealthy son-in-law of the Amir of Bokhara, and the thrifty pensioner of Russia, at once left his retreat to take counsel with General Kauffman at Tashkend. This chief, as son of Sirdar Afzul Khan, eldest son of the Dost, and conqueror and Governor of Turkestan, has a powerful party North of the Hindu Khoosh. The policy of the hour will probably induce the Russians to temporise with him; they cannot encourage him without offending Yakub Khan, the chief in actual possession of power, and so throwing him into the arms of England, unconditionally.

Sirdar Ibrahim Khan, the eldest son of Shere Ali, is a man of ability just sufficient to prevent his being overlooked, but not sufficient to enable him to assume any importance as a pretender to the throne. He has, besides, been removed to Cabul by the partisans of Yakub, in whose astute hands his arrival was made to assume the appearance of a frank acknowledgement of Yakub's right and a tender of military assistance.

Sirdar Wali Mohamed Khan, a man of 46 years of age, is the maternal uncle of Sirdar Abdurrahman Khan. Dost Mahomed married two daughters of a Bungash chief of Kurrum. By the one, he became father of Sirdars Afzul Khan and Azim Khan, and by the other, of Wali Mahomed Khan and Fyz Mahomed Khan. The latter was killed at the battle of Charikar fighting for

Sher Ali against Azim Khan and Abdurrahman Khan. Wali Mahomed is now in the British camp at Jellalabad.

Sirdar Mahommed Shereef Khan is a resident of Dehra-dun, but has a strong party in Cabul; he is the only surviving full brother of the late Amir, and already his adherents have come to blows with those of Yakub Khan, over the grave of Sher Ali. Sirdar Iskander Khan, who joined the Russian service and became a colonel of artillery, represents the family of Sultan Jan, chief of Herat. He is now at Constantinople.

There is another pretender, however, put forward by the haughty and able Populzai lady, whose son, Abdullah Jan, was chosen by Sher Ali as his heir. The son of Sirdar Mahommed Shereef Khan, Ashmat Ali Khan, married a sister of Abdullah Jan. This Chief is now put forward by his mother-in-law as uniting in his own person the claims of her own children, and of the family of Mahommed Shereef Khan. But although Ashmat Khan and his wife can claim the noblest descent, and actually represent that line of descent to which Dost Mahommed so pointedly kept the succession, his chances are small against such a warrior as Yakub Khan. We may note here that Wazir Akbar Khan, Gholam Haidar Khan, Sher Ali Khan, and Mahommed Shereef Khan were all sons of the same Populzai mother. Before, however, dismissing the chances of Ashmat Ali Khan, it may be well to note that the lady who has put him forward is not only widow of Sher Ali, but is also sister of that Meer Afzul Khan, who was Governor of Kandahar, and who fled from his post on the 6th January before the advance of General Stewart.

The last claimant is Sirdar Yakub Khan, a man of 33 or 34, who from his boyhood has been distinguished as a ruler and as a soldier. When only a lad, and governor of Herat, he detected the European under the disguise assumed by Vambery. When he had just attained his majority he suddenly blazed forth as the ablest general developed by the civil war, and as the main support of his father's party. Setting out from Herat, he marched from victory to victory, until the tide of popular favor wholly deserted his antagonists, and left him at the head of his Herat levies, the king-maker of Cabul. To Yakub Khan, Sher Ali confided the government when he visited Lord Mayo at Umballa. To fear of Yakub and his place in popular estimation is due no small share of whatever moderation Sher Ali ever displayed. Rising in arms to compel certain reforms, and to secure what he, with great and just reason, deemed his rights, he was outwitted by the Amir and cast into prison. A strange impression has gone abroad that his imprisonment was so severe as to have impaired his intellect. But the strong popular feeling which made

Sher Ali spare his son's life, made him also careful not to injure that life by too rigorous a confinement. Sher Ali was made to feel that so long as Yakub Khan lived his own life was safe, and that the death of his popular son would be the signal for pointing numberless knives at his own breast. Against the rumours of undue severity having impaired Yakub Khan's ability, we have the fact that, since the 10th December, he has evoked order out of chaos, and has arrayed against us what may fairly be deemed the strength of the kingdom. The Afghans have distinctly gained strength under his rule. Then again, since the 21st February, he has assumed a dignity amounting to an assumption of the Royal State, and this, too, with the popular sanction, and with so little opposition, that the efforts of his rivals serve but to demonstrate how emphatically he is the choice of the Afghans as a people. We have, then, at the head of affairs, a singularly able man, never distinguished by his admiration for things or ways English, the wisest statesman and the ablest general of his nation, and yet a man in the very first prime of manhood. Yakub Khan, like his namesake the Atalegh Ghazi of Kashgar, is a great soldier by instinct, one of those rare characters who occasionally appear in Oriental history, and who seem born with an instinctive mastery of military science; men who can change systems of war to suit their purposes, and who never fail to play a decisive part in the events of their time. Yakub Khan saw the advantage of European drill and so handled the men of Herat, as to rank them foremost in soldierly qualities of all the clans of Afghanistan. The difference between him and his father consisted in this, that whilst Shere Ali could plan and execute a charge, Yakub Khan could, in the very heat of the fiercest charge, keep his men in hand. He is an Oliver Cromwell to Shere Ali's Prince Rupert. But in dealing with him the Government should bear in mind that his title will never be wholly satisfactory unless his power be literally overwhelming, for he is the son of a Mohmand lady, the daughter of the Lallpura House. Then he is essentially a soldier prince, fond of war, and believing in his own great abilities, and lastly his character has been warped, even if unconsciously, by two unhappy circumstances. In spite of his great services,—services which in a mere subject might have led to a change of dynasty,—he has seen himself passed over in favor of the son of the Populzai wife of his father, and imprisoned in order to secure that son's accession; and to the traditions of his family regarding the valuelessness of oaths, however sacred, or however publicly and imposingly taken, he has added his own bitter experience. He is a great man, who has been so ill-treated by fortune, that it will be no surprise if he be found suspicious,

faithless, and self-seeking at all hazards, and on all occasions. Lastly, having been debarred by the fact of his imprisonment, from coquetting with either Russians or English, he must, of necessity, at this juncture, represent the national party, and must, therefore, be in a position to offer a resistance out of all comparison more strenuous and more general than Shere Ali could have hoped to offer. The circumstances which gave him supreme power have also compelled him to appeal to his people in the character of a patriot.

We turn now to a brief review of the campaign from a military point of view. The Indian army is presumed to be always ready for war; yet after long months of notice, and steady preparation, the first few marches beyond the frontiers found all the columns complaining of a break down in the commissariat. In October it was known that war was a certainty, yet even then the road between Kohat and Thull was not put in hand with any degree of earnestness, and was so badly constructed that after four months of use it still delays the march of troops. The commissariat broke down signally. It was overwhelmed with work far beyond any requirements of a frontier war, and it was undermanned. The army had to be equipped and provisioned for a campaign in a distant as well as a foreign theatre, its prospective wants were as urgent as its present needs, for unless those prospective wants were provided for, the advance would be retarded, perhaps, indeed, entirely hindered. Individual officers worked strenuously but only at given points. There was an absence of system, an absence of the great qualities of foresight and experience which chafed and irritated the soldiers, and literally sacrificed the followers and the baggage animals. The ghastly lines of skeletons of animals and men which mark our lines of advance are grievous proofs of incapacity. The cost of the war has been quintupled by the error which made no provision for a winter campaign, when it was known that hostilities would not commence till the 21st November, and which recklessly despatched thousands of plain camels for work in the hills without ascertaining how they were to be fed. Even yet, our advanced post at Kandahar is not properly linked with India by a chain of magazines. Major General Stewart indented for 12,500 camels and 1,000 carts. On 3rd November the Government of India indented on Scinde for 20,000 camels; by the 29th November, that is 8 days after the declaration of war, there had been made over to Colonel Tucker, the transport agent, about 10,000 only. The civil authorities had, however, supplied him with 1,400 carts and 450 pack bullocks. There was a difficulty about saddles for the camels collected, but taking all things into account, the 20,000 camels would have been made over to the transport

service by the middle of December. Of these 20,000 it has been asserted that no less than 14,000 died, but allowing this to be an exaggeration, it is certain that a second batch of 8,000 were purchased for the Kandahar force ; even then there was an incessant string of complaints regarding the way in which the troops were hampered by want of transport. The demand for transport was so urgent that the Government of Bombay interfered, and the Governor himself visited the depôts of the army and speedily relieved the Sukkur-Dadur route by despatching as much sea-borne stores as possible from Sonmiani, 50 miles north of Kurrachee, along the old caravan route. Under the pressure applied by the presence of the Governor of Bombay, an urgent indent for carts was sent to the western presidency, and 1,500 of these, speedily assisted to relieve the block. Even yet a great deal has to be done, for General Biddulph complains of a want of transport, and the troops returning to India have found a difficulty in bringing on the convoy of sick. The Kandahar column was somewhat fortunate, as it started with Colonel Tucker as its transport superintendent. The Peshawur force fluctuated between the commissariat and the combatant arms until the beginning of February, when Colonel Sartorius was appointed transport agent, with a staff of officers at Jumrud, Dhaka, Basauli, Bati-kot and Jellalabad ; but the arrangements were so bad that almost immediately there arose questions of jurisdiction and subordination, ending in the resignation of Colonel Sartorius.

That the break-down should be so complete appears at first sight surprising, as it is notorious supplies of transport for various movable columns are kept up at different stations, and certain parts of the army, also the regiments of the frontier force, never part with their transport. But these supplies are scattered up and down the country, and are calculated for sudden emergencies within given zones only. There is thus a vast difference between them and those army trains so perfected in Europe, and especially in Germany. It is now generally acknowledged that only an accident saved the German commissariat from breaking down after Forbach, but in India the transport and trains were the creation of the moment, and were consequently infinitely more liable to failure than an organisation perfected by incessant experiments during peace. In India there is no war establishment, no transport service ; the resources of a province or of a whole country are suddenly indented upon, and it is nearly stripped of its means of local transport to furnish the army. Elephants, camels, mules, ponies, draught-bullocks, pack-bullocks, donkeys, are all pressed into the service. Compactness, readiness, handiness, are never considered ; the drag of large convoys on an army is steadily forgotten.

The latest foreign critic, General Upton, still finds room to remark upon the wonderful following of an Indian army, and upon the chances such a gathering would offer to a skilful enemy. He recognises the pomp, but wonders at the folly, which presents it as a picture of war. It has been calculated that a camel requires at least 10 yards of linear space. In the Kurrum valley a convoy of 1,000 camels extended over more than 5 miles of ground. In the Kandahar column necessity has compelled the introduction of carts. Carts can go wherever guns can. In America, Africa, Europe, waggons follow the armies just as the artillery accompanies them. Why should it be different in India? A waggon of the admirable pattern in use by the United States army will carry something like 2 or 2½ tons easily, and will occupy very little more space than an elephant or camel carrying from one-tenth to one-twentieth of the weight. Then again, camels are excessively difficult to manage and to support. They are delicate, and give out; elephants, when an action is to be fought, must give place to bullocks. They are huge eaters, with fanciful appetites. Why should not India possess transport waggons to be drawn by mules, or by teams of the hardy, hard-working, but despised, tats? We can fancy the suggestion raising a laugh, and yet no soldier in India should despise tats after what they did for Tantia Topi in the mutiny. What is wanted is a system more or less uniform, supplied with abundant material, and ready to expand to war proportions whenever required. The subordinate grades of such a service might afford well-earned promotion to men from the ranks of the English regiments. These men should possess not only a knowledge of the native languages, but of castes, and should be selected for their good temper, tact, and energy.

After transport we have to consider the very serious question of desertion. The sight witnessed at Kurrum on the 26th December is fortunately one strange to the native army of India. No words are too strong to condemn the folly of the Government which permitted its officers to enlist trans-frontier men. It is said they are better soldiers; but that is a question of comparison and of leadership. There are two very solid objections to the enlistment of such men; they are without ties to the flag, and they must, on their return to their homes, turn their knowledge to account. All three columns have had to complain of the desertions of these men. Near their homes they seem invariably to make off with their arms, clearly showing that they expected to be called upon by their tribe-fellows to take part against us. The men who deserted from the Kandahar column seem invariably to have left their arms behind. They appealed to the hospitality of Pathans, coming as they did, with naked

hands, whilst if they had presented themselves armed as Afridis, they would have been treated as enemies by Kakars, Alizais, and Waziris. The Government would do well to rid itself of these men: the affair at the Peiwar Kotal was a grave warning of how little they could be trusted in the face of the enemy. An evil of this sort cannot be glossed over; to minimise it is to be guilty of inexcusable folly. If dealt with where its manifestations are small, it may be stamped out, but to overlook it, and to retain the system which makes it possible, is to challenge fate to inflict upon the army a grave disaster, having its origin in the blow to the confidence of our native soldiers, caused by the treachery, at some critical moment, of men who are only bound to us by the frail bond of a monthly wage. Henceforth no native should be enlisted as a soldier who is not a born subject of the Empress.

In this connection we are led to remark upon the paucity of officers with native regiments. It may well be that officers have endeavoured to make up for a paucity of leaders, by securing what was deemed a more warlike class of recruit. If this surmise be correct a double portion of blame must rest upon the present system. At Ali Musjid, a regiment, the 27th N. I., fell, by the death of two officers, to be commanded by a sub-lieutenant. At the Peiwar Kotal officers grouped themselves, instinctively, to charge the stone walls which sheltered the enemy, and their men followed them in groups. We do not hesitate to say the commonest resolution on the part of the Afghans would have led to the destruction of the little knots of officers, and to the hopeless rout of their disorganised soldiery. The campaign will have done much if it open the eyes of the Government to the fighting weakness of the present system. The warning given by the Umbeyla campaign was unheeded, will the warning repeated now in Afghanistan also be scorned? The Government must surely be struck by the fact, that no matter how trumpery a skirmish may be, it is sure to result in a loss of officers. There must be a grave reason for this; either the officers are reckless of their duties as commanders or they are compelled to make up by personal exposure for the comparative smallness of their numbers. The dilemma is inexorable, for in either case, the system as a system is condemned.

When we regard the plan of hostilities we confess to some amazement. No rule of war is better established than that which would concentrate the efforts of a government against the points of greatest resistance. Now, in the present instance, Sher Ali had but one plan to follow. He bent all his energies to defend Cabul. If defeated, his only line of retreat was that which

enabled him to keep up his communications with Russia. This line led across the Hindu Khoosh to the Oxus. By adopting this line, again, his retreat was always secure. It had, too, the further advantage of affording him a safe and covered line of communication with Herat. Kandahar became thus of altogether secondary importance. The fall of Kandahar would not decide the campaign; the occupation of Kandahar would not in any way interfere with his plan of defence. His base was the Oxus; to defend Kandahar in force was to run the risk of having himself cut off from his base, and thrown back upon Herat, he could then only hope to reach a point from which to renew the struggle by a disastrous retreat to the Oxus over a distance of more than 600 miles. The Government of India might, therefore, have either discarded Kandahar from its calculations, for in any case its fate would depend upon the fate of Cabul, or it might have occupied and fortified it by a brigade, strong in cavalry and artillery, advancing from Quetta. Events proved there was no haste needed in attacking this city. The new relations of Sher Ali to Russia had shifted the military conditions of the problem before the viceroy, which was to occupy Cabul and compel the Amir to accept peace on terms dictated to him. The main British strength should have been thrown against Cabul by two powerful columns moving, the one through the Khaibar, the other through the Kurrum valley. There was nothing to prevent such columns uniting in one grand mass, of at least 15,000 fighting men, under the walls of Cabul by the middle of December. Even if Quetta had been reinforced to an extent to make it impregnable and no advance made beyond Pishin, the main issues would have remained unaffected. The Government, too, would have had men to spare for watching the frontier of the great tribe of Waziris. The Mahsud section of this people, the most numerous and most warlike of the frontier tribes, satisfied itself at the beginning of December that there was no force ready to move against it, and on the 13th December, at the time when the Mangals had fallen upon the rear of General Roberts, the Mahsuds and their allies attacked and plundered Tank. Here, again, the misconduct of a native officer drew attention to the growing untrustworthiness of the regiments containing border Mahommedaus. The Government has quite recently recognised this tendency to faithlessness by strengthening the European element of the Khaibar and Kurum columns. The Waziris will have to be broken as soon as the Government has the leisure and the men for the work. It may, indeed, be a fit and necessary occupation for the Thull-Chotiali column. The initial fault of the campaign was the rigid adherence to the strategy of 1841. The actual present conditions of the struggle were never

grasped. Hence strength was wasted at Kandahar which, if directed to Kurrum, must have ended the war in a month. As it has turned out the campaign seems to have been fought without a clear plan of any sort, the columns have drifted into a scrambling frontier war, out of which we have reaped little advantage and no glory. The true object of the war seems to have been lost sight of, so much so, that the Viceroy has grievously interfered with military operations. What spirit of impolicy and weakness induced His Excellency to order the declaration of war to be read three times at the head of each regiment employed on the second Bazar expedition? The Afridis are not the Amir's subjects, at least the Government of India has never treated them as such. The heart was taken out of the force by such an absurd proceeding. To that ill-timed measure must be ascribed the failure of the expedition. The second error of the campaign was the way in which strategy was misapplied. At the Peiwar Kothal, General Roberts left his containing force so weak, that it was simply wonderful the Afghans did not overwhelm it. If they had been led by Yakub Khan, General Roberts would have been caught *flagrante delicto*, and his manœuvres turned against himself. As to his error of pitching his camp within range of his enemy, it shows he had not properly reconnoitered the ground. After four days spent before the position, General Roberts had not detected the ravine which divided the Afghan right from their centre and left. Rash mistakes, redeemed by the incompetence of the enemy, must be the verdict upon the so-called brilliant operations of this officer.

Sir S. Browne attempted to apply, in an unknown mountain country, a strategy which would have been condemned on a plain. Had a European officer commanded the Afghans at Ali Masjid, he would have amused the General by a show of resistance from the fort, whilst he would have fallen upon the flanking brigades, involved as they were amongst the hills, and by a vigorous attack would probably have thrown them into hopeless and disastrous confusion. Sir S. Browne knew he was so much stronger than his antagonist that he could risk a great deal. But instead of keeping up a menace against Ali Masjid and despatching the two spare brigades by the Tatara or Abkhana passes, with orders to seize Dhaka by forced marches, he directed them to occupy the pass, one at a point only two miles behind the Afghan position, the other at a point a few miles further on. If his plan had been to give the enemy alarm and so frighten them from his path he could not have done better. If his plan was to entrap the garrison he would have succeeded better by occupying Dhaka and then closing the pass from both ends. But in any case, and whatever

his plan, he himself did not carry it out. He did not wait for the flanking columns to get into position. He lost them altogether; lost his communications with them, and when he attacked directly himself, his opinions changed at the wrong moment and led to the sacrifice of two officers, Birch and Fitzgerald, who were directed to make an assault upon a strong position which it was never intended should be taken. The operations at Ali Masjid were simply a burlesque of scientific warfare.

When we look to the border war we find the same singular lack of military skill. The tribes cannot apparently be brought to action. Yet with a highly disciplined force, well in hand, there ought to be no difficulty in outmanœuvring such hasty, impetuous mobs as form the Afridi and Shinwari levies. After a generation of border fighting we have no border tactics, we are simply capable of marching up the hill and then marching down again. A serious loss inflicted in the field, followed up by a price levied, not in money, but in arms, would effectually repress any tribe. Of what use are military demonstrations in which the hill-men follow our retiring columns right up to their starting points? Those who would understand why the generals have made so poor a show should read General Upton's criticism of the sham fights of the 14th and 15th January, 1876, before Delhi. If either General Roberts or General Browne had been opposed to real soldiers, we might have summed up their exploits in the pithy words of General Upton describing the results of the sham fight. "The Generals, as has frequently occurred in all wars, took not only the easiest, but the shortest route to inevitable defeat."

A campaign of reconnoissances has, however, had this advantage. Henceforth the impenetrability of the Suleimans must be a myth. It has been proved that the mountains can be pierced in almost every direction. Our knowledge of the hill territory has been very substantially increased. It is known that a pass leads from the Peiwar Kothal to Jellababad, that another leads from Khost to Ghuzneen, that there are many routes from the Indus to Kandahar. This is a substantial gain, but after all it is but a poor compensation for missing Cabul and having to fight a second campaign.

THE QUARTER.

THE most prominent events of the past three months, as far as India is concerned, range themselves under two heads those of war and finance.

The operations in Afghanistan first claim our attention, and, as it is not our purpose to enter into detailed accounts of raids and punitive expeditions, but only to note operations and events of such importance as to affect materially the military or political position, need not occupy us long.

On the Peshawar side, major operations had been brought to a conclusion for the season before the close of the year, in the occupation of Jelalabad, where the advance portion of the force under Sir Sam Browne has since remained. In this direction no movement of strategical importance has been made, though there have been frequent expeditions against refractory tribes, and the past month has been marked by active preparations for an advance.

In the Kurm Valley the chief event of importance, since the occupation of the Peiwar Kotal, has been the worse than abortive expedition into Khost, where the post of Matoon was occupied without opposition on the 6th of January, to be abandoned again on the 27th of the same month, an episode in the war to which we shall return presently.

On the Quetta side, on the other hand, an important advance has been made since our last retrospect was written, the city of Kandahar having been occupied, without opposition, on the 8th January, and detachments having temporarily occupied Girishk, on the road to Herat, and Khelat-i-Gilzai, on the road to Ghazni, more apparently for the purpose of feeling the country than anything else, on the 21st and 29th January, respectively.

The expedition into the Khost Valley was no doubt undertaken by General Roberts, acting, as it is reasonable to suppose, under instructions, in the belief that the country was ready to welcome the British with open arms, and that no opposition would be met with. This, at least, looking at the numerical weakness of General Roberts' force after providing for the occupation of the Peiwar Kotal, and the extent of country to be held by it in order to keep open communications with that all-important post, is the only supposition by which the movement can be reconciled with the most ordinary military prudence. As far as regards the inhabitants of the valley proper, this belief was, perhaps, justified by the event. The villagers generally proved themselves friendly; no oppo-

sition was offered to the advance of the force, and the Governor of Matoon not only surrendered the Fort and the records, meeting General Roberts half way on his last march for the purpose, but gave the force a hearty welcome. It soon became evident, however, that the Mangals of the neighbouring mountains were determined to resent our presence in the valley, and that the consent of the Governor was likely to go a very little way towards securing us peaceful possession of it.

"Notwithstanding our apparently peaceful reception," says the *Pioneer's* special correspondent, "rumours became rife during the course of the afternoon, that the people of the neighbouring hill tribes, Mangals and Waziris and others, meditated an attack on the camp. The Maliks of the Matoon had not come in by the evening, when ordered : and, in point of fact, sent in a message to the Commissioner that, as the people of the hill tribes threatened to burn their villages if they dared to enter into communication with the British, they could not come into our camp. All things thus portending a row, the General took the greatest precautions for the safety of the camp during the night, but again sent word to the Maliks of the villages around that if they did not come in at once, they would be severely punished the next day, and the result was that eventually they came into the camp, though under pressure. On the 7th, the previous night having passed off quietly, intelligence was brought in that the tribes were collecting, chiefly to the west of the camp, and the troops were held in readiness to turn out at 11 A. M. News was brought in to the effect that crowds of armed people were advancing by the villages comprising the generally called Matoon cluster. A troop of the 5th Punjab Cavalry was sent out to reconnoitre, and, after proceeding some three miles or so, sent in a report that they had come across a large force of about 2,000, who advanced on them, opened fire, and caused them to retire, which they did very gradually and quietly, and without loss. General Roberts then ordered out the whole of the cavalry under Colonel Gough to support the advanced troops and check the enemy. This force of cavalry rapidly mounted and proceeded in the direction of the enemy—the squadron 10th Hussars, under Major Bulkeley, and wing 5th Punjab cavalry under Major Ben Williams. A very quick gallop soon brought them in sight of the enemy, who were in large numbers, lining the low hills, and were making great demonstrations, rallying very strongly round their standard, a white one, evidently carried by one of their Maliks or Moollabs. There was no opportunity for a charge owing to the nature of the ground, and under these circumstances our cavalry could only act with any effect dismounted. Colonel Gough directed both regiments to

advance rapidly by successive troops, and take up the most favourable positions to open fire. This movement was most admirably carried out, and first one and then another advantageous position was taken up, and a very heavy and very accurate fire opened on the enemy, who commenced a precipitate retreat. Both regiments vied with each other as to who should get in at the enemy with the best effect, the 10th Hussars charged up a low hill to the left, the 5th Punjab Cavalry another to the centre of the enemy's position, and the result was an immediate and utter discomfiture. The 5th Punjab Cavalry, or rather a troop led by Major Williams, very nearly captured the enemy's white standard; in fact the standard bearer was shot, and for a time there were hopes we might secure it, but again the broken ground impeded a sufficiently quick advance to do so. In the meantime another large force appeared from the villages, as if with the intention of reinforcing their friends, but these also were very quickly dispersed by the rapid and accurate fire of the Martini-Henry carbines. The cavalry then held their position till reinforcements came up, of the 28th Punjab Infantry and a mountain battery. They were then relieved of their work, and the reinforcements drove the enemy further to the summit and over the mountains in front. In the mean time, two other attacks were made in the vicinity of the camp: one to the right front, and the other to the left rear. So for a time our small force had their hands full, but the troops were "all there," and, admirably handled by the Major-General, they drove the enemy off with very heavy loss, from village to village, till they waited in the open, when Major Stewart with a troop of the 5th Punjab Cavalry was able to make a charge. This he did most gallantly and effectively, sabreing numbers of the flying foe and pursuing them as far as the nature of the ground permitted. Darkness coming on, the troops were recalled to camp, having in every way thoroughly beaten and demoralised their enemy, who never even attempted to make any rally, and, contrary to the usual custom of hill warfare, never dared in the slightest way to molest or harass the retirement of the troops. The action was very creditable to the troops, whose steadiness and gallantry was above all praise. The enemy's loss must have been very severe, moreover some 80 prisoners were captured, and ten or twelve of the villages burnt and sacked. The results have been that whilst it has come out, on subsequent investigation, that a general rising of all the tribes around was meditated, the people from all sides have since tendered their submission, and the raiders have utterly retreated into their hills. The Mangals are believed to have been the authors and organizers of the enterprise, and they have so severely suffered that it is

doubtful if they will again show their faces in opposition to the British forces."

So quickly, indeed, did all show of opposition cease, that, on the 27th January, General Roberts, although it had been determined that he was to evacuate the country, saw his way to holding a Durbar for the purpose of announcing the appointment of a Governor on the part of the Government of India, and assuring the people that they might reckon on its protection.

The following is the purport of his address on the occasion :—
"The General said they had been assembled to hear the arrangements proposed to be made on the departure of the British troops from Khost. He reminded them that the present quarrel was only with Shere Ali, who was ill-advised enough to throw himself into the hands of the Russians, by whom he had been buoyed up with hopes of men, arms and money. The General warned them that Russia had nothing to spare in consequence of the Turkish war, in which she lost 250,000 men. Her treasury was empty, and she was trying in vain to replenish it, as nobody trusted her. Shere Ali could never return unless prepared to accept British terms. If Yakoob Khan persisted in fighting, he would have to follow his father's example and fly from Cabul. General Roberts alluded to the defeat, everywhere, of the Afghan soldiers, and then said it was first intended to leave a British force to garrison Khost, but the idea had now been abandoned, and it was decided to leave Sultan Jan Shabzada, a man of good family and high character, to govern Khost. The arrangement was only temporary, and what form the government of the Khost country would ultimately take, it was impossible to say. This, however, he could promise, that so long as the people of Khost remained under the protection of the Empress their interests would be carefully guarded. Everything that could be done by a just Government, would be done to render their existence happy and contented. A great future was in store for the Khost country. It was fertile, and only required peace and security to life to be capable of great development. Much would depend upon the people themselves, and he called upon them to drop private feuds, and combine in support of Shabzada. If they united in a common cause, the people of Khost would be able to hold their own against the turbulent tribes of the surrounding hills without the assistance of British troops. In conclusion, he said that British troops would always be at hand at Huzar Pir and Kurm ready to march into the Khost country and quell disturbances if wanted."

Now, if the original intention of occupying the Khost Valley with a portion of the force under General Roberts was a blunder, the appointment of a Governor and the making of such a proclama-

tion as that just quoted, after the intention had been abandoned, was to run the risk of adding a crime to the original blunder. As a matter of fact the withdrawal of the Governor, and the abandonment of those who had befriended us to the vengeance of the hostile Mangals and other tribes involved a serious breach of faith.

If the object of the Khost Valley expedition was merely a reconnaissance of the country, then the proclamation just referred to is unintelligible. If it was permanent occupation, then it showed grievous miscalculation of the means at the disposal of General Roberts for the purpose. The most curious part of the business is that the proclamation was made after the idea of military occupation had, from whatever cause, been abandoned, and when the experience that had been gained of the temper of the surrounding tribes was such as to afford abundant ground for anticipating the failure of any attempt to hold the country without a strong show of force to back the civil authorities.

Almost immediately after the proclamation, the force set out to return to Hazar Pir ; and it had hardly left Matoon when the place was surrounded, and it had to return to rescue the representative of the newly imposed British authority. Anything more damaging to British faith and British prestige, than the policy thus pursued, it would be difficult to imagine.

The Quetta force, whose progress had, owing to want of carriage and imperfect organisation, previously been insignificant, advanced with creditable rapidity, when once fairly started, and, moving partly by the Gwaja, and partly by the Kojak Pass, entered Candahar unopposed on the 8th January. The only serious attempt to resist the advance occurred on the 4th, when a considerable body of the enemy's cavalry, waiting for Colonel Kennedy's force near the embouchure of the Ghalah Pass, were surprised and completely routed with heavy loss by a squadron of the 15th Hussars and some of the 1st Panjab Cavalry under General Palliser.

On the 17th January a force under General Biddulph was detached to Girishk on the Herat Road, which place was occupied without opposition on the 29th, and General Stewart with a portion of the force marched from Candahar to Khilat-i-Gilzai on the 15th, entering it after it had been abandoned by the enemy. On the 21st detachments from the latter force reconnoitred successfully the Arghandab and Argasan valleys, and General Stewart returned to Candahar on the 11th February, while General Biddulph with the 15th Hussars, 8th Bengal Cavalry, No. 3 Peshawar Mountain Battery, H. M.'s 70th Regiment, No. 5 Company Sappers and Miners, No. 9 Company Sappers and Miners, 1st Punjab Infantry, 1st Goorkha Regiment, and 32nd Pioneers,

is returning to India by the hitherto unexplored Thal Chotiali route, which is likely to prove a most convenient and valuable military communication.

It would be premature at present to attempt to predict the frontier of the future, but it seems certain that, whatever may happen the Peshin Valley, with its Passes, the Kurm Valley with the Peiwar and Shutargardan Passes and the Khaibar Pass, if not Jelalabad, will be permanently occupied.

The actual boundary determined on will, of course, depend upon the character of the arrangement it may be found possible to make with the future ruler of Cabul, whoever he may be; and however much we may deprecate such a policy, it is far from impossible that circumstances may render the annexation of the entire country practically unavoidable.

Though the resistance to the British advance has been hitherto insignificant, it is not at all clear that the Afghan Government is prepared to accept the inevitable consequences of defeat and treat for peace on acceptable terms. Sher Ali, first, and, since his abandonment of the capital, Yakub Khan, have preserved a sullen silence, broken only by two letters from the latter, which we shall presently notice.

The course of affairs at Cabul since the commencement of the campaign has been involved in much obscurity. The capture of the Peiwar Kotal and the total defeat of the force entrusted with its defence, combined probably with the hostile attitude of the populace, appears to have dismayed Sher Ali, who, after releasing Yakub from confinement, apparently under a certain amount of pressure from the Sardars, betook himself hurriedly to Mazar-i-Sharif on the confines of Afghan-Turkistan. There he appears to have entered into communication with General Kaufmann, and, through him, with the Russian Government, with a view, as it is reported, of obtaining permission to proceed to St. Petersburg. Whatever may have been his object, the result of the communication was unsatisfactory. Abandoned by the treacherous patrons of his choice, and discouraged from proceeding to the Russian Capital, Sher Ali remained at Mazar-i-Sharif, where he is reported to have died miserably of laryngitis, on the 21st February. Yakub Khan, who from the time of his father's departure had been *de facto*, and, since his death, has been *de facto* and *de jure*, ruler of Cabul, but who probably possesses very little real power, despatched two letters, one on the 26th, and the other on the 28th February, to Major Cavagnari, the first expressing a desire for friendship, and the other, in the language of formal etiquette, reporting the death of his father, but neither it is believed, making any distinct overture, or even expressing a desire to negotiate. A reply was sent

by Major Cavagnari, to which, as far as is known, no answer has been given. From a statement just made in the House of Commons, however, it appears that the Government still considers a favourable arrangement not improbable.

The advance on Cabul for which every preparation has been made, is still deferred; but it is probable that a portion of the force will move on to Gandamak as soon as the state of the Passes renders the movement possible.

On the 13th March the Financial Statement of the Government of India for 1879-80 was published in the form of a Resolution. Its principal features are, for the year 1878-79 a surplus of £1,309,000, after defraying the small portion of the Afghan war brought to account during the year, and notwithstanding heavy excess of loss by exchange over the estimates, and a considerable expenditure on account of famine; for the year 1879-80 a deficit of £1,395,000 on ordinary account, to make good which, and at the same time furnish funds for reproductive public works to the extent of £3,500,000, and pay off the unconverted balance of the 5 per cent. loan, a sum of five crores, is to be borrowed in India at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and £700,000 taken from the cash balances. In spite of the existence of this deficit, where a surplus of two millions had been declared indispensable to financial safety, the Government of India has surrendered import duties on piece-goods containing no yarns finer than 30s. at a loss to the revenue of £200,000. Notwithstanding that the absence from the Statement of any new measure of taxation was a somewhat pleasant surprise to the public, it has called forth on all sides the severest criticism. On the one hand, the Government is accused of indolence in being prepared with nothing better than a loan wherewith to meet a serious deficit; on the other hand, it stands convicted in public estimation of immoral subserviency to Manchester interests in remitting, on the specious pretext of their being protective, import duties which the country cannot spare, which are not really protective and which must ultimately be made good by taxation of a much more oppressive nature. Regarding the charge of indolence, it is only just, in the face of the announcement that the Government of India has matured and submitted a scheme for meeting the silver difficulty, to suspend our judgment. As to the remission of the import duties there can be no question that it is, to say the least, most ill-timed as far as the interests of India are concerned, and that it goes beyond even the theoretical requirements of free trade.

Our retrospect would be incomplete without some allusion to a circumstance which has caused a distinct, if temporary, breach in

the cordial relations that have hitherto subsisted between the Government of India and the upper classes of Bengalee society.

Availing themselves of the opportunity offered them by the threatened abolition of the import duties on piece-goods, the members of the British Indian Association, on the 8th March, went before the Viceroy with an address which was nominally a protest against this particular measure, but really an attack on the entire financial policy of the Government. While scrupulously respectful, the language of the address was not free from inuendo, the Association really calling in question, while ostensibly affirming, the disinterestedness of the Government. The arguments used on the main question, have been reiterated by every journal in the country.

In his reply, Lord Lytton, not satisfied with defending the Government policy, was betrayed into hostile criticism and re-primination, stigmatising the tone of the address as objectionable and the motive of its authors as selfish.

His Excellency may have had good grounds for both strictures, but he would nevertheless, we think, have done wisely to have abstained from importing them into his reply. It was scarcely necessary to seek occasion for offence beneath the surface of the address, or to digress into a question at once so delicate and so irrelevant to the merits of the case as the motives of its authors.

NOTICE.

Unexpected pressure on our space at the last moment has compelled us to hold over till our next number a valuable article on "The Music of Hindustan," by Babu Sarada Prasada Ghosha.—ED. C. R.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The History of Indian Literature. By Albrecht Weber. Translated from the Second German Edition, by John Mann, M. A., and Theodor Zachariæ, Ph. D., with the sanction of the author. London : Trübner and Co., Ludgate Hill. 1878.

AS Professor Weber is careful to explain in his preface, the title of his work has been selected rather for the sake of brevity than as calculated to convey an accurate conception of its scope. *A History of Indian Literature*, to deserve that title in its fullest sense, should embrace the modern, as well as the ancient, the non-Aryan, as well as the Aryan, literature of the country. The work before us is devoted exclusively to Aryan literature, and to that only as developed in the Vedic and Sanskrit periods. It leaves the Prakrits and the more modern vernaculars entirely untouched. Though it would be too much to say that, so restricted, it either exhausts the available subject-matter, or, as regards the questions dealt with in it, leaves nothing for future investigation, it may fairly claim to be both the most philosophical and the most complete guide yet published to the literature of the Indian Aryans during the period embraced by it.

The thoroughly scientific spirit which characterises Professor Weber's treatment of his subject is exemplified at the very outset in his abstinence from all attempt to determine its external chronology, confining himself to that relative, internal chronology which it is possible to base on the character of the works that have come down to us. The astronomical data by means of which it has been sought to fix the date of the Vedas at about 1400 B. C.; the period of Gotama Buddha on which others have relied as a basis of calculation; the date of Panini in the 4th century B. C., sometimes adopted as a starting point for retrospective calculation, he alike rejects, as either questionable, or altogether untrustworthy. On the other hand, he adduces ample reasons for regarding the Vedic literature as the most ancient of which records on an extensive scale have been handed down to us:

In the more ancient parts of the *Rigveda-Samhitâ*, we find the Indian race settled on the north-western borders of India, in the Panjâb, and even beyond the Panjâb, on the Kubhâ, or Kopheen, in Kabul. The gradual spread of the race from these seats towards the east, beyond the Sarasvatî and over Hindustân as far as the Ganges, can be traced in the later portions of the Vedic writings almost step by step. The writings of the following period, that of the epic, consist of accounts of the internal conflicts among the conquerors of Hindustân themselves, as, for instance, the *Mahâ-Bhârata*; or of the further spread of Brahmanism towards the south, as, for instance, the *Râmâyana*. If

we connect with this the first fairly accurate information about India which we have from a Greek source, viz., from Megasthenes,* it becomes clear that at the time of this writer the Brahmanising of Hindustán was already completed, while at the time of the *Periplus* (see Lassen, *I. A. K.*, ii. 150, n. ; *I. St.*, ii. 192) the very southernmost point of the Dekhan had already become a seat of the worship of the wife of Siva. What a series of years, of centuries, must necessarily have elapsed before this boundless tract of country, inhabited by wild and vigorous tribes, could have been brought over to Brahmanism !!

The first portion of Professor Weber's work is devoted to the literature of the Vedic period, and has been translated by Dr. Zachariæ.

As regards the antiquity of the Samhitá of the Rik-Veda, he tells us that, "though the majority of them were composed on the banks of the Indus," their final compilation and arrangement can only have taken place in India proper ; at what time, however, it is difficult to say.

"Some portions come down to an age so recent, that the system of caste had already been organised ; and tradition itself, in ascribing to Sákalya and Panchála Bábhavya a leading part in the arrangement of the Rik-Samhitá, points us to the flourishing epoch of the Videhas and Panchálas."

The Samhitá of the Sáman-Veda, being entirely borrowed from the Rik, are necessarily of inferior antiquity to their prototypes ; though, on the other hand, the fact of their containing no extracts from the later portions of the Rik renders it not improbable that they may be older than those portions. "As for the two Samhitás of the Yajus," he says, "we have in the prose portions peculiar to them, most distinct proofs that both originated in the eastern parts of Hindustán,⁷ in the country of the Kurupanchálas, and that they belong to a period when the Brahmanical element had already gained the supremacy, although it had still to encounter many a hard struggle, and when at all events the hierarchy of the Brahmans and the system of caste, were completely organised. Nay, it may be that we have even external grounds for supposing that the present redaction of the Samhitá of the White Yajus dates from the third century B. C. For Megasthenes mentions a people called Madiandinoi, and this name recurs in the Mádhyamdinas, the principal school of the White Yajus."

Of the Atharvá Samhitá, again, he says :

The origin of the Atharvá-Samhitá dates also from the period when Bráhmaism had become dominant. It is in other respects perfectly analogous to the Rik-Samhitá, and contains the store of song of the Bráhmaism epoch. Many of these songs are to be found also in the last, that is, the least ancient

* Who as ambassador of Seleucus preserved to us chiefly in the *Indika* resided for some time at the court of Arrian, who lived in the second of Chandragupta. His reports are century A. D.

7. Or rather to the east of the Indus, in Hindustán.

book of the Rik-Samhitā. In the latter, they are the latest additions made at the time of its compilation; in the Atharvān they are the proper and natural utterance of the present. The spirit of the two collections is indeed entirely different. In the Rik there breathes a lively natural feeling, a warm love for nature; while in the Atharvān there prevails, on the contrary, only an anxious dread of her evil spirits, and their magical powers. In the Rik we find the people in a state of free activity and independence; in the Atharvān we see it bound in the fetters of the hierarchy and of superstition. But the Atharvā-Samhitā likewise contains pieces of great antiquity, which may perhaps have belonged more to the people proper, to its lower grades; whereas the songs of the Rik appear rather to have been the especial property of the higher families.† It was not without a long struggle that the songs of the Atharvān were permitted to take their place as a fourth Veda. There is no mention made of them in the more ancient portions of the Brāhmanas of the Rik, Sāman, and Yajus; indeed, they only originated simultaneously with these Brāhmanas, and are therefore only alluded to in their later portions.

The Brāhmanas, he refers to the period of the transition from Vedic civilisation and culture to the Brāhmanic mode of thought and social order, some of them belonging to the time of its commencement, others to that of its close. The Sūtras he regards as, on the whole, essentially founded on the Brāhmanas, of which they were a necessary supplement, "as a further advance struck out by the latter in the direction of more rigid system and formalism."

The preliminary survey of Vedic literature which we have been quoting, is followed by a more detailed examination of the contents of each of the four Vedas, which will well repay the careful perusal of students, but which could hardly be quoted here with advantage.

The second portion of Professor Weber's work,—that devoted to Sanskrit, as distinguished from Vedic literature—is, that which will most interest the general reader. The Sanskrit period, according to the author, "commences with the epoch when the separation of the language of the educated classes—of the written language—from the popular dialects was an accomplished fact." The direct data attesting its posteriority to the first period of Vedic literature, consist, says Professor Weber, in these facts:

First, that its opening phases everywhere presuppose the Vedic period as entirely closed; next, that its oldest portions are regularly based upon the Vedic literature; and, lastly, that the relations of life have now all arrived at a stage of development of which, in the first period, we can only trace the germs and beginning. Thus, in particular, divine worship is now centred on a triad of divinities, Brahman, Vishnu, and Siva; the two latter of whom, again, in course of time, have the supremacy severally allotted to them,

† This surmise, based upon certain passages in the Atharvān, would certainly be at variance with the name 'Atharvāngirassas,' borne by this Samhitā; according to which it would belong, on the contrary, to the most ancient and noble Brahman

families. But I have elsewhere advanced the conjecture, that this name was simply assumed in order to impart a greater sanctity to the contents, see *J. St.*, i. 295. [*Zwei vedische Texte über Omina und Portenta*, pp. 346-348.]

under various forms, according to the different sects that grew up for this purpose. It is by no means implied that individual portions of the earlier period may not run on into the later ; on the contrary, I have frequently endeavoured in the preceding pages to show that such is the case. For the rest, the connection between the two periods is, on the whole, somewhat loose : it is closest as regards those branches of literature which had already attained a definite stage of progress in the first period, and which merely continued to develop further in the second,—Grammar, namely, and Philosophy. In regard to those branches, on the contrary, which are a more independent growth of the second period, the difficulty of connecting them with the earlier age is very great. We have here a distinct gap which it is altogether impossible to fill up. ~~The reason of this lies simply in the fact, that, owing to~~ the difficulty of preserving literary works, the fortunate successor almost always wholly supplanted the predecessor it surpassed : the latter thus became superfluous and was consequently put aside, no longer committed to memory, no longer copied. In all these branches, therefore—unless some other influence has supervened—we are in possession only of those master-works in which each attained its culminating point, and which in later times served as the classical models upon which the modern literature was formed, itself more or less destitute of native productive energy.

As regards subject-matter and form, he says :—

The distinction in point of subject-matter between the first and second periods consists mainly in the circumstance that in the former the various subjects are only handled in their details, and almost solely in their relation to the sacrifice, whereas in the latter they are discussed in their general relations. In short, it is not so much a practical, as rather a scientific, a poetical, and artistic want that is here satisfied. The difference in the form under which the two periods present themselves is in keeping with this. In the former, a simple and compact prose had gradually been developed, but in the latter, this form is abandoned, and a rhythmic one adopted in its stead, which is employed exclusively, even for strictly scientific exposition. The only exception to this occurs in the grammatical and philosophical Sūtras ; and these again are characterised by a form of expression so condensed and technical that it cannot fittingly be termed prose. Apart from this, we have only fragments of prose, occurring in stories which are now and then found cited in the great epic ; and further, in the fable literature and in the drama ; but they are uniformly interwoven with rhythmical portions. It is only in the Buddhist legends that a prose style has been retained, the language of which, however, is a very peculiar one, and is moreover, restricted to a definite field. In fact, as the result of this neglect, prose-writing was completely arrested in the course of its development, and declined altogether. Anything more clumsy than the prose of the later Indian romances, and of the Indian commentaries, can hardly be ; and the same may be said of the prose of the inscriptions.

Professor Weber adopts existing usage in placing the Epic Poetry at the head of Sanskrit literature, and he divides it into two distinct groups, the *Itihāsa-Purānas*, attributed to the mystical Vyāsa, and the *Kāvya*s, ascribed to certain definite poets, or *Kavis*. At the head of the former, and of all Sanskrit epic poetry stands the *Mahā-Bhārata*, at that of the latter the *Rāmāyana* of Valmīkī.

Professor Weber thinks it certain, on the evidence of the Bráhma-manas themselves, that the *Itihāsa-Purāna* had no independent existence at the time they were written, what are referred to

therein, under that name being legendary passages in the Bráhma-manas themselves, and not separate works. The first direct evidence of the existence of an epic with the contents of the *Mahá-Bhárata*, he remarks, comes to us from the Rhetor, Dion Chrysostom, who flourished in the second half of the first century A. D. He continues, "it appears fairly probable that the information in question was then quite new, and was derived from mariners who had penetrated as far as the extreme south of India, as I have pointed out in the *Indische Studien*, ii,—161-165.* Since ~~Megasthenes says nothing of this epic, it is not an improbable hypothesis~~ that its origin is to be placed in the interval between his time and that of Chrysostom; for what ignorant † sailors took note of would hardly have escaped his observation; more especially, if what he narrates of Herakles and his daughter Pandaia has reference really to Krishna and his sister, the wife of Arjuna, if, that is to say, the Pándu legend was already actually current in his time."

This reasoning, however, seems to us scarcely conclusive.

As regards the character of the poem and the date of its final recension, he says;

One thing, however, is clearly discernible in the *Mahá-Bhárata*, that it has as its basis a war waged on the soil of Hindustán between Aryan tribes, and therefore belonging probably to a time when their settlement in India, and the subjugation and brahmanisation of the native inhabitants, had already been accomplished. But what it was that gave rise to the conflict—whether disputes as to territory, or it may be religious dissensions—cannot now be determined.—Of the *Mahá-Bhárata* in its extant form, only about one-fourth (some 20,000 *slokas* or so) relates to this conflict and the myths that have been associated with it; while the elements composing the remaining three-fourths do not belong to it at all, and have only the loosest possible connection therewith, as well as with each other. These later additions are of two kinds. Some are of an epic character, and are due to the endeavour to unite here, as in a single focus, all the ancient legends it was possible to muster,—and amongst them, as a matter of fact, are not a few that are tolerably antique even in respect of form. Others are of purely didactic import, and have been inserted with the view of imparting to the military caste, for which the work was mainly intended, all possible instruction as to its duties, and especially as to the reverence due to the priesthood. Even at the portion which is recognisable as the original basis—that relating to the war—many generations must have laboured before the text attained to an approximately settled shape. It is noteworthy that it is precisely in this part that repeated allusion is made to the Yavanas, Sakas, Pahlavas, and other peoples; and that these, moreover, appear as taking an actual part in the conflict—a circumstance which necessarily presupposes that, at the time when these passages were written, collisions with the Greeks, &c., had already happened. But as to the period when the final redaction of the entire work in its present shape took place, no approach even to a direct conjecture is in the meantime

* It is not, however, necessary to suppose, as I did, that they brought this intelligence from the south of India itself: they might have picked it up at some other part of

their voyage.

† That they were so, appears from their statement as to the Great Bear.

possible; but at any rate, it must have been some centuries after the commencement of our era.

The whole of the extant Purānas he considers to belong to the last thousand years or so. The designation, as employed in the *Brāhmanas*, applied to the frequent cosmogonic enquiries interspersed throughout those works. Subsequently, separate works arose, and the subject-matter was extended to the "history of the created world, and of the families of its gods and heroes, as well as the doctrines of its various dissolutions and renovations in accordance with the theory of the mundane periods (*yugas*)."

As to the comparatively modern works that have come down to us, "they are written (cf. Lassen) in the interests of, and for the purpose of recommending, the Sívá and Vishnu sects; and not one of them corresponds exactly, a few correspond slightly, and others do not correspond at all, with the description of the ancient Purānas preserved to us in the Scholiasts of Amara, and also here and there in the works themselves. 'For the old narratives, which are in part abridged, in part omitted altogether, have been substituted theological and philosophical doctrines, ritual and ascetic precepts, and especially legends recommending a particular divinity or certain shrines' (Lassen, *I. K.*, A i. 481). Yet they have unquestionably preserved much of the matter of these older works; and accordingly it is not uncommon to meet with lengthy passages, similarly worded, in several of them at the same time. Generally speaking, as regards the traditions of primitive times, they closely follow the Mahā-Bhārata as their authority; but they likewise advert, though uniformly in a prophetic tone, to the historic lines of kings. Here, however, they come into the most violent conflict, not only with each other, but with chronology in general, so that their historical value in this respect is extremely small. Their number is considerable, amounting to eighteen, and is doubled if we reckon the so-called *Upapurānas*, in which the epic character has been thrust still more into the background, while the ritual element has come quite to the front."

At the head of the Kāvya, again, stands the *Rāmāyana*, a work which, in respect of its language, is closely related to the war portions of the *Mahā-Bhārata*, though displaying traces of a later date. As regards contents, on the contrary, "the difference between it and this portion of the Mahā-Bhārata is an important one. In the latter human interest everywhere preponderates and a number of well defined personages are introduced, to whom the possibility of historical existence cannot be denied, and who were only at a later stage associated with the myths about the gods. But in the *Rāmāyana* we find ourselves from the very outset in the region of allegory; and we only move upon historical ground in so far as the allegory is applied to an

historical fact, namely, to the spread of Aryan civilisation towards the south, more especially to Ceylon. The characters are not real historic figures, but merely personifications of certain occurrences and situations. Sívá, in the first place, whose abduction by a giant demon, and subsequent recovery by her husband, Ráma, constitute the plot of the entire poem, is but the field-furrow, to which we find divine honours paid in the songs of the Rik, and still more in the Grihya ritual. She accordingly represents Aryan husbandry, which has to be protected by Ráma—whom I regard, as originally identical with Balaráma 'halabhrit,' 'the plough-bearer,' though the two were afterwards separated—against the attacks of the predatory aborigines. These latter appear as demons and giants; whereas those natives who were well disposed towards the Aryan civilisation are represented as monkeys,—a comparison which was doubtless not exactly intended to be flattering, and which rests on the striking ugliness of the Indian aborigines as compared with the Aryan race. Now, this allegorical form of the Rámáyana certainly indicates, *á priori*, that this poem is later than the war-part of the Mahá-Bhárata."

With regard to the argument that the scanty knowledge of southern India displayed in the Rámáyana is a proof of its superior antiquity, Professor Weber says:—"In this circumstance I can only see evidence of one of two things, either that the poet did not possess the best geographical knowledge; whereas many generations have worked at the Mahá-Bhárata, and made it their aim to magnify the importance of the conflict by grouping round it as many elements as possible: or else—and this is the point I would particularly emphasise—that the poet rightly apprehended and performed the task he had set himself, and so did not mix up later conditions, although familiar to him, with the earlier state of things."

He considers that the whole plan of the work favours the belief that it was written by one man, though the existing texts represent devolpments of the original of various authorship.

Next among the *Kávyas* to the Rámáyana he ranks the *Raghuvansá* and the *Kumára-sambhava*, bearing the name of Káli Dása. Of the remaining *Kávyas* and the features which distinguish them from the two just mentioned, he says:—"Their form abandons more and more the epic domain and passes into the erotic, lyrical, or didactic descriptive field; while the language is more and more overlaid with turgid bombast, until at length, in its latest phases, this artificial epic resolves itself into a wretched jingle of words. A pretended elegance of form, and the performance of difficult tricks and feats of expression, constitute the main aim of the poet; while the subject has become a purely subordinate consideration, and merely serves as the material which enables him to display his expertness in manipulating the language."

The second phase, in the development of Sanskrit poetry is the drama, which, as indicated by its name *Nāṭak*, appears to have been developed out of dancing. As regards the antiquity of the surviving plays, Professor Weber rejects the tradition which assigns the *Mṛichhakatī* and *Kāli Dāsa's* plays to a period some eight or nine centuries anterior to those of *Bhavābhūti*. The community of spirit and manner of treatment which obtains between them, indicates, he thinks, an approximate community of period, and that period he considers to have been a comparatively late one. There is no sufficient evidence, he points out, to show that the *Vikrama* at whose court *Kāli Dāsa* is said to have resided, was identical with the great *Vikramaditya* whose era commences with 56 B. C. Their contents furnish no direct evidence of their date. The mention of Greek female slaves in attendance on the king points to "a time not especially early," and the degraded form in which the popular dialects appear, as compared with the language of *Piya Dasi's* inscriptions, brings us down at least several centuries after Christ. Nevertheless, Professor Weber is not inclined to accept the tradition that would place *Kāli Dāsa* at the court of King *Bhoja*, in the middle of the eleventh century and is inclined to the view that there must have been several dramatic authors of the same name.

Finally as regards the antiquity of Sanskrit dramatic literature generally, he says—

From the foregoing exposition it appears that the drama meets us in an already finished form, and with its best productions. In almost all the prologues, too, the several works are represented as new, in contradistinction to the pieces of former poets; but of these pieces, that is, of the early beginnings of dramatic poetry, not the smallest remnant has been preserved. Consequently the conjecture that it may possibly have been the representation of Greek dramas at the courts of the Grecian kings in Bactria, in the Panjāb, and in Gujrat (for so far did Greek supremacy for a time extend), which awakened the Hindū faculty of imitation, and so gave birth to the Indian drama, does not in the meantime admit of direct verification. But its historical possibility, at any rate, is undeniable, especially as the older dramas nearly all belong to the west of India. No internal connection, however, with the Greek drama exists. The fact, again, that no dramas are found either in the literature of the Hindūs who emigrated to the island of Java about the year 500 A. D. (and thence subsequently to Bali), or among the Tibetan translations, is perhaps to be explained, in the former case by the circumstance that the emigration took place from the east coast of India,* where dramatic literature may not as yet have been specially cultivated (?). But in the case of the Tibetans the fact is more surprising, as the *Meghadūta* of *Kāli Dāsa* and other similar works are found among their translations.

The religious and erotic lyric poetry, the ethical poetry, and the historical and geographical branches of poetry next engage the author's attention. With the former he classes the hymns of the *Atharva-Samhitā*; the prayers that occur in the epic, the *Purānas* and the *Upanishads*, and, finally, the *Tantra* literature of later times. The erotic lyric commences with certain poems attributed to *Kāli-*

Dása, and includes properly the later *Kávyas*. Of the ethical poetry proper very little has survived in a complete form; but closely allied to it, we have the beast fable, the most ancient extant example of which is the *Pancha-tantra*.

The historic is differentiated from the epic poetry by its studious avoidance of all purely mythical matter. Its leading representative is the *Rája tarangini*, or history of Kashmir, belonging to the twelfth century. It is only when treating of contemporary subjects that this literature possesses much value as a record of facts.

As regards Geography, Professor Weber says:—

“We repeatedly find in the various Purānas jejune enumerations of mountains, rivers, peoples, and the like. But modern works, also, upon this subject are quoted: these, however, are known only by name.—A leading source, besides, for history and geography, is supplied by the exceedingly numerous inscriptions and grants, which indeed, being often of a very considerable extent, might almost pass as a special branch of the literature. They are usually drawn up in prose, though mostly with an admixture of verse. Of coins, the number is comparatively small; yet they have furnished surprisingly rich information regarding a period previously quite unknown in its details, the period of the Grecian kings of Bactria.”

Perhaps the most interesting portion of the work before us is that which deals with the literature of science and art. A survey of Buddhistic literature closes the volume.

Instructions for testing Telegraph Lines and the technical Arrangements of Offices. Originally written on behalf of the Government of India, under the orders of the Director-General of Telegraphs in India, by Louis Schwendler. Vol. I. Second Edition, authorised by H. M. Secretary of State for India in Council, London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. 1878.

Thanks to the wise liberality which has enabled it to command the services of a highly educated Telegraphic Staff, combined with its good fortune in possessing, in Mr. Schwendler, an electrician who adds indefatigable industry and an unusual measure of scientific ardor to refined mathematical and physical knowledge, the Government of India may boast a telegraphic administration which is in some respects in advance of every other in the world. This is especially the case with the testing of lines which has received in this country an unexampled amount of attention, and been first reduced to a system at once comprehensive and scientific under the auspices of our Government.

The work of which the first volume lies before us, furnishes at once a text book and a practical manual of the subject. Chapter I

deals with the methods of electrical testing in general, whether by Wheatstone's bridge, or the differential galvanometer. The methods and apparatus are fully explained and illustrated by diagrams, and all the necessary formulæ are given and proved; and appendices are added on Ohm's law, Kirchoff's Corollaries and Battery Testing.

Part II deals with Line Testing, regular and fault, and is accompanied by a number of useful tables for computing and converting tests and other practical operations, and by appendices on a variety of cognate subjects, such as the testing of cables and insulators; testing by the deflection method with reflecting galvanometer.

"During my stay in Europe," says Mr. Schwendler, in his Introduction, "I have had many opportunities to watch the working of other Telegraph Administrations, and have been surprised to find how little progress Testing has made. I was always told: 'Yes, we should like to introduce a general system of Testing; we know its great practical utility; but show us a system to do it, and which will work satisfactory.' Here is a book which I believe contains such a system; and although I am well aware of its many defects, I know it has done good service in India, and by it the objects in view have been obtained, *i.e.* :—We know quantitatively the electrical state of the lines at all hours of the day and seasons of the year; we are able to localise faults of all kinds very accurately, and repair them with despatch; we test all our telegraphic material, and by it have greatly improved its essential qualities; we are not groping in the dark any more—we *measure* and *know*."

Other Telegraph Administrations will find the book equally useful, although the circumstances may be slightly different."

The Poetical Works of John Milton. Edited with notes, explanatory and philological, by John Bradshaw, M. A., LL. D. Senior Moderator, Trin. Coll., Dublin; Inspector of schools and Fellow of the University, Madras, London: Wm. H. Allen and Co., Madras; Addison and Co.

AS far as the copiousness of the notes is concerned, Dr. Bradshaw's edition of the poems of Milton is unique. It may fairly be said that it leaves unexplained scarcely any difficulty that is likely to be felt by English students, while to foreigners, and especially natives of India, it should prove invaluable. The notes on the "Paradise Lost" were, indeed, first published in Madras with special regard to the wants of Indian students, and no less pains has been exhibited in the preparation of those on the remaining poems.

Where interpretations of the text vary, the editor has been careful to cite the notes of the best standard authorities, The spel-

ling adopted is that of the present day, except where the word itself, rather than the mere spelling; has undergone change, when the old form is judiciously preserved.

We can confidently recommend the work, which is printed in clear, large type and otherwise well got up, not only to the student, but to the general reader.

Sunday not the Sabbath: An Essay, by a Layman, on the Sunday Question. Meerut: Printed at Charles & Co.'s Medical Hall Press.

THE contents of this pamphlet are far from fully described in its title, for the writer not only aims at showing, what is, indeed obvious, that Sunday is not the Sabbath, but denies that that there is any authority whatever for the dedication of that day, or any other day in the week, to specifically religious purposes. This is the negative side of the pamphlet. It has also a positive side, which consists of an appeal for the improvement of the present Sunday, by utilising it for the purposes of mental and moral culture. While the weekly holiday is potentially a most valuable institution, the way in which the Sunday is kept, at least among Protestants in the United Kingdom, not only robs it of its utility, but makes it a source of positive mischief.

We quote the last portion of the pamphlet:

To recapitulate what has been briefly done: we have shown that *there is no divine ordinance of Sunday whatever*; that the idea of substituting it for the Sabbath is untenable, as there is no authority to be produced for such substitution, and that the sole reason for compelling abstinence from work on Sunday is the Jewish ceremonial law of the Fourth Commandment, which, being in no sense a moral law, has no more obligation on Christians than the rest of the ceremonial law: that the idea of a primeval Sabbath prior to Moses, and therefore instituted for all men, has no traceable foundation, and there is therefore no ground for believing that the devotion of a seventh part of our time to God is a divine institution. Lastly, that the present practice is unnatural and its results mischievous.

Let it not be supposed that the result of the present argument, is to propose that the Sunday, being no longer compulsory on divine authority, should be discarded for religious purposes altogether, and treated as a week day. There is no need of the alternative of No-Sunday, if the present Sabbath-Sunday is abandoned. The subject we suggest for the consideration of the clergy is not the abolition, but the improvement, of the valuable advantage which the long-standing habit of ceasing to labour on Sunday has put into their hands. To the end that they may enter heartily into the matter, it is indispensable that they should feel the evil of the present state of things to which we have briefly referred above.

We believe we need do no more than call on every town and country parish priest in England to summon up his experience, in order to get a sad picture of the apathy of his parishioners in regard to Sunday; how services are badly attended, the day idled away by some and positively abused by others, both morally and physically, and how all, or nearly all, are made to feel sinful by the inevitable failure of an attempt to follow an unnatural and impossible law. If the clergy will shut their eyes to what is patent to every body else, and will pursue in regard to Sunday observance, the same conservative policy which

they have pursued in reference to nearly all progress, whether theological or scientific, they must be content to be despised and ignored by all thinking people. It is no true priest's duty to decry every thing which has a tendency to evil (and what has not ?) as utterly unclean ; and then leave those, who find they can innocently enjoy something thus decied, to the reprobation of their own consciences. Experience shews this does not suffice ; and more frequently results in hardening of the conscience and a general distrust of priestly cautions.

Teach and preach as they may, the world will not give up its amusements ; and human nature will persist in indulging in relaxation ; and it is the duty of our moral censors to lead and guide us in the use of these as well as of purely religious duties. Nothing is more deplorable to the lay friends of the Church than the disrepute into which the priestly office and character have fallen in general opinion, by their steady opposition to the current of events, which is, in fact, the progress of the world at large. The priest must be left still further behind than ever in the nineteenth century, when this current has become so much accelerated, unless he can adapt his steps to the march of the masses, to say nothing of the leaders in mental activity and intelligence.

To be of use to the world, the priesthood must be of the world, and keep up with the world : and, in default of doing so, will lose its hold over the remnant that from force of habit, appreciation of its really good qualities, or general sluggishness of intelligence, still adhere to it ; as it has already lost its hold on the advanced thinkers in every department, whether politics, theology, or science. We are not unaware of the stir in the body of the Church itself, which many mistake for real life, and which, in the minds of many of the laity, causes a belief that the Church is full of energy and vigor.

We cannot persuade ourselves into this belief. The cultivated and vigorous portion of English intellect is not deceived by the noise and clatter made by a few Ritualists and many Anti-ritualists ; and persists in regarding the whole outcry as inconceivably petty and unimportant in its bearing on real religious life. It views the Ritualists as either dishonest or foolish :—dishonest, if by their imitation of Romish ritual, they secretly inculcate or mean to pave the way for doctrines which they do not yet dare to preach openly ; and foolish, if, for the sake of outward forms only, they give such offence to those whom, in charity at any rate, they should respect as weaker brethren.

These sentiments will prevent any general adherence to their party, and though they may hasten the day of dis-establishment, they will command no intelligent following until they cause the world at large to give them credit, at least, for honesty.

But in the direction in which we have pointed, there is a sphere still open for our religious leaders ; and would that we could induce them to occupy it, by stepping forward and declaring themselves the champions of a reformed Sunday observance.

Let them be honestly persuaded that *the day is human institution only*, that it is a wise and beneficent one, and socially, in a busy country like ours, almost a necessity ; and let them teach this openly and with no uncertain sound ; and above all, let them *lead the way* in a becoming and natural use of the day.

It is no use to allow themselves to be dragged at the wheels of the car of opinion, and to give tardy and reluctant assent to an impetus which they can no longer withstand. They must lead and control the movement, or they will be swept away by it.

Let it be known from our pulpits, that there is not only no harm, but rather good in opening places of orderly amusement and instruction on Sunday ; that the abolition of labor on that day is in order to give those employed in

it, an opportunity of improving themselves morally, and physically recreating themselves—that relaxation proper on week days cannot be wrong *because* it is indulged in on Sunday, but that as the amusement of the many means the labor of a considerable number, it is better to forego many of our amusements for fear of trenching on the rest of others—and, above all, let it be sedulously inculcated that assumed gloom and seriousness is no virtue, and can in no sense pass for religion. Let it be the wisdom of our leaders in things sacred, to copy those who lead us in things secular, and avoid all ordinances and prescriptions in matters in which freedom of thought and action is not injurious.

For ourselves, we should like to see the decalogue read no longer in our Churches, unless it be accompanied with careful explanations that what is ceremonial in it, does not concern Christians one atom, and that what is moral in it is binding on Christians, not because it is in Moses' laws, but because God has put a knowledge of right and wrong into the heart of every man.

It cannot of course be expected that ideas imbibed in our infancy should be violently discarded; and the most we may hope for, is a gradual liberality of sentiment and unbiassed enquiry into the truth of the principles which we have advocated. Let, however, a beginning be made; and let this consist in teaching the *true* principle on which it is good and proper that a day should be set apart and publicly kept for the observance of religion.

We have, for ourselves, no fear of the result; not so much because we believe that nothing can be much worse than the present state of things, but because we believe that a fearless acceptance of a truth cannot fail to elevate the acceptors of it; and, notably, because the truth about Sunday will do away with many sins against Sunday. It is no slight boon which our clergy can confer on the masses, to sweep away the occasion of sin, by sweeping away the law which now makes many innocent actions really sinful to the doers of them, because they ignorantly believe that they are forbidden by God. What St. Paul said about 'not having known sin except by the Law,' is eminently true of the moral guilt which thousands incur every week, who feel that they regularly fail to maintain the unnatural and untrue standard which our clergy have raised regarding Sunday observance.

Culinary Jottings for Madras. A Treatise in Thirty Chapters on Reformed Cookery for Anglo-Indian Exiles, based upon modern English, and Continental Principles, with Twenty-five Menus for little Dinners worked out in Detail, by "Wyvern." Madras: Higginbotham and Co.; 1878.

THE Eastward progress of civilisation has done so much towards assimilating the Anglo-Indian cuisine to that of Europe, that an Indian Cookery book, to be really useful, should teach us, not how to prepare certain dishes peculiar to the country, but how best to produce, under the special circumstances of the country, the dishes approved by the taste of polite society at home. Such is the object "Wyvern" has pursued in the excellent work before us. "Our dinners of to-day," he says, "would indeed astonish our Anglo-Indian forefathers. With a taste for light wines, and a far more moderate indulgence in stimulating drinks, has been germinated a desire for delicate and artistic cookery. The molten curries and florid oriental compositions of the olden time—so fearfully and wonderfully made—have been gradually banished from our dinner

tables; for although a well-considered curry, or mulligatani,—capital things in their way,—are still very frequently given at breakfast or at luncheon, they no longer occupy a position in the dinner *menu* of establishments conducted according to the new *régime*.

“A little treatise on cookery, then, showing the reader how to accomplish successfully, with the average means at his disposal in this country, some of the many tasty dishes spoken of in the modern English and continental books upon the subject, will, I am sanguine enough to hope, be received with kindly toleration, if not with cordiality, by those who consider it worth while to be interested in matters culinary.”

We venture to predict a much more marked success than this for what, whether as regards its style, its thoroughly practical character, or the excellence of the taste and discrimination displayed in it, is one of the best books on the gastronomic art that we have seen. We are much mistaken if it does not create an interest “in matters culinary” in many Indian mistresses who, owing to the obstacles which the ways and the servants of the country oppose to them, take none at present. Certainly, “Wyvern’s” exposures of the tricks of the native cooks, much of the same kind in Madras, we see, as in Calcutta, will astonish some of them.

In his recipes “Wyvern” displays an eclecticism at once liberal and discreet, a well deserved prominence being given to approved Italian dishes. He enjoys an advantage over most authorities on the subject with which he deals, in adding to thorough practical experience the ability to impart his knowledge to others in a style at once elegant and easily intelligible to the merest amateur. His book is free from mystifying technicalities and the provoking ellipses which so frequently make the recipes of other authors hopeless puzzles to the uninitiated.

There are so many good things that we hardly know where to quote. As being a thing very generally spoilt, bread-sauce, perhaps, offers a fair subject:

Of the whole category of simple sauces none is more generally maltreated than “bread-sauce.” Delicious when properly made, it is positively a repulsive mess when wrongly treated. You have no doubt lamented many a time over the wretched compound which your cook persists in sending up under this title; and I have heard people say that true “bread-sauce” cannot be made in India. Now I have tasted quite as nasty a composition as Ramasamy’s in England, in fact even there you more frequently get it bad, than good. The good “bread-sauce,” now served at the Junior United Service Club in London, is due to the admonitions of an officer, now in Madras. The system pursued by the ignorant cook may be thus described:—he cuts some slices of bread, or grates bread-crums enough for his requirements, over which he pours a tea-cupful of boiling water, he gives that a pinch of salt, perhaps (but by no means for certain) a spoonful of milk, and a quantity of whole pepper corns, and cloves; he stirs this to the consistency of thick

porridge, and finally sends up a mixture which may be plainly described as spiced bread poultice ! Setting aside other considerations for a moment, can anything be more disagreeable than the accidental biting of a *whole clove*, or a pepper corn, in any dish or sauce ? Common sense accordingly dictates that when the use of these condiments is necessary, we should strain the liquid in which they have been placed.

The back-bone of "bread-sauce" is the flavouring of the milk it is made of, to begin with ; that done, to strain it carefully over your grated crumbs ; then to re-heat it, and finish it off with a good table spoonful of cream at the moment you serve it : in the absence of cream, the yolk of one egg, beaten up in a little milk till it looks creamy, may be added, *off the fire*, just at the last. To flavour the milk you must take a good sized onion, peel off the outside skin, cut it into quarters, and put them, with a dozen pepper corns, six cloves, a pinch of grated nutmeg, and a salt-spoonful of salt, into a sauce-pan containing not less than half a pint of good milk. The utmost care is now necessary, for milk boils up so rapidly that you must watch your sauce-pan narrowly, and use a very low fire to retard the boiling stage. Remove the pan as soon as the surface of the milk looks frothy : let it cool a little, and replace it, continuing the operation until the onion is done, and adding a little milk from time to time to make good the loss by evaporation. Now strain it off through a piece of muslin into a bowl, and add to it, spoonful by spoonful, the stale bread crumbs you have already prepared, till your eye tells you, you have attained the right consistency ; then heat the sauce up again, and finish it as I previously described. I can always rely upon making as good a "bread-sauce" here as I ever ate in England, but then I would never attempt it unless I had all the ingredients at command. There can be no evasion of the milk. Water at once produces the poultice I have condemned, and the spoonful of cream, or the yolk whipped up in milk, *must* be added if you desire success. This sauce richly deserves the trouble I have prescribed, and it will be found in the end economical, for by its aid a carefully roasted fowl provides an enjoyable meal ; whilst fillets of partridges, or chicken, bread-crumbed, nicely fried and garnished with a crisp curl or two of fried bacon, assume at once a superior character. A young pigeon, split, and grilled over a fast fire, besprinkled with fried bread-crumbs and assisted by good bread-sauce, forms a nice luncheon for a lady, whose husband's days are spent at office, or for a convalescent beginning to mend after a long illness.

The following, too, about mayonnaise, is capital :—

Mayonnaise sauce is certainly one of the most useful, and popular of all the sauces we attempt out here. In ordering it, if you know what to say, and give good materials, you may be certain of success. Be sure that the oil you give is thoroughly good, or the result will be very painful ; and examine your mustard, vinegar, and eggs. Assuming that these are all satisfactory, set to work in the following manner :—

Commence with the dry ingredients and put into a soup-plate, or slop basin, the very hard-boiled yolks of two eggs, a pinch of salt, a dessert-spoonful of mustard powder, a tea-spoonful of finely minced shallot, and a dust of white pepper. Bruise these together thoroughly with the back of a silver spoon ; now add a little oil, and work your materials to a paste, adding the oil, patiently by degrees until you get it nice and moist ; next throw in the yolks of two raw eggs, and continue your working, adding oil without measure, and judging by your eye when you think you have made enough sauce, for the tarragon vinegar, you finally add will not be more than a good table-spoonful ; the moment vinegar is added, the sauce will assume a creamy appearance, and when worked sufficiently, will be ready for the block tin strainer (to get rid of "onion atoms," lumps of egg, &c.), and then for the table. If made on

the plains early in the afternoon, the sauce-boat should be placed in the ice box ; but, to be successful, *Mayonnaise* sauce ought, if possible, to be made as near the time of service as possible. When cream is used it takes the place of oil, but if only a little can be spared, a dessert spoonful may be added to the sauce I have described with good effect. All *Mayonnaise* sauces should be iced.

The points in this sauce to be noted are, the order in which the various ingredients should be employed the use of the raw yolks in conjunction with the hard-boiled (they produce the creaminess you want) the liberal use of good oil, and the addition last of all, in sparing quantity, of the tarragon vinegar. You do not want an *acid* sauce at all, remember. English cooks, as a rule, ruin their *Mayonnaise* and salad dressings, by *measuring* the oil and vinegar they use in equal portions ! no artist measures these ingredients ; you might as well expect a painter to tell you the number of grains of the colours he used in painting a picture. You must use a little onion, but whilst permitting the flavour "scarce suspected to animate the whole," you must on no account permit the "atoms to lurk within the bowl"—the ladies in Sydney Smith's days were perhaps less critical in the matter of this fragrant bulb than are our fair enslavers in the present year of grace.

Here are some methods of dressing maccaroni which deserve attention :

Another excellent method may be described as follows :—Make a breakfast-cupful of good chicken broth flavoured with an onion, sweet herbs, and black pepper corns. With that make a nice "*veloute au fromage*" in this way :—melt an ounce of butter in a sauce-pan, stir into it a table-spoonful of flour, mix them to a paste and by degrees pour in the chicken broth ; as this is heating up, add to it two ounces of grated cheese, or Parmesan from the bottle, a table-spoonful of powdered mustard, salt, and "spiced pepper," at discretion ; continue to stir the sauce until it reaches a creamy thickness, when you can finish it by a table-spoonful of cream. Now put into the sauce two ounces of *boiled* maccaroni, heat it up well without boiling and serve.

The association of tomatoes with maccaroni seems to be as happy as that of green peas with a duckling, egg sauce with salt fish, or red currant jelly with a well hung saddle. These vegetables are generally applied in the form of *purée*, to achieve which you must cut them into quarters, trim them from stalk, &c., and put them into a sauce-pan with just sufficient water to cover them, a few pepper corns, two or three cloves of garlic, a tea-spoonful of dried *basil*, and a little salt ; boil till the quarters are quite soft, and then turn the contents of the sauce-pan out upon a hair sieve. Let the watery part escape, you do not want it, and when thus drained pick out the garlic, and rub the vegetable through the sieve with a wooden spoon : the pulp that comes through,—well peppered with black pepper,—must be heated again with a lump of butter before it is mixed with the maccaroni.

Maccaroni with "*conserva di pomi d'oro*" is an Italian delicacy. The *conserva* is, as may readily be supposed, a regular jam made by reducing a good quantity of the *purée* aforesaid in a sauce-pan over the fire, stirring it without ceasing until it attains the consistency of paste. This may be preserved in bottles, and if securely corked, and waxed, will keep well. During their season tomatoes absolutely rot on the ground in many a private garden in this Presidency : why permit such waste ? the trouble of making a few bottles of this conserve would be amply repaid when the plants have died down. A spoonful or two of the preserve, thinned with a very little stock and with a pat of butter worked into it, would at all times be handy for dressing maccaroni. A dusting of finely grated cheese should, of course, accompany it.

Here is a 'foreign composition' which I commend to the attention of those who like Italian cookery :—Mince a clove of garlic, a shallot, three anchovies, boned and well wiped from the tin oil, and four olives, put the mince into a small sauce-pan with three table-spoonfuls of the best salad oil, boil till the bits of garlic and onion begin to brown, and then turn the mixture into a sauce-pan containing a large dish of hot boiled maccaroni, stir it well, and serve. An Italian cook would probably put in half a dozen, or more, cloves of garlic: in the proportions I have given, however, I do not think the taste of the bulb will be considered more *prononcée* than it is in chutneys, and numerous dishes made in India which we eat without murmuring.

There is a good chapter on "Camp Cookery," and the work concludes with twenty-five "*Menus*, worked out in detail."

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CRITICAL NOTICES.

I.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

Warren Hastings; a Biography. By Captain L. J. Trotter
London: W. H. Allen and Co. 1878.

THAT a new life of Warren Hastings should appear was almost essential to the interests of Indian History after the magician Macaulay had made that statesman the subject of one of his most dazzling incantations. Mr. Gleig, whom the brilliant essayist considered "a biographer, or a fool" and probably a little of both, had evidently no idea of the fate that was in store for his poor book; but when the celebrated article in the *Edinburgh* appeared—and, still more, when that article took its place among the "British classics"—it was obvious that the Chaplain-General's work was dead, and its place vacant for that of some more skilful writer. That place Captain Trotter has now ventured to take. With Macaulay before him, he has gone into the more prominent and more controverted points in the career of the great Pro-consul; and he has succeeded in placing his hero on a high pedestal. Not, indeed, as Mr. Gleig's conventional statesman, with a scroll in his hand that might have been written by an Auckland, and a toga on his back that would have equally fitted an Addington; but "a slender figure, rising clear in the back-ground [of Indian story], as of England's guardian-angel, foreshaping, and ever trying to help forward, the policy which other hands, not always the most capable, must be left to execute."

The history of British politics is for the most part the history of commonplace men in more or less trying positions. Especially is this the case with regard to modern India. But Warren Hastings was an unusual man set in most unusual times. Hence, all attempt to estimate him by the scale that applies to the ordinary public man is as inappropriate and unserviceable as it would be to judge a man of the world by the moral rules that prevail at Miss. Pilkington's Academy. Macaulay saw this, but set about his task in his ambitious way; and the interests of truth were compromised in the very outset. The object of the *Edinburgh* essay is clearly discernible. The writer as good as says, 'I am not going to be bound by the ordinary ethics; I am going to admit, without inquiry, all that has ever been alleged against my hero; and I am going so to fascinate you that you shall leave off with the feeling that it is better to be Verres than Cicero, or any one else.'

This is not Captain Trotter's stand-point. He sees that Hastings was brought up in a bad school, and was placed in a position where the lessons of that school might well have borne their fruits. And he shows us that, without performing actual impossibilities, Hastings remained throughout calm, successful, poor, simple, beneficent; the founder of an empire, the pride of the best of his own countrymen, the idol of the foreigners that he had so long ruled. The fact that such a man should have been held up to public execration by a drunken spendthrift, and a mad politician, did not weigh with some of the ablest and most upright of his contemporaries; and the sneer that he was the idol of "people who worshipped the cobra and the small-pox," was deprived of its sting when one recollected that the addresses of the Hindus and Mahomedans of Bengal were not sent till many years after he had ceased to have any power over the people of India, either for evil or for good.

Readers of the *Calcutta Review* have had some interesting details of the earlier part of Hastings' Indian service from the pen of Mr. H. Beveridge (C. R. Nos. 130, 132),* and it is to be regretted that Captain Trotter has not been able to make more use of such materials. The probability is that his book, though only published at the end of last year, was written before the articles we refer to, had appeared. Otherwise, there are certain facts which he would have done well to reproduce in the more permanent form which a book confers; and certain views and statements which, we suspect, he would have been glad to attack.

One of Mr. Beveridge's most interesting passages belongs to the period of Hastings' temporary retirement and his relations with Clive, about the year 1768. In the three pages or so which Captain Trotter devotes to this period, he only thus mentions the possibilities of intercourse between the two founders of the Indian Empire. "That Clive and Hastings met in England. . . is a likelihood which, for want of evidence, must not be taken for a solid fact. It may fairly be assumed, however, that such a meeting happened more than once, and that Hastings learned from the lips of his old friend how things were going on in Bengal and Madras." But attentive readers of the *Calcutta Review* have known, since April 1878, that the assumption is warranted by good if indirect evidence, and that though the supposed meetings are still unrecorded, and Clive was certainly nothing like an "old friend," he knew and esteemed his junior and interested himself to get that junior forward. Indeed, Mr. Beveridge gives (No. 132 p. 274) a letter from Clive, more to the credit of his feelings than of his

* The present number contains the last of Mr. Beveridge's interesting papers which the writer of this notice has not had the advantage of reading.

perception of character, in which, giving advice as to how his correspondent should conduct himself in the post of Governor of Bengal, the great soldier thus writes :—

“From the little knowledge I have of you, I am convinced that you have not only abilities and personal resolution, but integrity and moderation with regard to riches.” So far Clive was right, no doubt ; but he proceeds oddly enough :—“I thought I discovered in you a diffidence in your own judgment and too great an easiness of disposition which may subject you insensibly to be led when you ought to guide.”

Yet he who made this diagnosis was no common man ; and it may be that he did in truth hit on some natural peculiarity of disposition which Hastings was so determined to conquer that he ended in running into the opposite extreme.

Certainly he did not, in his after career, err in the direction of diffidence or readiness to be led. Mr. Beveridge, we fancy, looks on both parts of Clive's portraiture as equally unsound : for he inclines to believe the accusations afterwards brought against Mr. Hastings in regard to taking gratifications from natives of the country. But there are so many facts pointing the other way that it seems neither safe nor generous to accept such charges against such a man on the allegation of him whom Mr. Beveridge himself calls “the swamp-bred serpent Nandkumar.” When Hastings first retired in 1765, he did so as a poor man. Captain Trotter says “of the moderate fortune which he had scraped together not a rupee appears to have been obtained by methods alien from the moral standards of our own time. While men like Clive and Vansittart were making thousands of pounds at one stroke out of the needs or the gratitude of native princes. . . . Hastings seems to have kept his hands clean of all unworthy, or even questionable, gains. As Resident at a native Court, and again as Member of the Calcutta Council, he had many opportunities of securing some of the wealth which flowed steadily into the pockets of his less scrupulous colleagues. . . . But his proud self-respect, or his native honesty, rose above temptations by which Macaulay, in this case, has set too little store” ; and he had in two years to seek for re-employment, which he obtained through Clive's recommendation.

So much for the first period, during which indeed the taking of money from the natives was not only not unusual, but was not even illegal.* As for his fortune on his second return to England after having been Governor-General for twelve years, we know that he took home £80,000 ; less than has been accumulated, we sus-

* It was forbidden by Act of Parliament in 1773 ; Mr. Beveridge says it had been foregone in the Covenants since 1764.

pect, in modern times, by many a civilian still living. And we learn from Mustafá, the translator of the *Siyar ul Mutakharin*, that, while in office in India, Mr. Hastings indulged in no habits of personal extravagance, such as might have made an inroad into a salary of £25,000 a year. If he took money besides, what on earth became of it?

The fact seems to be that people cannot get Burke and Macaulay out of their minds. Mr. Beveridge says of Nandkumar's charges against Hastings, that one is struck with the reflection that there must be some truth in charges so numerous and minute. He adds that by far the most important point, in the famous letter where those charges were embodied, is the mention of Mohan Prasád, the man who "afterwards prosecuted Nandkumar and got him hanged." But an astute intriguer is perfectly aware of the prestige of charges "numerous and minute"; and such men never fail to give dates and places, and to tutor their witnesses accordingly. As to Mohan Prasád, it was in the Mayor's Court, years before all this trouble, that he had prosecuted Nandkumár. And for Nunkumár, writing in March 1775, to name this man as enjoying the favour of the Governor, was an obvious piece of what the natives call *peshbandi* in regard to a man whose accusation was thus hanging over the head of the writer of the letter. Nundkumár was then probably well aware that, when the records of the Mayor's Court had been handed over to the new Supreme Court, the judges had returned the forged deed to him. (Trotter, p. 187). The utmost that can be fairly conceded is that Mohan Prasád selected his opportunity for renewing his attack on so influential a man when he saw that he had incurred the displeasure of the Governor-General. Even this is merely conjecture. That Hastings, on one occasion, allowed his travelling-expenses to be paid by a person interested in his journey, is no doubt true, and Hastings never denied it. But he added that he must otherwise have charged them to the East India Company; and the explanation, read in the light of other facts, is sufficient. No other case of the kind was ever brought home to him.

The general charges of oppression, framed by Burke and Sheridan on the information of Francis, were dropped or condoned by the tribunal and by public opinion. Seldom has a man been pursued with more rancour, never has a man so pursued escaped so triumphant. Macaulay, it is true, demurs to the acquittal, as not admissible at the bar of History. But Macaulay was swayed, as Captain Trotter shows, by admiration for Burke. "Had Burke and Fox been Tories, instead of Whigs, it is very probable that Macaulay would have done more justice to the moral worth of" the great Pro-consul. Moreover it should not be forgotten that

Macaulay was partly of Celtic blood : and there is surely something in the temperament of a man who writes that Impey was a second Jeffries and that Hastings murdered Nandkumár by his instrumentality, congenial to the temperament of the orator who raved against his victim in the hysterical way recorded by Captain Trotter (306-7). Nandkumár, as is now notorious, was found guilty by a Jury, sentenced by a Full Bench, and left to be executed without any attempt in his favour being made by his patrons in the council.

The reason of Hastings' misfortunes was that he had retired from the service in 1765 heartily disgusted with the men and manners that it displayed : on returning to Bengal as Governor, some years later, he set himself the task of a new Hercules ; and the Civil Service—as then constituted—was one of the monsters against which he contended. Writing at the time, he said, of the powers with which he was vested in this behalf, that they "tended to destroy every other that I am possessed of by arming my hand against every man, and every man's—of course—against me." In short he incurred the hostility of a close corporation with vested interests, and he had to bear the consequences. Even Shore, afterwards Governor-General himself, joined the new Councilors in Opposition ; and Francis wrote minutes mainly founded on information supplied by that able official.

In 1774 the "boy-collectors" were entirely cashiered, and their places made over to native officers, acting under the Board in Calcutta, and controlled by the inspection of six British Commissioners of Division. In this policy Hastings laid down the lines which are still, after the lapse of more than a hundred years, being but slowly worked out. But it may be imagined that he did not help to bridge the chasm which already divided him from the conventional civilianism of his day.

A digest of Hindu and Mohamedan law followed, accompanied by a reform of the police, and a determined onslaught upon brigandage and gang robbery, in the course of which the troops had to be employed and two British officers lost their lives : so numerous and well organised were these banditti. The Bhutanese were conquered and a mission sent to Thibet ; and the famous year 1773 saw Hastings still ruling, strong but beneficent, over a reviving realm.

The first important occurrence of that year in which Hastings was concerned, was the conquest of Rohilkhand by the Nawab of Oudh, effected by the aid of British troops. It is not necessary here to enter into all the discussions to which this event led. It is enough to say that Captain Trotter, who has devoted several pages to the arguments for and against the course adopted by Mr. Hastings,

comes to the conclusion that it is one of the few passages in his career on which no impartial critic can look back with complacency. It is as well, however, to remember that the affair was intimately connected with the safety of the British power in India, and was afterwards completely condoned, on that account, by being dropped out of the charges against Hastings even in the very height and fury of his impeachment. It was not the letting out of disciplined cut-throats against an unoffending people, but the aiding of a useful ally against a common enemy. If we have alluded to it at so much length, it is only because it forms the first and heaviest of the accusations that will be brought against Hastings hereafter.

The account of the trial in Westminster Hall, 1788-95, is given but briefly. In this Captain Trotter has shown tact and judgment. Not only has the rich rhetoric of Macaulay so taken the public mind in this respect, but the trial, now that one looks back upon it, seems but a waste of power, and little better than *brutum fulmen*. Hastings was acquitted on the 23rd April 1795, by a majority of of 18 votes in a house of 29. He had spent £70,000 in law costs; and he left the Hall, not knowing whence he could defray the money for the weekly bills of his household.

The Court of Directors, however, paid his debts and granted him an annuity. He lived in the home of his fathers in the enjoyment of moderate means and general respect and honour. Happy in his family-life, blest with the healthy and serene old age, which is the appropriate reward of a pure and temperate manhood, farming and writing little poems, studying Malthus and welcoming the rising genius of Walter Scott, the aged statesman glided softly into euthanasia and immortality. He died without pain on the 22nd August 1818, in his 86th year. His last act was to lay his silken handkerchief over his face, in order to spare the bye-standers from seeing the coming change. Of the regard of his contemporaries Captain Trotter gives many valuable instances. Much as the Civilians had once opposed him, he lived to see Shore (Lord Teignmouth) his warm admirer. At the time of the impeachment Lord Teignmouth wrote thus:—"Mr. Burke is mad, Mr. Francis malicious and revengeful. Madness and malice are beyond the operations of reason." "By the ablest members of his own service" says Captain Trotter, "Hastings was loved and served with devotion. . . One of these was the wise and good Augustus Cleveland, for whose premature grave the pen of Hastings supplied the inscription. Pitt praised him; so did Thurlow. After his acquittal, addresses were forwarded by all classes of people in India. The British Government made him a Privy Councillor, and the Prince

Regent promised a peerage ; but broke his promise. Sheridan, the second most eloquent and violent of his accusers, apologized for his conduct and sought a reconciliation. The House of Parliament, before which he had knelt as a criminal, twice received him standing, and allowed him the unusual privilege of a seat while he addressed them as a witness.

These things justify the labour that Captain Trotter has bestowed upon his valuable work, which can only be blamed on the score of brevity. In the next edition—and it is to be hoped that one will soon be called for—the author should expand his treatment, especially as to the earlier parts. For this he will find ample means in Mr. Beveridge's two articles, and in the materials upon which they are based.

H. G. K.

A History of Travancore from the earliest Times. By P. Shungoonny Menon, Dewan Peishcar of Travancore. With many Illustrations. Madras: Higginbotham and Co. 1878.

IT is not at all an easy matter to do justice to this singular work. While displaying industrious research of a certain kind, it is one of the most extraordinary anachronisms in the shape of book-making that it has ever been our fortune to come across. "Travancore," the author tells us in his preface, "is perhaps the only kingdom in India which preserves its original caste, religion, customs, manners, institutions, &c., &c., and the compiler of the Travancore records is perfectly right in saying that 'Travancore is one of the very few remaining specimens of a pure Hindu Government, the institutions of which have never been affected by the Mahomedan conquest.'"

Travancore, he might have added, can boast the rare merit of possessing a historian who unites to a degree of proficiency in the English language and an acquaintance with English literature which would not disgrace a well educated Briton, a child-like innocence of the critical spirit which would do credit to a Hindu Chronicler of the days when the British Isles were inhabited by naked savages.

A fair idea of the author's point of view may be formed from the opening sentence of his first chapter, in which he tells his readers that "the present dynasty of Travancore is one of the most ancient of India, the period assigned to its origin being the beginning of the world." "For such information," he tells us further on, "as is pre-historical we are obliged to depend upon the Puranas alone, though many are of opinion that these are not trustworthy. Indeed, the descriptions of

things and deeds narrated in the Puranas are certainly open to such criticism, but as we do not hesitate to place credence on the Bible, the Koran and such writings, conveying to us religious instructions and Divine commands, we may generally place our belief in the Puranic accounts, rejecting the exaggerations and such fictitious descriptions as the authors of the Puranas may have added to embellish their works."

Conducting his enquiries on this principle, carried out in a spirit of convenient liberality, he finds no difficulty in giving us a pretty copious account of the history of Travancore, illustrated with portraits of its sovereigns, in the most remote times. The tone of this part of the history is one of general panegyric. "Most of the Travancore kings have ruled the country with wisdom and valour, surmounting all oppositions both from the feudatory chiefs and from foreign invaders, and governing the kingdom satisfactorily. Though there are no details of the reigns of some sovereigns on record, yet it may be stated without fear of contradiction, that the sovereigns of Travancore have been generally gifted with wisdom and a high sense of duty, and that almost without exception, their mental culture has been of the highest order. Almost all the sovereigns of Travancore are distinguished, more or less, not only for their princely accomplishments, but also for the production of various Sanscrit works on Philosophy, Metaphysics, History, Religion, Music, the Drama, &c., while their governing abilities were and are seldom equalled by the native kings of India. These sovereigns kept pace with other nations in the art of good government, and their wisdom and good principles were known and testified to by several European nations, in the earliest days of their intercourse with India."

Not the least remarkable feature in the book is the illustrations, and of these the frontispiece is the most curious in both conception and execution. It is entitled a Panorama of Travancore, and it is a panorama in a very extraordinary sense, consisting of an arbitrary grouping together of the most remarkable buildings in the kingdom, with typical specimens of the various classes of the population, and the fauna and flora of the country interspersed, and Sreevalumcode, the goddess of prosperity, seated, majestic, in the centre of all. The fauna and flora occupy the foreground, which is traversed by a river, bearing on its bosom the different kinds of boats in use. This part of the picture presents a strikingly millennial aspect, the tiger and the lamb, the leopard and the dog, the pig and the snake, and various other animals herding together, while monkeys climb the trees, or sit on their branches, contemplating the scene below. In the back ground is the sea, with ships and steamers in the offing. One corner of the

picture is devoted to the operations of agriculture, hoeing, ploughing, sowing and reaping going on simultaneously ; and the whole is gorgeously coloured in an appropriate style of art.

The pictures, we are told in the preface, have been mostly taken from the Palace Gallery, and we should think this can have come from no other place.

It must not be supposed, however, from what we have said, that Shungoonny Menon's work is worthless. It abounds with valuable information regarding the institutions of the country, and the account given of its later history bears the impress of trustworthiness.

An Essay on the Systematic Training of the Body. By Charles Henry Schaible, M.D., Ph.D., F.C.P. *A Memorial Essay, published on the Occasion of the First Centenary Festival of Friedrich Ludwig Jahn.* London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill 1878.

THIS little essay, on a much neglected subject, well deserves to be translated into every language of India. It comprises two parts ; the one dealing with the history of gymnastics in ancient and modern times, and the other, with physical education, its neglect, its benefits, and the means favourable to its promotion. The only fault we have to find with it is that it is too brief, and that too large a proportion of the small space occupied by it is devoted to the history, and too small a proportion to the practical exegesis of the subject.

The author is a strong advocate of the systematic training of the gymnasium, by which alone, he maintains, a thorough and duly proportioned development of the entire frame can be attained ; and he shows that, so far from being incompatible with mental and moral development, it is essential to them. The prevailing system of education receives, and no doubt, justly, his unqualified condemnation. He says :—

“ The neglect of the body begins often in the nursery. The tender heart of the mother rarely regards the future physical development of the infant. She cares more for its present wants and wishes, and but too readily assists and encourages sensual desires, through which the child is spoiled, often for life. Fashion, food, and clothing, all tend to promote enervation among the young of the well-to-do classes. All sorts of articles of clothing, gloves, furs, &c., are provided to envelop the little body during inclement weather. Thus the child is brought up, incapable of bearing heat or cold, wind and rain. Instead of accustoming it, at an early age, to endurance in walking, it must be wheeled about in a perambulator.

This pernicious system is frequently continued in schools for children.* At school every possible exertion is expected of the mind, but the body is left to itself. Insufficient time is left for exercise or play. Even in infant-schools we see education pursue this unnatural course. For unnatural, indeed, it is to drag the infant creatures from their cheerful and free life of youth, from the fresh and invigorating air, to crowd them together in the close atmosphere of a room, there to be trained to sit still, and to be crammed with indigestible intellectual food. Parents and teachers take all possible pains to produce, as early as possible, a dangerous polymathy in their children, forgetting that too often the consequence is the early fading of the young plant. In infant-schools, or any schools for children, the development of the tender body of the child should be the first care, and suitable games should furnish the first occupation of the mind. Special bodily exercises, adapted to their age, should accustom them to attention and order. The younger the children, the more unnatural is it to compel them to sit still, keeping the body long in one attitude. The fashion at present is to commence the mental training of children as early as possible. Experience shows, however, that physically healthy and vigorous children soon overtake, in mental work, physically weak ones. It is an acknowledged fact, that to pass long hours on school forms, without change, is the source, especially in the case of lively children, of manifold evils.

In higher educational institutions, where the demands on intellectual activity are far higher than in elementary schools, the mind is still more burdened; and, after the hours devoted to instruction, little time remains for systematic and regular exercises for all, during all seasons and weathers.

What are the consequences of such an unnatural and defective education? A premature and excessive straining of the mind engenders precocity, and thereby moral and physical development is arrested. The entire vital activity is directed to the brain, which thus receives premature and one-sided development. The excessive amount of vital force absorbed by the brain is taken away from the other parts of the body, and an early cessation of growth is the consequence. This produces men unfitted for exertion and the battle of life, who too often, after a sickly life, fall into an untimely grave. Depression of the heart, irritability of the nervous system, weak digestion, rheumatism, consumption, vertigo, curvature of the spine, and a host of other diseases, are increasing among our present generation, in consequence of sedentary habits of life, insufficient exercise, and muscular weakness. Especially do the evil consequences of neglected physical development show themselves in the female sex, among whom bodily exercises are entirely neglected, except in the richer classes. The changes introduced by modern life have a deteriorating influence on the race. Men have left, and are leaving the fields, and the cultivation of the soil, and congregate more and more in towns. In these, hundreds of thousands are chained to the desk, millions to the workshop. It has been proved, it is true, that the average duration of life is now higher than in former times. But this is owing, not to the habits of life, but to the progress of the science of health and of comfort, which now preserves the lives of many who in former times would have succumbed. If we would establish a correct comparison between now and formerly, we must not consider mere longevity, but the proportion of prevalent diseases, the general sanitary state of the community. Many a life is now preserved, in its

* The following remarks do not apply so much to the children of the well-to-do classes, but to those of

other classes, by far the greater majority, and particularly to little girls.

feebleness, from year to year, to transmit, in many cases, the questionable boon of ailing life to a feebler progeny.

The consequences of a too early development of the intellect only, to the neglect of the body, are deplorably manifest also in a moral point of view. There is no doubt that a premature and too rapid intellectual development, taxing especially the memory and imagination, often leads to a life of sensuality, and results in the fading away of many in the prime of life. Weakness of body induces feebleness of will, despondency, irresolution, a tendency to abandon work which does not succeed at the outset; and where there is thus a lack of the conscious independence of freedom, a man is like the reed, bending with the wind; or tossed on the waves of fate, without will and energy, he has no heart to confront danger alone, trusting in his own strength. A too early sedentary existence, a one-sided intellectual education, want of vigorous open air exercise, arrest the development of the senses, and with it also the cultivation of the understanding and the heart. What has been obtained in a short time by super-excitation to mental effort, is soon lost again.

The injurious consequences of such a mode of education are felt in the State and the Family; in a political, social, and military respect. Many more evil consequences of exclusive mental training might be mentioned. It must not be imagined, however, that I speak of our present intellectual education as excessive. Let us develop the mind in a natural and comprehensive manner, at the right time; but let us aim, at the same time, to establish harmony between mind and body. The power of intellect alone will not suffice us in time of need; intellectual attainments alone will not secure our happiness; we must also have health, strength, bodily skill, and firmness of will.

We need a change in our system of domestic and school education. Out of school-hours our youth should be led to the gymnasium, there to develop their physical powers, to renew their spirits, and arouse their youthful ardour in methodical exercises and games.

Every philanthropist, and in particular every teacher of youth, should therefore lend his helping hand to bring about the revival of the Gymnastic Art, the invigorator of youth, the dispenser of health. Gymnastics reinstate the human body in its rights; they strengthen the chest, harden the muscles, give wings to the feet, cause the blood to course in livelier flow through the veins, and maintain and diffuse a youthful vigour over all the ages of man's life."

The chapter on the effects of bodily training on physical, intellectual and moral development is admirable, and should be read by all.

Oxford: its Social and Intellectual Life. With Remarks and Hints on Expenses, the Examinations, the Selection of Books, etc. By Algernon M. M. Stedman, B. A. Wadham College, Oxon. London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, 1878.

TO a large and increasing class of intending under-graduates and freshmen Mr. Stedman's Guide-book to Oxford will prove a great boon. In it they will find almost every thing they require to know regarding the rules and conditions of Matriculation and Residence at the different Colleges, the necessary expenses of an Oxford career, under the various heads of fees,

living and tuition, and the general character of the examinations. There is much, of course, especially in connexion with the examinations and the best course of reading to adopt in preparing for them, regarding which no prudent under-graduate will be content to depend upon the cut and dried information which it is alone possible to give in even the best book, and for which they had much better consult the best coaches on the spot; and there is much too, in connexion with University life, which they can hope to learn by experience alone. Still the great majority of intending under-graduates will be distinct gainers by a perusal of what Mr. Stedman has to say on these subjects. He has brought great experience to the task he has undertaken, and his advice, if it sometimes assumes a degree of ignorance, or simplicity, on the part of his readers, which may raise a smile on the faces of men from the great public schools, is for the most part both pertinent and judicious. The chapters on the social, intellectual and religious life of Oxford are written in a tone of great liberality and manliness.

As a fair specimen of the author's style and mode of looking at things, one may quote the following passage:—

"What we have said above has reference chiefly, of course, to the higher aims of the University life. But there are a larger number of men who come up to Oxford with the fixed and avowed intention of eschewing honours, whose object is to gain a "tone," an acquaintance with the world, to knock about a little, and shake off some of that *gaucherie* which is so often the inseparable companion of a young man. And certainly for this end they can choose no more convenient and effective means than an Oxford career. There they will meet, as daily companions, other young men generally well-educated, well-mannered and well-bred, many of whom are here for the very same purpose—to improve themselves. A high standard of intellectual excellence is not to be expected from them; their conversation is not particularly pointed, epigrammatic, or eloquent; their ideas and thoughts may not be very delicate, or their aims very lofty; they are simply fair specimens of honest, good-hearted, pleasure-loving young Englishmen. Usually they entertain a profound reverence for the ancient institutions of their country, and for those religious views which are their hereditary possession. Their sanguine dispositions are as yet tempered by none of the sober feelings of later years; everything to them is an opportunity for enjoyment; the present is happy, the future does not frown upon them. The few inconveniences they encounter, examinations, or duns, are an incubus easily flung aside; happy in the possession of health, of money, and of congenial companions they drain the cup of pleasure to the dregs, leave the future to take care of itself, and devote themselves to those occupations which life affords in such variety and abundance.

"Sapias, vina liques, et spatio brevi
Spem longam reseces. Dum loquimur, fugerit invida
Ætas: carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero."*

The shyness and bashfulness which mark most young men in the middle period between leaving School and entering the University or some profession,

* Horace, Odes I. xi. 6.

and which are generally exhibited in the presence of their elders, or of ladies, are traits which, while they are the proper adjuncts of this period of life, should never be allowed to become engraved in the character, and can only be lost by association with many and different men. And this opportunity is afforded by Oxford, where the freshman will be ever meeting men of various tastes and characters, with whom he will stand upon a footing of equality and with whose different dispositions and bents of mind he will gain an appreciative acquaintance. In such a large circle he will learn to hold his own in the conversation which goes on around him, and to take no inferior part in the wordy war of badinage and repartee. He will insensibly put off that *mauvaise honte* of which he is so conscious, but which he finds so difficult to divorce; and will acquire a self-possession and equability which, even if they were the sole fruits, would go far to justify an Oxford training. On the other hand, to a man of an exclusive, narrow, or conceited mind, Oxford supplies a valuable corrective. The man who, lord of his own small sphere, is accustomed to consider himself mentally or physically superior to the generality of mankind, will quickly find in Oxford that all the virtues are not concentrated in his single person alone; that he may be great at a school, or second to none in a small town: but that among two thousand under-graduates his knowledge is but moderate, and held of small account, and his athletic feats are not at all above the average and excite no rapturous applause. He who judges everything from his own narrow creed, and condemns the slightest infraction in others of his own code of morality, will find that a rigid and proud austerity is not the only excellence, and that his adoption of the office of *ensor morum* is held to be an impertinence. He may learn to mistrust somewhat his own infallibility, to remit somewhat of his harsh imputation of motives, to understand that a wide and catholic charity is better than a narrow, ignorant, and conceited egoism; in fine to remove himself in some degree from that hateful character, a "prig."

Again, the virtual independence enjoyed by an Oxford student is, while certainly offering temptation, a valuable preparation for after-life. When a man sees that he has only himself to rely upon, and that in the world of Oxford he is alone, the sole arbiter of his career, he will, unless sadly deficient in wits, quickly find a way to defend himself against the loss of his opportunities, and the incursions of those who are every ready to prey upon the unwary. And such experience is certainly one of the most important advantages of an Oxford career. At School, where everything is methodised, and definite duties are assigned for every hour of the day, nothing is left to the boy to decide for himself, save whether he shall apply himself to his work. On the other hand, at Oxford, except in the case of a few lectures and some minor regulations, the student is master of his own time, and may exercise his discretion in the choice of everything. No doubt this liberty is often abused, and especially during the first year of his career an under-graduate is unable to restrain himself while he has possession of such unwonted freedom. But he will soon see that wise use is far more profitable to himself than reckless misapplication of his good fortune, and will learn to enjoy with moderation the opportunities allowed. In every part of Oxford life he will be obliged to use this discretion, and more especially of course with regard to his expenses. It is here that he is most likely to fail, and such failure is not confined to Oxford men. Every one knows that want of method in financial matters is the characteristic of a large proportion of men, both young and old. If any thing is to cure this negligence, it is surely the wisdom learned from experience, which is offered in perfection at Oxford. Every temptation which may lead a man into extravagance is here placed before him; alluring shops, beautiful objects to tempt the

eye, with insinuating tradesman to recommend them. Moreover, there is that spirit of rivalry, that desire to equal or excel, which leads young men to travel beyond their means in the endeavour to keep up with their fellows. Where the incentives to extravagance are so many, it is only natural that extravagance should be common. And that such is the case at Oxford, we must confess. Here, then, if anywhere, a man will learn the wisdom of experience. It may be said that wisdom gained thus is expensive, and scarcely worth the outlay. But we believe that, expensive though it be, it will be the means of strengthening a man's character in a wonderful degree, and of imparting that moral courage which is so necessary and so rare. If his allowance is not to be exceeded, he will soon understand that his wishes cannot all be gratified, and will be obliged to impose upon himself habits of self-denial which will be useful to him ever after."

The information contained in the chapter on the expenses of Oxford life will enable men with limited means to decide with some confidence upon the possibility or otherwise of their availing themselves of the advantages of a University career.

After reviewing, item by item, the various heads of expenditure, Mr. Stedman thus tabulates the result :—

Expenses upon Entrance.

		£.	s.	p.	
Caution Money	...	...	30	0	0 (returned)
Admission Fee	...	...	5	0	0
Matriculation Fee	...	...	2	10	0
Purchase of Furniture	...	...	30	0	0 (returned)
Minor Expenses	...	...	8	0	0
		<hr/>			
		£75 10 0			

Annual Expenses.

		£.	s.	d.	
Average Battels	...	...	99	0	0 { General Estimate
Tailor	...	...	25	0	0
Grocer	...	...	7	10	0
Wine	...	...	15	0	0
Bookseller	...	...	4	0	0
Washing	...	...	5	0	0
Scouts' "Tips"	...	...	5	0	0
College Subscriptions	...	...	3	0	0
Union	...	...	3	15	0
Salter's	...	...	3	3	0
Travelling Expenses	...	...	6	0	0
Bootmaker	...	...	3	0	0
Various Small Bills	...	...	15	0	0
Ready Money	...	...	25	0	0
		<hr/>			
		£219 8 0			

"With regard to the Entrance expenses, if the furniture be hired from the College, a deduction of 30*l.* may be made, but in that case 8*l.* or 9*l.* a year must be added as the cost of hire to the Battels. From the foregoing table it may be seen that 220*l.* a year will maintain a young man at Oxford in comfort, and with the addition of a few luxuries. No

doubt the amount of several of the items may be diminished: 5*l.* may be taken off the wine bill, 5*l.* off the ready money, and 5*l.* off the Tailor's bill. The total may perhaps be lessened by 20*l.* with the exercise of some self-denial and a gentlemanly appearance still maintained. Less than 200*l.* will hardly be sufficient. At most colleges, after the end of his third year, the under-graduate no longer pays tuition fees, and above 20*l.* is thus to be deducted from his annual expenses. At the same period, too, men are generally obliged to go into lodgings, and are in that case no longer charged with the whole amount of Establishment Expenses, which are lessened by about 10*l.* But though this and a few other items are saved by going into lodgings, we do not think the plan is on the whole an economical one; often in fact it adds to the annual expenses. It is impossible to procure decent lodgings under 16*s.* or 17*s.* a week, and the extras often amount to 5*s.* more. Generally the food in lodgings is much dearer than in College and certainly not so good. There are other disadvantages also; for instance, there are no men-servant in lodgings, and the slatternly maid-servants are, but a sorry substitute for the ready and generally useful scout. So that we should advise men to remain in College as long as possible, even if they are obliged to be content with somewhat inferior rooms. They sometimes are allowed a choice, unless the College is full, and we recommend them to remain inside the walls, not to prefer the visionary liberty of residence in lodgings.

We have seen that generally after his third year, the student reduces his expenses by over 20*l.* In some colleges this is 30*l.*; and sometimes as much as 40*l.* Moreover, the union subscriptions are only paid for three years; and this represents a saving of 3*l.* 15*s.*; but, as we said, often this is neutralised by the extra expenses of lodgings; and we shall not be far from the truth in placing the students expenses in his fourth year at not less than 180*l.* It must be distinctly understood that the estimate we have given allows for no extravagances on the one hand, and no pinching on the other. We do not pretend to write here for the man who will live on 150*l.* a year; while if the student has any expensive tastes the amount we have given may be easily swelled to 250*l.* or 300*l.* 200*l.* a year will support a man quietly as a gentleman, but no more. If he be fond of dress, books, horses; if he has many friends and entertains much, he should certainly have at least 300*l.* a year.

Thus, then, if the student resides three years and a half, the cost of his maintenance will probably be 700*l.* at the least; if he resides four years another 100*l.* may be added, and another year may increase this by 180*l.* Very few men, however, continue to reside after four years. Pass men often take their degree in three years, or three years and a half.

To these expenses must be added, the various University Fees for examinations and degrees. The former amount to about 4*l.*; the B. A. Fee is 7*l.* 10*s.*, The M. R. Fee 12*l.* There are also the various College fees for degrees, which vary very much, and range up to 10*l.*

In conclusion, if the cost of a man's career from his matriculation to his M. A. cost him no more than 850*l.* as a Pass Man, or 950*l.* as an Honour Man, he may certainly be congratulated on the result."

The chapters regarding the best course of reading to be pursued for the various examinations are very full; but students will do well to verify on the spot the information contained in them. The advice given regarding methods of study, and the style to be adopted in answering examination papers, is excellent.

A Sketch of the Modern Languages of the East Indies. Accompanied by Two Language-Maps. By Robert N. Cust. Late of Her Majesty's Indian Civil Service, and Honorary Librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society. London: Trübner and Co. Ludgate Hill, 1878.

A FAIR idea of the scope of this excellent Thesaurus of Indian Glossology may be obtained from the paper on Indian languages published in the *Calcutta Review* for October last. Of the circumstances under which it was written the following account is given by the author in his preface:—

"I left India abruptly in 1867 under the pressure of heavy domestic affliction, a few months before my term of service was completed, and I had done my day's work. When, after a year of darkness, I found myself restored to my usual physical and intellectual vigour, my first thought was, 'What can I do for India?'"

I was commissioned to draft a Land-Revenue-Code for the North-West Provinces, and, when that work was done, I applied for employment, as Assistant Secretary in the Revenue and Judicial Department of the India Office, which happened to fall vacant. There were, however, so many gentlemen to be provided for, who had never seen India, nor knew the difference between a "Jâgir" and a "Jhagrâ," a "fusul" and a "faisala," that I had to fold up in a napkin my experience of a quarter of a century from the lowest to the highest grade in both Departments, and look about me for something else to do. The prospect was not encouraging. Some of my contemporaries had taken to brewing beer; another had patented a machine for blacking shoes with a rotatory brush; a third was out in Egypt managing the private estates of the Khedive; a fourth was Director of a Bank and Treasurer to a Hospital; a fifth was being yelled at in the House of Commons; a sixth was trying petty cases as a Justice of the Peace. All old Indians must do something. So I turned back to my old love, before I went to India, and took up the skein, where I dropped it in 1842, of Language.

My stock-in-trade was a good knowledge of twelve Languages, six European, six Asiatic, a good memory, and a great passion for the study. I began by making a general and superficial survey of the whole subject of our existing knowledge, from Chinese to Anglo-Saxon, from Assyrian and Accadian to Finnic and Basque, and was astonished at the progress that had been made, the number of subjects, the number of workers, the number of books published, the extraordinary energy, interest, and acumen displayed, the number of controversies which were raging, and the bitterness displayed by scholars towards each other.

This survey, summary as it was, occupied me three years, and I then desired to find some more particular and specific study in one corner of the subject; and again the old feeling rose within me—"What can I do for India?"

In no department of the great Science of Language had greater progress been made than in that of the Languages of the East Indies. I feel ashamed now at my gross ignorance of the subject, when I left India. In fact, as a highly-paid public officer, I had been for twenty-five years foolishly devoting all my energies and leisure to the discharge of the duties for which I was paid, and had thought of nothing beyond advancing the public service. As it proved, it would have been more prudent to have dabbled in linguistic and archæological studies, served out my time, and secured the pension,

which from ill-health and overtaxed energies I had forfeited. However, I found, that the information with regard to the Languages of the East Indies was scattered in a great many volumes and serials, so I first consolidated it for my own use, and now publish it, under the idea, that I am still doing something for India.

As a manual of the classical, as distinguished from the structural, philology of the languages of the East Indies, in the more extended sense of the expression, it is the only approach to a complete work that has yet been given to the world, and it may fairly be said to embody whatever of existing knowledge was consistent with the author's object, of presenting the student with a bird's-eye view of the distribution and affinities of the five hundred and thirty-nine Languages and Dialects spoken within the area indicated. The author thus describes the plan on which he has proceeded :—

I propose to notice briefly each Family collectively, and then each language in that Family separately. In dealing with the great and renowned Vernaculars, it would be mere waste of time and impertinence to say much, as a reference to Beames and Caldwell is sufficient. On the other hand, some of the savage languages are but linguistic expressions, are represented by a brief, though genuine Vocabulary, and a tolerably accurate approximate localisation. Under these circumstances, much cannot be said of them. Between these two extremes there is opportunity to throw together all that is known of the boundaries, the number, and religion of the population, the number of Dialects, the Character, the nature of Literature, if any, the linguistic provision made for the study of the Language, and the chance of its survival in the struggle for existence. Notice is made of the existence, or not, of translations of the Bible, or any portion, as one great incidental advantage of one book having been rendered into all Languages is the extraordinary facility thus supplied of inter-comparison and contrast of the genius, the structure, the vocabulary, the phonetic laws, and the syntax of each Language with those of other Dialects, Languages, and Families on a large scale, from texts prepared without any idea of the purpose to which they are to be applied. Besides, the easiest way of acquiring a Language is by picking out the meaning of a Gospel with the help of a Dictionary, and compelling the linguistic conscience to resolve an unintelligible group of words into that meaning which memory has already supplied. No attempt is made to describe the Literature of a great Language: the book is meant to meet the requirements of a linguist, and not a philologist in the ordinary sense. The most interesting Languages are those which, like the Sonthál, have no Literature, and yet have developed a machinery of expression of time and mood, which a Greek might have envied. As we pass down into the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and the Indian Archipelago, the description of the Languages is fuller, because the subject is less familiar to ordinary readers, and the books of reference not so readily available. It is no part of my plan to supply Vocabularies or Grammatical Notices, or to enter into linguistic discussions, or to take more than a passing notice of any of the great controversies, ethnological, morphological, grammatical, and palæographical, with which the subject bristles.

Of the immense labour involved in such an undertaking no one who has not worked in the same field can form an adequate idea.

Not only has every published authority of importance had to be consulted, but Mr. Cust has carried on an active correspondence with distinguished scholars in every part of the field, from Peshawar to Bangkok and Batavia, besides spending some time in Leyden to investigate the languages of the Dutch Colonies in the Indian Archipelago.

Two splendid Language-maps accompany the text ; and, in appendices, we have a most valuable table of languages and dialects ; a list of authorities on each language ; an alphabetical index of languages, dialects and peculiar characters ; another of subjects, authors' books and places ; a list of Oriental serials and books connected with the subject, and a list of translations of the Bible in the languages dealt with.

Mr. Cust modestly tells us that his book is essentially a compilation. But there are compilations and compilations ; and this is one which embodies a very large amount of intellectual work of a high order. We venture to predict that it will become, and long remain, the recognised text book for students of the subject, and we hope to see it introduced as such into our universities.

Recollections of Alexander Duff, D.D. LL.D., and of the Mission College which he founded in Calcutta. By the Rev. Lal Behari Dey, author of "*Govinda Samanta* ;" Professor in Government College, Hooghly ; Fellow of the University of Calcutta. London : T. Nelson and Sons, Paternoster Row ; Edinburgh and New York. 1879.

THIS is a deeply interesting little volume, charmingly written in the purest of English ; equally admirable in what it professes to be, and is, and in much that it is, without professing to be. With the recollections of the great Scotch Missionary and of the noble educational institution founded by him, which its title leads us to expect, are combined other recollections, of the home life and social surroundings of its author. And the latter, to our thinking, while not less instructive, are more fascinating, than the former. Others will, doubtless, give us a more complete, though they can scarcely give us a better written, life of Dr. Duff ; but for some of the most picturesque touches in the Rev. Lal Behari Dey's book we might have looked in vain to any other quarter. Free from all trait of unworthy egotism, they possess a high and permanent value altogether independent of any personal interest that may attach to them. They are treasures rescued from a past which the tide of oblivion has already invaded, and which it threatens presently to engulf.

It would be quite impossible, in the space at our disposal, to review the "Recollections" worthily; for they contain hardly a page that is not pregnant with valuable information or suggestive reflection.

The following passage, descriptive of the circumstances under which the author was sent to commence his studies at the General Assembly's Institution, and of his departure from home, will convey a fair idea of the flavour of the book and of the excellent spirit in which it is written:—

"When I was nine years old my father, in his letters, often dwelt on the necessity of taking me to Calcutta to give me an English education. As I was always present when the letters were read to my mother, I remember the arguments he made use of to induce her to let me go to Calcutta. A knowledge of English, he said, was necessary to enable a man to earn a competence in life. People ignorant of English no doubt got berths, but berths to which only paltry salaries were attached. He felt his own want of English every day, and was therefore resolved to remedy that defect in the education of his son. He did not wish to give me what is called High Education,—that he considered to be useless; for, in his opinion, real wisdom was not to be found within the range of English literature, it being confined to the Sanskrit alone, which is the language of the gods. But for secular purposes, for gaining a decent livelihood, a knowledge of the English language was absolutely necessary, as that was the language of the rulers of the land. My mother was intelligent enough to feel the force of these arguments, but her feelings struggled against her judgment. She could not be persuaded for a long time to part with me. My father wrote again, and again, and in each letter dwelt on the necessity of my going to Calcutta. My mother was obliged, at last, with a heavy heart to submit to my father's decision. As my father was a religious man, he directed that the family priest and the village astrologer should be consulted for the fixing of an auspicious day on which I should start on my journey, and that I should leave the house after the celebration of religious solemnities.

The family priest and the astrologer came one day to our house. My horoscope was spread out before them. They then plunged into abstruse calculations, an iota of which I did not then understand, and shall never understand. They fixed not only the auspicious day, but the auspicious hour on which I should start on my journey. The time they determined upon was an hour and a half before sunrise. The family priest, addressing me, said, "Bábá (son), the hour for starting on your journey is splendidly auspicious. The sun, moon, stars, planets, are all propitious. The gods will bless you, and Madan Mohan"—the name of our tutelary god, who was worshipped twice a day in our house by the family priest, and whose image was kept in a separate room for the purpose—"Madan Mohan will befriend you." The astrologer addressing my mother, said, "Mother, it is the most auspicious day I have ever calculated. Your son will be a learned and rich man. The gods bless him!" My mother said, in a mournful voice, "I do not want my son to be either learned or rich. Give your benedictions that he may be spared to me." The day before the auspicious morn my mother spent in sighing and weeping. Three of my aunts who lived in adjacent houses, often came and reasoned with my mother, alleging that weeping at such a time was not proper—indeed, it was ominous. My poor mother did her best to suppress her tears in their presence. That night she had not a wink of sleep. She tossed from one side

of her bed to the other, and every now and then hugged me to her bosom, as I was sleeping in the same bed with her. Two hours before dawn I was awakened by my mother. She had already struck a light and set in order the materials for a religious ceremony. I got up, washed my eyes and face, and put on clean clothes. Half an hour after the family priest knocked at the outer door and was admitted; my three aunts, and other women of the neighbourhood, also came into the house. The family priest sat on a small carpet, and I sat on another opposite him, my mother and the other women all standing. The priest uttered several prayers, not a syllable of which, of course, did I understand. I had only to bow down, touching the ground with my forehead. The priest dipped his finger into some curds, and touched that part of my forehead between the eyebrows; after which he stood up and walked out of the room, directing me to follow him, and repeating the wordes, "Sri Hari! Sri Hari! Sri Hari!" Meaning, Glory to Hari, or the god Krishna. After leaving the room, I was told to bow down at the feet of my mother. I next proceeded to the door of the room in which resided Madan Mohan, the family god, and I bowed myself down. I then left the house, the family priest going before me, and my mother and the other women coming behind. I was told to go on to the outskirts of the village without looking behind; for to look back on starting on a journey is deemed unpropitious. What my poor mother did at the moment I did not see, for I could not look back, but I thought I heard the sound of her weeping, and I afterwards learned that she was carried away by main force from that pathetic scene by my aunts. The family priest led me out of the village to the side of a tank, near which, under a tree, were sitting six or seven people whom I knew, and who also were going to Calcutta. Near them stood the cicerone who was to be the guide of the party. The family priest then went away, after blessing me by putting his hand on my head, and consigning me to the care and protection of the household god. As the stars had not yet disappeared from the heavens, and as it was not safe in those days to travel either very early in the morning or very late in the evening, on account of club-men, skulking about in the fields or in the bushes with a view to waylay travellers, we sat for some time under the tree. The stars, however, began soon to disappear, red streaks became visible in the glowing east, and we all felt that the chariot of the god of day was not much below the horizon. The party therefore rose and began their journey, each repeating the formula, "Sri Hari! Sri Hari! Sri Hari!" Or "Sri Durga! Sri Durga! Sri Durga!" according as he was of the Vaishnava or the Sakta persuasion.

Bengali students of the present day have probably little notion of the difficulties which, for poor youths, beset the pursuit of knowledge in Calcutta fifty years ago. Here is an amusing account of the way in which Lal Behari Dey contrived to overcome them:—

"In the pursuit of knowledge, I laboured under greater difficulties than most of my school-fellows. One difficulty stared me in the face just at the beginning. Not one of those people with whom I lived knew English; I could therefore, get no help from my relatives in getting up my lessons. I know it is the custom in many schools for the master to read to his pupils the lesson for the following day, and to explain any difficulties in it; but that was not the system pursued in the General Assembly's Institution. The master merely told us that our lesson for the following day was to be so many lines, and we were expected to learn it thoroughly at home in the best way we could, and to be ready to be examined upon it. He used to spend the whole of the school-hours in subjecting us to

a severe examination, chiefly in the catechetical form, on the lesson he had set on the previous day. As I was absolutely without assistance, for some time at the commencement I went to school perfectly unprepared. As my master used to rebuke me, and insisted on my learning my lessons at home, and as home gave me no help, I did not know what to do. But it may be asked why I did not go to some boy in the neighbourhood and obtain assistance. The fact is, my father would not hear of any such arrangement. He would not allow me to come much in contact with Calcutta boys, who, he thought, were, for the most part, too clever by half. At last I bethought myself of the following expedient:—One hour, from one o'clock to two, was given to the boys for recreation, which we used to call the *tiffin* hour. Instead of spending this *tiffin* hour in play, like most of my class-fellows, I spent it in getting up my lesson for the next day; and for this purpose I often "button-holed" boys of the higher classes, and asked them the pronunciation or meaning of a word, or the Bengali translation of a sentence. But my chief difficulty in the pursuit of knowledge arose from the state of my father's exchequer. It was never buoyant. Like the Indian treasury, my father's exchequer suffered from chronic deficit. There was this difference, however, between the treasury of the Indian Government and my father's treasury, that whereas in the former there are always on hand cash balances, the cash balances in the latter were always a *minus* quantity. The consequence was that I was hardly able to buy any books, excepting those that were absolutely necessary and very cheap. An English-Bengali dictionary would have considerably diminished my difficulties in learning English, but its price was prohibitory, and I never had such a dictionary in my life. A pocket edition of Johnson's Dictionary I deemed indispensably necessary to the prosecution of my studies. I tried to buy one. But where was the cash to come from? At present a new copy of Johnson's or Webster's Pocket Dictionary can be had for a few pence; but in the days of which I am speaking it could not be had at less than five or six shillings, and that price was to me simply prohibitory. At last, thanks to the kind office of a hawker of books, I bought for a few coppers an old and much soiled copy of Johnson's Pocket Dictionary. I got it cheap because it had one defect. There was wanting nearly the whole of the letter A! Whenever there occurred in my lesson any word beginning with the letter A, I was at sea.

I have alluded in the above to a very useful fraternity called "hawkers of books." There used to be a great many of them in those days. They were all Mohammadans, and went, among school-boys, by the name of *chachas* or uncles. They carried on their backs a heavy load of books, old, second-hand, and new, and they went from door to door. There was one *chacha* to whom I was partial. He was half-witted, and I called him *pagla chacha*, or mad uncle. He was fond of me, as I was amongst the few persons who patronized him. He never had any new book in his bag; he dealt only in old, half-torn, and dilapidated books. He never had a complete set of any work. His bag contained, say, the fifth volume of the *Spectator*, the second volume of Hume's "History of England," the seventh volume of Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," the third volume of Rollin, and the like. People who could afford to buy new books, or complete sets of works, never looked into his bag; but as its contents were in beautiful harmony with the contents of my treasury, *pagla chacha* and I were great friends. By the way, this was the worthy from whom I purchased that precious copy of Johnson's Pocket Dictionary, in which was wanting nearly the whole of the letter A. To this literary purveyor I am somewhat indebted. As I was fond of reading, I used often to buy for a trifle an odd volume of

Hume, Rollin, or Gibbon; but as the state of my finances did not always allow me to lay out sums like four pence or six pence on English literature, I fell upon an expedient. I bought from my "mad uncle" the second volume of the *Spectator*, of an edition complete in eight volumes. After reading it, I requested him to take back the volume, and give me instead an odd volume of some other work, say, Johnson or Robertson. When I finished that volume I returned it to the hawker, and took from him another odd volume of some other work. And, latterly, I exchanged my old school-books for odd volumes of works I had not read. Thus I cultivated English literature on a little oatmeal."

A difficulty more generally felt, but which was perhaps productive of more good than harm, is thus referred to:—

"In the year of grace 1878, the acquisition of English learning in India, at any rate in Bengal, by native youth, has been rendered, so far as external helps are concerned, very easy. There are "Meaning Books" of every class-book used in the country; and there are "Notes," "Annotations," "Paraphrases," and "Keys," without end. But it was different 40 years ago. Then there was not a single "Meaning Book" or "Notes" of a single class-book. I do not say that the youth of the country of the present day are to be congratulated upon the abundance of "Notes" and "Annotations." On the contrary, I think they are much to be pitied. In my opinion, these annotators, commentators, paraphrasts, analysts, note-makers, and key-smiths of school-books, are the greatest pests in the country, and the sooner they are deported to the Andaman Islands the better for the education of the rising generation. These men corrupt our youth. They make them lazy by thinking for them, by freeing them from the labour of search and inquiry, and by looking into the dictionary for them. The result is, that our colleges and schools are, for the most part, filled with intellectual lotus-eaters, who are averse to mental exertion of any sort, and who know not the pains and pleasures of mental exercise, as they readily get knowledge without that exercise. A more pernicious system for ruining the intellect of the youth of the country, and for turning human beings into mere automata, it would be difficult to contrive. In these days of cheap newspapers and cheap postage, learning too has been made cheap. Indeed, so cheap that it is well nigh worthless. In the brave days of old—about forty years ago—when I was a school-boy, we had to rely on our own resources. We had no "Keys," like those manufactured in these days of universal mechanism, wherewith to unlock the treasure-house of knowledge, and no "Abstracts" which contain, hermetically sealed, and within brief compass, the quintessence of all wisdom. In the year of grace 1878, the palace of learning has been already constructed for you. It has been finished and furnished for you. You have only to enter and possess it. It was different in those hard times of old. We had to dig; we had to clear the rubbish; we had to collect the bricks—or rather make the bricks, and often without straw being given to us; we had to cut wood and draw water, like intellectual Gibeonites; we had to build laboriously, day after day, and month after month,—and then at last, after several years' unceasing labour, did the building rear its head. The former method is by far the pleasanter of the two; but whether it be as healthy and useful as it is pleasant may well be doubted."

Here is an episode of Bengali school life which might find a parallel in many an English public school:—

"The year 1837 was the most unfortunate year of my school life. It was the only year in which I was not the dux of my class. My academic life extended over twelve years, during eleven of which I was the dux of my class,

and during three of which I was the dux of the Institution. But in the inauspicious year 1837,—a year in which to use the language of astrology, the planet Saturn shed its baleful influence on my destinies,—I stood only second in my class. Some of my friends attributed this falling off to the extra promotion of which I have spoken; but I suspect they were wrong, for they did not know the tremendous difficulties with which I was in that year beset. Some of my difficulties, no doubt, arose from my promotion. The day I was promoted to the fifth class, some of the students of that class went up to Mr. Ewart, expressed their unwillingness to read in the same class with one who was so much their junior, and begged to be promoted to the fourth class. Mr. Ewart did not promote them, as he did not think them fit. From that time they conceived a violent hatred against me. They persecuted me in all sorts of ways. They went so far as to beat me in the street after school; and often did I go home all the way weeping. A few of my class-fellows felt for me, but they durst not express their sympathy, far less interpose on my behalf, as the majority were against me. I had sense enough not to complain to the teacher of the class, for if I had complained, I should have fared ten times worse than I did. There was one school-fellow of mine who did his best to protect me. He was a tall, strong built Mohammadan youth, two or three classes below me, who lived in the same street with me, and whom I assisted every day in getting up his lesson. As he was more than a match for two or three Bengali boys, he very often succeeded in driving away my persecutors, though sometimes both he and I were beaten. Larzim Mandal—for that was the name of my protector—was to me more than a brother. Not only did he protect me from the hands of my persecutors, but sometimes of an afternoon in the rainy season, when some parts of the road leading from the Institution to my house were, owing to the imperfect system of drainage in those days, under water, which came up to my waist, he actually took me up in his arms and ferried me across the street flood, but though defended in the street by my generous friend, I was subjected to innumerable little persecutions in the school-room. It is extremely hazardous, says a Bengali proverb, for a fish to remain in the same tank with an alligator with whom the fish is not on good terms. At least I bethought myself of making a desperate attempt to make friends of my tormentors. One Sunday morning I went to the house of the chief of the conspirators, a lad who was much older than I, and nearly double my size, and who exercised very great influence in the class. I told him that it was unworthy of him to persecute a boy whose only crime was that he had got promotion, and I appealed to him to consider whether his conduct towards me was generous. The appeal was successful. He swore eternal friendship with me. From the following day my class-fellows not only ceased to torment me, but became very friendly towards me. I soon found, however, that I had escaped from the frying-pan only to fall into the fire. A few weeks close intercourse with my late persecutors showed me that they were a most vicious set, and that they wanted me to go along with them to perdition. They smoked hemp. They visited houses of ill-fame. I was shocked. My father, who was a sincerely religious man according to his own ideas of religion, had brought me up in the strictest principles of morality. He had sedulously kept me after school-hours from companionship with Calcutta boys, of whose morals he had, justly or unjustly, a very low opinion. I was as “green” and innocent a boy as any one of my age could well be. They tried to ruin me. Day after day, week after week, they beset me with temptations. But God preserved me from their evil ways. I broke off from them; and as I had by that time gained some influence in the class, the majority of whom were of good character, I managed to turn the public opinion of the class against these exceptionally vicious boys.”

A generous tribute to the fidelity of a Hindu woman-servant must end our extracts :—

"I have said before that after my father's death I should never have been able to carry on my English education but for the assistance rendered to me by my cousin. I lived in his house and attended the General Assembly's Institution. And here I can hardly help saying a few words about my cousin's cook, a woman to whom I was not a little indebted, and whose singular appearance and character attracted the notice of every one that saw her. Though I lived some six years in the house in which the cook served, I never knew her by any other name than that of Kunjo's mother; indeed, I do not believe that her master, my cousin, knew her proper name. This may appear strange to the English reader, but the Bengali reader knows that the names of women are usually unknown to the other sex; and though menial women-servants are often called by their proper names, it is to be remembered that Kunjo's mother, though a cook, was not exactly a menial. She belonged to the same caste as her master; and it was only on account of her poverty and her helplessness that she had taken charge of another man's kitchen. What this Kunjo, after whom the woman was called, was, I never heard. All that I knew was, that Kunjo was not alive, and that his mother had no relatives. Kunjo's mother was one of the most pitiable objects I have ever seen in my life. She was a cripple—and such a cripple! She could not stand on her legs. Her knee-joints were paralyzed, and could not be stretched out. How long before this calamity had befallen her—she could not well have been born in that state—I did not know. And yet she was none the worse, so far as locomotion within the four walls of the house was concerned. She went from room to room in a sitting posture, with incredible quickness, with the help of her hands. I cannot say she *crawled*, for while moving she always sat erect. Neither can I say she *walked*, for she never stood. She *rowed* from room to room, her arms acting like the oars of a boat. Practice had made her singularly adroit in her movements, and every morning she came down and went up a high, steep staircase without the slightest inconvenience. Poor Kunjo's mother! in what a deplorable state did I find her one morning in the rainy season! It was drizzling. The high and steep staircase, being unprovided with a shade, was wet and slippery. Kunjo's mother, as was her wont, was rowing down in her usual way. Scarcely had she achieved two steps when her hands and feet slipped, and she rolled down like a package of goods to the bottom. I hastened to her help, and was glad to find that she was not seriously hurt. Nature is generally said to be impartial in the dispensation of her favours. Defects in one direction are usually compensated by superior advantages in another. Hence the common saying in Bengali, that "the blind, the hunch-backed, and the lame have one quality more than other people." This does not seem to have been the case with Kunjo's mother. For some mysterious reason, Nature seems to have been a step-mother to her, and to have treated her with undue severity. Let me reckon up the privations to which she was subjected. In the first place, she was a cripple, and no ordinary one; in the second place, she was of a very dark complexion; in the third place, her features were very coarse, I had almost said ugly; in the fourth place, she had a squint in her left eye; in the fifth place, she spoke very much through her nose; in the sixth place, though only forty years old, she had lost several of her teeth; seventhly, and lastly, she became a widow in early life, and lost her only son.

To this singular woman I am somewhat indebted for my education. Not that she assisted me in getting up my lessons, for she could neither read nor write any language; not that she instilled into me right moral princi-

ples, of which she had very hazy conceptions ; but she always gave me early breakfast, simply to enable me to be at school before ten o'clock in the morning. As my cousin and his wife breakfasted at a late hour, she was under no necessity to get breakfast ready before nine o'clock.

It was purely out of regard for me that she got up long before gun-fire, and commenced her operations. That she exercised self-denial on my account will appear evident when it is remembered that no orthodox Hindu woman ever cooks before bathing. When I recollect that this poor deformed cripple got up from her bed some two hours before sunrise, that she rowed downstairs with the help of her hands, that she bathed at about five o'clock in the morning in the coldest weather,—that she did all this to enable me to go to school at the proper time,—when I remember all this, I cannot but feel grateful to her. But she did more. As the room in which I learned my lessons was also the room in which my cousin sat in the evenings, and as every evening people used to come to talk to him on matters of business, I felt no little interruption in my studies. In this emergency Kunjo's mother came to my rescue. As there were only two sleeping-rooms in the house, I, being at the time only twelve or thirteen years old, slept in the same room as Kunjo's mother. Being thus circumstanced, I made it a rule every evening to go to bed almost immediately after candle light, after instructing her to be so good as to rouse me from sleep at about two o'clock in the morning. Kunjo's mother, who was a very light sleeper, always woke me at that hour to enable me to get up my lessons. But the reader might ask how I contrived to get a light to enable me to read through the small hours of the morning. Thanks to the benevolent cripple, she always made provision for that: she used to save for me a little of the mustard oil used in cooking, I have said above that Kunjo's mother *always* gave me breakfast at the proper time. I should have said *often*, for sometimes she failed me. This was not, however, owing to her laziness or indifference, but because provisions had perhaps to be bought in the morning before cooking, or perhaps because the fuel was wet, or from some other cause. On such occasions I always went to school without breakfast, ate a farthing's worth of sweetmeats, and took my rice and curry after four o'clock in the afternoon, on returning home. On such occasions Kunjo's mother would be very sad, though my having had no breakfast was no fault of hers ; and she would even delay taking her own breakfast till I returned from school."

The book contains interesting recollections of other Scotch Missionaries besides Dr. Duff,—of John Macdonald ; of David Ewart ; of William Sinclair Mackay.

The Hindoo Pilgrims.—By M. A. Sherring, M. A., L. L. B., (London), Fellow of the Calcutta University. London: Trübner & Co. Ludgate Hill, 1878.

THIS is a collection of tales in verse which the writer has put into the mouths of a band of Hindoo pilgrims. The framework of the book is therefore similar to that of the *Canterbury Tales*, though the stories themselves differ as much in character as Chaucer's *Wife of Bath* does from an Indian *Jogini*.

While interesting and not devoid of literary merit, Mr. Sherring's compositions rarely rise to the level of true poetry. Not unfrequently, in the shorter metres, his style indeed sinks to that of the nursery ditty, a failure which generally seems to result less from the diction employed than from the kind of rhyme used.

One of the Bhat's songs is a fair example of this.

SUTTEE OF SIXTY WIDOWS.

Silent the great Kuchwâha lies—
In Amber's halls is sorrow—
And of his fifteen hundred wives
Sixty will die to-morrow.

2.

'Mong noble Akbar's valiant men,
Maun Singh was bold as any ;
And led his troops to battle, when
A few had fought with many.

3.

A ruler and a leader, he
Had won his monarch's favour ;
No counsellor was wiser found ;
No general was braver.

4.

Adorned with titles—crowned with fame—
His sun now set in glory ;
But there was woe in hut and hall—
And woe is in my story.

5.

His fifteen hundred weeping wives
Their tender hands are wringing :
Bereft of every human joy,
And to no refuge clinging :

6.

Joyless and sad, of haggard mien,
And clad in weeds of mourning,
The love and sympathy of friends,
And consolation, scorning.

7.

Life has to them no aim, no end,
No happiness, no blessing ;
And cries of wailing and of woe
Are their despair confessing,

8.

And why should they not spurn the life
Whose smiles are vain and hollow ?
Why should not wife her husband join,
And where he goeth, follow ?

9.

So sixty of these widows thought,
Inclined by love and duty ;
Some old—some young—some newly wed—
Of varied charms and beauty.

10.

The pyre is ready, huge and high,
Beside the sacred Gunga ;
And priests are there of many ranks—
And Ojhas from Darbhunga :

11.

Sons of the Ganges, too, who dwell
Close by the holy river,
Who dog the pilgrim's steps, and dun
The rich and liberal giver

12.

The sixty widows, dressed as brides,
In gorgeous raiment shining,
Ascend the pyre, and take their seats,
Not one of them repining.

13.

The eldest sits upon a throne
Raised high above the others ;
The dead man lies at her right side,
Placed there by younger brothers.

14.

Upon her lap his head she puts,
His deeds of valour praising ;
And all the rest a shout of joy,
Of many tones, are raising.

15.

While horrid sounds infest the air,
The fatal torch is given
To her who latest wed her lord,
And hopes for bliss in heaven.

16.

Muttering the name of Mahadev,
Without delay or flutter,
She takes the torch—she fires the wood,
Besmeared with oil and butter.

17.

The flame flies through and round the pyre,
As quick as summer lightning ;
At every moment rising higher—
At every moment brightening.

18.

And who shall tell what then was heard
From helpless wives despairing,
Who, in their awful agony,
Their hair were madly tearing ?

19.

Faithful the sixty widows died—
In Amber's halls was sorrow—
The rest will mourn for years to come ;
But these will see no morrow.

We cannot suppose Mr. Sherring means this for a comic composition, but he has hit off the style of a certain old-fashioned class of semi-comic songs to a nicety.

A Handbook for Visitors to Agra and its Neighbourhood. By H. G. Keene, M. R. A. S., M. A. S. B., Author of the "*Fall of the Mogul Empire*;" "*The Turks in India*," &c. Fourth Edition, considerably enlarged and improved. Calcutta, Thacker Spink & Co., Bombay: Thacker & Co., Ltd., London: W. Thacker & Co. 1878.

THE fact that Mr. Keene's Handbook to Agra has reached a fourth edition, a rare success for an Indian publication, unless it is a law-book or an educational text-book, is sufficient proof that it fulfils a widely-felt want. While, as a Guide-book, it has few rivals for combined handiness, completeness of information and literary merit, it is really much more than a mere Guide-book, including, as it does, a very readable little epitome of the history of the Mogul Empire and a most instructive "note," which might have been called a monograph, on Hindustani architecture.

We are glad to see that Mr. Keene, besides re-arranging some of the old matter in a more convenient form, has adopted the Government system of transliteration, thus lending valuable aid in the work of popularising that important reform.

The work, which is now issued as one of Thacker's Handbooks of Hindustan, should be in the hands of every visitor to Agra.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Shailesh-Nauth. An *Upanyash*—by Baboo Doorganarain Ghosh B.A., Calcutta, *Shahitya-Shangraha* Press 1285.

THE author calls this book an *Upanyash*, presumably from modesty, but more probably because there is no term in Bengali for this species of fictitious composition. We take exception to the title, for it is misleading. An *upanyash*, *upkatha*, or *roopkatha*, is, as every (Hindu) child knows, and, for the matter of that every grown up man or woman, if he or she, can recall early association, replete with wonders,—rocks, castles, imprisoned damsels of exquisite beauty, *Rakhyashis*, with tongues protruded, and faces besmeared with human gore, and the eternal adjuncts, silver, and golden sticks, in efficacy perhaps more prompt than Joseph Balsamo's magnetic fluid. This novelette, however, for so we must call it, has happily none of the marvellous in it. It is a simple love-story, with which, by the way, the most rigid Puritan could not find fault, marked, of course, by that proverbial absence of smoothness which is said to characterise the course of true love.

Shailesha-Náth, a lad of eight years of age, was picked up in the streets and taken to the house of Muddun Gopal Roy, a petty landholder of Kanchangram, who had a lovely (adopted) daughter

Nirupámá, four years old. Those two children, of whom Muddun was equally fond, were necessarily thrown into each other's company, and, as they grew up, began to love each other. While returning one day from a *mela*, they found, on the road-side, an old man, Shadaykissore, suffering from the most excruciating pain, who was brought in, and domiciled under Muddun's roof. Bejoy, Muddun's nephew, soon completed the group of inmates of his uncle's house. This Bejoy had lost his fortune by all sorts of dissipation and debauchery and wanted to repair it by marrying Nirupámá. He had already seduced a young woman, Sharaja, whom he afterwards married privately [are such marriages countenanced in Hindu society?], and then fleeced her of her money.

Shailes naturally grew jealous of Bejoy, and, with a view to ascertain the state of Nirupámá's mind, asked her one day whom she loved. To his surprise and bewilderment he was told—"both." Shaday, who was a really good man, advised him how to act under the circumstances. He gave him a little money, and a letter, with which Shailesh left Kanchangram that very night. He soon after advised Bejoy also to go to Calcutta on some urgent business which might prove of advantage to him, Bejoy.

Shadaykissore, who afterwards turned out to be Muddun's brother, was a very wealthy man. He had recently purchased extensive landed property not far from Kanchangram, which, as he had no family of his own, and fearing that another attack of the fits to which he was subject might end his life, he conveyed by will to his brother's adopted daughter, making a small provision for Bejoy; but at Muddun's intercession, he made another will by which he left only two lacs of Rupees for Nirupámá, and bequeathed his zemindary and his splendid house to his nephew, who, not satisfied with the lion's share of the property, coveted the whole stole this second will and burnt it to ashes. As was to be expected, he got only thirty thousand Rupees by the first will, with which he went to Calcutta; but, finding that his creditors had made it too hot for him, he fled to Benares. Here he made the acquaintance of a young man (Gopendra) and of a wealthy man of about sixty, whose name was Nareshnath.

Naresh had, at the age of eighteen, left home with a Sunniashee, and lived for a time at Protappore in Burdwan, where he married the daughter of a widow who had, in her house, only a woman-servant besides the daughter. After some time Naresh returned to Benares and informed his father of his marriage, who, thereupon got mightily displeased with him, and told him to leave his house. Naresh lived for four years with his wife, during which time his elder brother and his mother died. Upon hearing, however, that his father also was dangerously ill, he went up again to Benares,

only to learn that he was no more, and that his late brother's property was being wasted by an uncle of his, who, to remove him out of his way, got him imprisoned in a Lunatic Asylum, and had him released only when he (the uncle) was on his death-bed. Naresh, being now a free agent, and in possession of a considerable fortune, started for Protappore, but, on his arrival there, found the house in which his wife lived, empty. Here he staid for six months, making enquiries about her, but finding no trace of her, returned to Benares, and, in order to divert his thoughts from the one subject which engrossed his mind, took to gambling.

Bejoy, who was very much in want of money, was going one evening to Nareshnauth's to try his luck. On the way he met his mistress-wife, who was then living in a house of ill-fame under another name. He played for several hours, and won, by unfair means, four thousand Rupees. The next morning, Gopendra, who had also played over-night, called on Bejoy, upbraided him for his improper conduct, and advised him to write to Naresh to come over, and then to apologise to him. When, however, Naresh came, Bejoy turned round, and pointed him out as the guilty party, whereupon Naresh was arrested by the police; and, shortly after, Bejoy and one of the two *budmashes* who were in league with him, were also arrested on a charge of murder. The fact was, when Bejoy accidentally saw his mistress, he at once made up his mind to get rid of a living witness, and a troublesome customer, and instigated the *budmash* in question to kill her that very night, which he did. Gopendra, when he was removed to a rich *kolhewal*, who was to be his security, saw in his house his old patron, Muddun Gopal, by whom he was at once recognised as Shailesh. At the trial, Bejoy was sentenced to one year's imprisonment, and the two *budmashes* to transportation for fourteen years.

Naresh, in the meantime, had seen on the steps of a bathing ghât, the woman who had been in the service of his mother-in-law, and learnt from her that his wife, after her mother's death, having received no reply to her several letters, had removed to some other village, where she was confined, and immediately after, died, leaving a boy behind her; that when this boy was about 8 years old, her neighbours took charge of him, and she went to Juggurnath, and on her return, could not find him. The woman was present when Shailesh happened to come in, and, partly by means of a scar on one of his thighs, he was recognised as the missing child of Nareshnauth. Great then was the rejoicing in his house that day. We need scarcely add that Shailesh was soon after married to the step-daughter of Muddun Gopal.

Life of David Hare. By Babu Piari Chand Mittra. Printed and published in the Nuton Arjya Press: Calcutta. 1878.

WE have already noticed, in the pages of this *Review*, Babu Piari Chand Mittra's *Life of David Hare* in English. The present work is a much shorter memoir of the philanthropist by the same author, written in the Bengali language for the benefit of such of his fellow countrymen and countrywomen as are unacquainted with English. It records the essential facts of Hare's life in a style at once pure and easy to be understood of any Bengali with a moderate education. Our only objection to it is the use of English words that have good Bengali equivalents such for instance, as *স্কুল* for school, and *ক্লাস* for class. No doubt these and similar words are fast becoming naturalised even in the zenana, but it is questionable, we think, whether they should be recognised in a biographical composition. This, however, may be ultra-purism.

The matter of the work is unexceptionable, and it will no doubt prove both acceptable and useful to those for whom it is intended.

Aitiharhik-Rahashya,—Part III. By Baboo Ram Doss Sein, Honorary Member of the Oriental Academy of Florence. Calcutta: Stanhope Press, 1285.

WE are glad to see Baboo Ramdoss Sein again before the public with the third part of his *Aitiharhik-Rahashya*. The table of contents shows a rich variety of subjects, philological as well as antiquarian, which seem to reflect the author's turn of mind.

We wanted to take up one of the subjects discussed, the manners and customs of the *Aryas*; but we must candidly confess that we do not find in it much that is new. By the way, the author says that the word *Arya* is not the designation of a nation, and that *Arybartta* simply means the dwelling place of the *Aryas*. Who then were the *Aryas* that had a place to live in, but were themselves neither a tribe, nor a nation?

The following is an account of the *whole duty* of the Brahmin.

After morning ablution he is to cast his eyes on things that are pure, and then to perform "*Shandhya*" and "*Hom.*" Thereafter he is to worship the gods and goddesses, and again to behold things that betoken prosperity. He is next to read the *Vedas*, instruct his disciples, and go through such reading and writing as he may have occasion for. In the third part of the day, he is to look to domestic affairs. In the fourth, he is to bathe again, and perform other ceremonies. After the second *prahar*, he is

to offer food to the gods, to the souls of his departed forefathers—to men, beasts, birds, and insects, and then only he and his family are to take their meals. In the sixth and seventh parts of the day, he is to read the *Poorans* and other *Shastras*. At sunset, and until the "*Nakhatras*" make their appearance, he is to retire to some solitary place, or to the banks of some river, and there to dedicate himself to contemplation. At about five hours after night-fall, he is to take his second meal, and then to go to bed.

The Chhinna-Masta.—Printed and published by R. G. Ghosh, Columbiar Press, Calcutta.

It is not perhaps generally known that, among Hindoos domestic life in the mofussil differs very much from domestic life in Calcutta, not only in the zenanah, which is the stronghold of staunch conservatism, but also outside its walls. Here we have a good deal of sophistication—call it civilization, if you like; but there you still have much of the primitive habits and manners of the past which present a marked contrast, even in the eyes of a native gentleman who, for the first time, visits friends and relatives in the interior. We welcome, therefore, any book which places before us a faithful picture of manners in the country as they are.

The *Chhinna-Masta* is a book of this description. Written in a plain and simple style, with nothing of the stilted diction of Baboo Doorga Narain Ghose's *Shailesh-Natha*, and with moral reflections, and descriptions of natural scenery only sparingly inflicted on the reader, it might have commended itself especially to those who wish to form a closer acquaintance with the natives of this country. Here is a scene the imilitude of which appears to us unimpeachable:—

"The *palkee* was at the door. The Bhuttachariya invited his son-in-law to walk in, and thus announced his arrival to his wife:—'Your *shahuray jāmái* [son-in-law who lives in a town] is come, see where you can get good rice.' As soon as Debesh was introduced into the *Antwapoor* [portion of the house for females] he caught sight, for a moment, of the feet of a veiled girl who was running away precipitately. The sight sent a thrill through his heart which will find an echo in the breast of those who, after long absence, visit their young wives.

The mother-in-law, who would not, at one time, talk to her *jāmái*, and would afterwards do so only through the medium of her infant son, now stood half concealed behind the door, with the veil partially removed, and asked—"Have you come straight from home? Is every body quite well? Debesh immediately fell

prostrate before her, placed ten rupees by the side of her feet, and then replied—'Everybody at home is quite well, but I have come from Calcutta.'

The women, living in the neighbourhood, dropped in, and jocularly observed :—" So, you have, after all, called us to mind !"

We have said above, " the book might have commended itself," and not without reason ; for, after going through nearly half of it, we had to throw it aside in disgust. Scenes of gross immorality, not open, and therefore the more dangerous, unfold themselves—mothers selling their daughters' virtue, and themselves forming intrigues with near relatives, the solemn rites of religion serving as a cloak for the purposes of lust, murder, drunkenness, and other crimes and vices, disfigure the author's pages, and dispel from our mind our pre-conceived idea of purity, associated with the simplicity of village-life. But is the picture drawn from life ?

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